Sexual Identity Labels in Young Adult Novels featuring Female Same-Sex Attraction

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Abstract

In this thesis I investigate the usage and meanings of sexual identity labels in a corpus of contemporary fictional first-person narratives featuring female same-sex attraction written for teenagers. I focus on how the relationships between female characters and sexual identity labels are portrayed in these Young Adult novels. I developed my analytical approach from cognitive and corpus linguistics as well as Queer Discourse Studies. Based on the manual annotation of concordance lines and the clustering of the occurrences of the labels, I provide an overview of their usage patterns and a detailed account of their functioning in selected text passages.

My results indicate that, in these texts, acceptance of same-sex sexuality is discursively linked to *gay* and/or *lesbian* sexual identity. A prominent means in the construction of this link is the use of syntactically subordinated identity assignments to reflect upon implications of sexual identity. Furthermore, the texts in the corpus tend to discursively erase or suppress conceptualizations of a person's sexual orientation as non-exclusive to one sex. Conversely, same-sex sexual activity, a relationship, and/or attraction is the crucial property in identification with a label denoting same-sex sexual identity; this applies especially to private self-identification. Overall, the portrayal of the characters exhibits internalization of social categorization including specifically female same-sex labelling.

A major contribution of the thesis is the development of a methodology for Discourse Analysis of fictional narratives which can elucidate the usage patterns of sexual identity labels. Hence, my approach has enabled tracing the indications for cognitive, semantic, and social structures manifest in the corpus investigated. In particular it has elucidated the normalized as well as the marginalized identities discursively constructed in a corpus of Anglophone realist Young Adult fiction about sexuality.

List of Conventions Used in This Thesis:

Graphological Indicators and Acronyms

Italics	word form itself
SMALL CAPS	lemma (all forms of a linguistic expression)
'Scare quotes'	schema or element in conceptualization evoked by a linguistic item

DoS	domain of sexuality
CADS	Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies
Q/CDA	Queer/Critical Discourse Analysis
SIL(s)	sexual identity label(s)
LGBT(I)(Q)	lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans*, (intersex,) (queer or questioning)
FSSA	female same-sex attraction
LBQ	cisgender females experiencing or having experience of FSSA
YA	young adult (literature)
TCPs	token-cluster passages

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis investigates how sexual identity labels (SILs), such as *lesbian*, *gay*, and *bisexual*, are used in contemporary Young Adult (YA) novels told in first person by a female young adult who experiences same-sex attraction in a first-world country. *Contemporary YA novels* refers to book-length fictional realist narratives published for teenagers in the sense of targeting them in marketing, and supposedly portraying their point of view and life situations (see 3.3.2 and 4.1.2 for further definition of YA novels and contemporary realism). English is the language investigated both in terms of the linguistic expressions focused on, that is SILs, and the original-language texts included in the corpus collection. I call the corpus of 34 novels I collected and investigate in this thesis LBQ1YA. This name alludes to its first-person narrators who are lesbian, bisexual, queer and questioning young adults (LBQ YA character-narrators for short).

The study is corpus-assisted in order to approach literature empirically and provide an overview of the usage patterns of SILs. Furthermore, I understand it as a Queer Discourse Study (QDS) informed by cognitive linguistics as my critical concern is with the socio-cognitive structures indicated by language use, that is, with discursive structures. In particular, labelling someone as belonging to a social category based on sexual orientation is seen as

discursively (re)producing sexual identity. Furthermore, my focus is on what the portrayal of the LBQ character-narrators of the texts in my corpus may mean for a reader who shares characteristics and motivations with them. Therefore, the extent to which the character-narrators are portrayed to identify with certain SILs is investigated. Put differently, I study the representation of ways of being in, (re)acting to, and coping with the discursive structures of contemporary Western societies manifested in the use of SILs.

I deliberately used a wide definition of female same-sex attraction in collecting the corpus for this investigation. That is, I looked for novels which feature – evidently from their blurbs and/or other descriptions such as online reviews – a) relationships between characters perceived as women/girls by their social environment and/or b) female characters desiring such a relationship, or questioning whether a desire to be with a certain female person (such as one's best friend) is sexual, and/or c) sexual activity between female characters which may be based on mutual attraction. Relatedly, I understand desire broadly and in its mundane manifestations rather than based on psychological notions such as repression (see Cameron & Kulick, 2003, p. 106 and the discussion of investigating desire in language and sexuality research in Leap, 2015, pp. 662–663). Thus, the character-narrators in LBQ1YA differ, among other things, in their understanding of same-sex

attraction, as well as the extent to which they act upon their attraction and whether the attraction is reciprocated or even known to the love interest(s). In other words, some of these novels portray love stories between two girls, some unrequited love, some troubled or failed relationships and so forth with sexual acts featuring as transformative experiences, as one-offs, as abuse, or not at all. This wide scope allows investigating how aspects of sexuality – desire, behaviour, identity – are portrayed to interact in fictional narratives, which may not explicitly mention sexual relations (activity and/or relationships), nor identity categories. Hence, my study differs from Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) on the domain of sexuality (DoS) for which corpora are collected using lexical items denoting relationships and category labels as required terms (see, for instance, Paterson & Coffey-Glover, 2018, p. 180). Sexual identity in this thesis is the object of critical inquiry, not the starting point, nor an a priori category. I take my critical view from Queer Theory seeing identity as "a normative ideal rather than a descriptive feature of experience" and "an *effect* of discursive practices" (Butler, 1990, pp. 16 and 18). I discuss the overlapping developments of Queer Theory in semantics, linguistics and Discourse Studies in sections 1.2 and 2.1, in particular.

The first section of this chapter concerns how the female-specific focus on sexuality and adolescence of this investigation relates to previous research on literary data and in Corpus-assisted Discourse Analysis of SILs. Section 1.2

further explicates the queer perspective taken towards the data and 'sexual identity'. Section 1.3 focuses on the measures used in my investigation. I dedicate section 1.4 to some notes on terminology in order to clarify some potentially contentious decisions in the language I use to present it. The import of what each of the remaining seven chapters covers is detailed in section 1.5.

1.1 Gender, Sexuality, and Adolescent Literature

Adolescence is a crucial time in identity formation, in particular as regards sexuality (see, for instance, Russell, Clarke, & Clary, 2009, p. 889). How long this idea has been established is shown by the references in Coleman's (1980/2011) comprehensive account (such as "Erikson (1968)" on p. 68, see in particular pp. 146–149 on sexual identity). It is however linked to conceptualizing sexuality as a stable identity (see Hammack, Mayers, & Windell, 2013, p. 227 for a historically informed critique).

Controversies surround the (re)presentation of sexuality and gender diversity in publications for young people (see 3.3.1 for details). Basically, parents and other adults tend to want to control what minors come in contact with, even when, or especially when, these are growing into adulthood and independence. Consciously and subconsciously this is influenced by their

preconceptions of what is good and what is bad for young people to consume. These opinions can affect production as well as access to texts for adolescents (Berg, 2012, pp. 16–18, and Chapman, 2016).

In recent years, though, the number of books featuring "non-norm sexualities and/or gender identities" (Epstein, 2013a, p. 3) published for young adults in English is increasing faster than ever. Even mainstream media have taken note of this phenomenon. A BBC Newsnight report on the rise of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans (LGBT) literature for teens (2015), which aired during my doctoral studies, states that "ninety-four LGBT Young Adult novels" were published in "America" and "eight in the UK" in 2013 alone.

However, the portrayal of the various identities covered by the acronym (and intersections of these with racial, etc., identities) does not necessarily increase in a balanced way and has historically not been balanced (see, for instance, Wickens, 2007, p. 66). Looking at the 1990s, Cart and Jenkins (2006) note that the increase of publications in this literature in that decade was mainly in "gay/lesbian secondary characters" (p. 91) and that "YA fiction […] has so often defined 'gay' as white, middle class, suburban and male" (p. 115). In the new millennium there finally seem to be female main characters in entertainment media which reflect the experience of those who identify as and/or are labelled *bisexual* (documented for TV by Nicholson, 2018). A possibly related recent phenomenon documented by Anderson, McCormack,

and Ripley (2016) is the experience of validation of the bisexual identity of their YA interview respondents through peer pressure via social media on those who initially questioned it.[1] Regarding LGBTIQ YA, as Gillingham (2017) states, "the first YA novel to portray female bisexuality was published in 2001" and was followed by seven more with bisexual protagonists by 2016, not all of the latter fall within contemporary realism though (pp. 28 and 246). Whether self-identification with *bisexual* is portrayed in the contemporary YA novels I collected in 2014 will be seen in this thesis.

Some doctoral dissertations have in recent years made a significant contribution to keeping pace with LGBTIQ YA publishing, namely Wickens (2007) on 2000-2005 novels, Gillingham (2017) on female same-sex love stories 1976-2016, and Chapman (2016) on Library provision in England of LGBT YA. Chapman (2016) stresses that previous research indicates "a strong moral argument for interventions that will build self-esteem in young LGBT people and/or combat prejudice among others" (p. 84) and that LGBT YA can facilitate such intervention. That is, by reducing homophobia, this literature can save lives as bullying may lead to the internalization of negative attitudes, and hence self-harm and suicide. However, literary scholars and historians have charted not only the possibilities opened up by this literature for LGBT and non-queer readers but also its didacticism (see section 3.3.3). I provide a

[1] Fifteen openly bisexual female British sixth-form students were interviewed.

new but complementary approach in this thesis in that QDS critically focuses on the linguistic representation of diversity and deconstructing the normative. Furthermore, as far as I am aware Gillingham's and my theses are the only major studies which concentrate on cisgender female young adults.

As well as providing new insights into the literature, I provide new insights into SIL-usage. Looking at fictional narratives by cisgender female young adults experiencing or having experience of female same-sex attraction (FSSA) offers a different perspective to previously investigated corpora of parliamentary debates, newspapers, leaflets, and so forth (see references in section 3.2 on SILs; Baker, 2014, illustrates CADS focusing on labels used for trans people in the British press). Sex-specificity and adolescence offers an intersection which has been little researched with a corpus linguistic or CADS approach, while extensive research in sociology and literary studies has documented, respectively, the gendered experience of sexuality by young adults and the depiction of female sexuality. Broadly, girls under partriarchy are socialized into desiring a passive role in a heterosexual marriage, which conflicts with female same-sex sexual desire. By looking at YA novels featuring FSSA, I look for fictional narratives the plots of which revolve around such desire, rather than searching for texts which explicitly reference and are required to topically focus on same-sex sexual relations, such as public debates and news media reporting on same-sex marriage. In LBQ1YA

the texts differ in the extent to which the same-sex nature of the attraction is important. In addition, other YA issues may join the conflicts between the characters due to sexual attraction.

Sexual orientation can be used as a cover term for various manifestations of attraction and forms of behaviour and is conventionally used to refer to whether someone is attracted and/or engages in sexual acts and/or romantic relations with someone of the same or other sex, or both (for discussions of how sexual orientation may be measured using variants of designating these components see, for instance, the edited collection by McWhirter, Sanders, & Reinisch, 1990; and Golden, 1996, pp. 241–242 for a female-specific perspective). Sexual orientation is more often used trans-historically than sexual identity. Conversely, conceptualization as the latter has been traced to a particular time period. Namely, sexual identity has become established in the discursive structures of Western society from the late nineteenth to about the seventies of the twentieth century (see 3.1). Crucial to this conceptualization is seeing sexual orientation as determining a social group membership (see 2.1).

1.2 Perspective: Queer Discourse Studies and Sexual Identity Labels

This section details the assumptions and angle from which I approach YA novels featuring FSSA. In this I allude to tenets from various fields of inquiry within linguistics as well as theories which have influenced either or both literary criticism and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

'Identity' has been a central concept in linguistic, as well as ethnographic, studies on sexuality in continuity with those on gender (see, among others, the edited volumes Bucholtz, Liang, & Sutton, 1999; Hall & Bucholtz, 1995; and McConnell-Ginet, 2011). In this research, a wide range of mostly indirect ways in which people construct, or index, their identity using language in social interactions has been documented. Relatedly, in Conversation Analysis it has been recognized that identity categories are evoked by properties associated with them as well as by category labels themselves (see Antaki & Widdecombe, 1998). In the words of QDS proponents Motschenbacher and Stegu (2013),

> [l]anguage is involved, in different ways, in the discursive construction of sexual identities and desire. Obvious examples of the linguistic construction of sexual identities are labels such as *heterosexual*, *gay*, *lesbian* or *bisexual* (p. 525).

This thesis focuses on these direct evocations of sexual categories. Like McConnell-Ginet in her essay on 'queering' semantics (2002/2011), I recognize "the historically contingent character of meaning – its dependence on discursive practice in a range of contexts – [which] is critical to its power" (p. 238). A case in point is the term *queer* itself. In the 1990s scholars, such as Judith Butler and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, later known as queer theorists, appropriated the term from its use to designate (people with) non-normative sexualities derogatively. Simultaneously, it has been partially reclaimed as a sexual identity label for (collective) self-designation (see 3.2.4 below, and, in particular, Motschenbacher, 2010, p. 10). The meaning of *queer* is highly dependant on when it is used, who is engaged in communication and who or what it labels.

Queer Theory, arising out of feminism and gender studies and critiquing the structures which conservatively order Western societies, que(e)ries "the notion of essential or innate sexual identities" (McConnell-Ginet, 2002/2011, p. 256). Applying this to research in language and sexuality, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) call for 'identity' to be investigated as "socially negotiated" and "produced by practices and ideologies that may exceed conscious awareness" (p. 493). Queer Linguistics, furthermore, shares with such academic paradigms as CDA the discussion of "power issues in relation to discursive identity formation" (Motschenbacher, 2010, p. 12; see also Leap, 2015). As

CDA is Discourse Analysis "with an attitude" (van Dijk, 2013, para. 1) and my attitude is queer in that I share the aim of the above cited queer theorists and linguists, this thesis can be called a *queer* as well as a *critical* Discourse Analysis (Q/CDA). In other words, the perspective of this study of LBQ1YA is queerly critical of normative structures, in particular those which conceptualize sexuality as stable (exclusively) binary identity.

In this sense my study is part of Queer Discourse Studies. The central concern of QDS is the "deconstruction of gendered/sexual binarisms and heteronormativity," the latter of which is "the discursive construction of certain forms of heterosexuality as natural, normal or preferable" (Motschenbacher and Stegu, 2013, p. 520), as well as of normativities governing "forms of non-heterosexuality" (ibid., p. 527). In sum, investigating with a critical/queer attitude the discursive construction of sexual identities means deconstructing normative structures in DoS. I do so by investigating how the way sexual identity labels as linguistic forms are used indicates socio-cognitive structures.

As I use and understand it, *discursive*, roughly speaking, means 'through language use'. Hence, in analysing their usage patterns I describe how a core set of SILs is used within contexts and take this as (re)producing not only lexico-grammatical but also socio-cognitive structures. This is based on the assumption, entertained by CDA, that "discourse constitutes society and

culture and is in turn constituted by them" (Koller, 2008, p. 11). Fairclough (1992) stresses that this relationship between discursive practice and society, that is "social identities, social relationships, systems of knowledge and belief" (p. 65), is dialectical in that one determines the other as much as vice versa. In other words, the dynamics of discursive construction are cyclical – each instance of language use is partly constrained by established social and knowledge structures which have been partly constructed and possibly transformed through language use.

Whereas Fairclough puts "systems of knowledge and belief" under "society", van Dijk (2014) stresses that there is a discourse-cognition-society triangle in which mental models (SCRs, scripts, etc.)[2] mediate between discourse (instantiations of linguistic phenomena in texts) and social structures (power relations between groups, among others). A critical inquiry into discursive structures, thus, entails explicating the linguistic phenomena manifest in a text, what cognitive processes and shared social knowledge are involved in comprehension and their impact on and/or origin in social structures. In other words, discourse analysts informed by cognitive frameworks infer socio-cognitive structures from their manifestation in the lexico-grammatical structures of particular texts in their contexts.

[2] The terminology and breakdown of cognitive structures used in this thesis (see section 2.3.1) differs from that used in van Dijk (2014); however, as acknowledged by him, there is no support in neuroscience for one model of cognnitive structures over another.

Although somewhat superseded by CDA, my investigation is also informed by (post-)structuralism and semiotics, which originated in de Saussure's lectures at the beginning of the 20th century (Bally & Sechehaye, 1916/1986), as these were developed in literary criticism and Queer Theory (including studies of literature from a queer perspective, such as Sedgwick's work, beginning with her 1985 volume, and in Butler, 1993; and see Motschenbacher, 2010, for developments from the perspective of Queer Linguistics). In this tradition, a sign is a form-meaning pairing. That is, the so-called signifier, pertinently a linguistic expression, is coupled with the so-called signified, which could also be called a concept. Crucially, "meaning, or the signified, is […] brought into conceptual being by the signifier" (Belsey, 1980/2002, p. 118) and thus "the world, which without signification would be experienced as a continuum, is divided up by language into entities which then readily come to be experienced as essentially distinct" (ibid., p. 38). This idea is explicated for category labels in section 2.3 drawing on current frameworks.

Here it is important to note that what is investigated in this thesis is a set of signs in the sense that sexual identity labels conceptualize sexuality into distinct categories of people. From this follows that the linguistic form is only of interest to this study if it is used within or liminal with the DoS. In cognitive linguistics, "a conceptual domain is the general field to which a

category or frame belongs in a given situation" (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 11; on *frames* see 2.3.1). In other words, a form-meaning pairing holds only if context allows. To illustrate, in telling my daughter to *go straight* to her room I am not telling her to which sexual identity she should belong.

The focus on the linguistically direct categorization of people also guides what is seen as a SIL in this study within this domain. That is, I distinguish between SILs and other linguistic expressions used to designate sexual orientation as well as related terms by the lexico-grammatical patterns they exhibit. To illustrate,

(1) (a) I am in an other-sex relationship (b) but I am not a heterosexual;

(2) (a) I belong to the lesbian, gay, and bisexual academic community (b) because I write for queers such as myself;

(3) (a) if asked to label my sexuality, (b) I would say "I am a Kinsey 3.π", thereby confusing most peope due to their unfamiliarity with the Kinsey scale, the numerical value of π, and/or the use of these to form a label.[3]

The underlined terms are in (1a) a premodifier in a noun phrase, in (1b) a nominal predicate in a copulative construction, in (2a) premodifiers in a noun phrase, in (2b) a plural noun, in (3a) a noun phrase as direct object and finally in (3b) another nominal predicate in a copulative construction. The

[3] See p. 373 for the values on the Kinsey scale and such use in LBQ1YA.

premodifiers in 1a and 2a are distinct in that the latter terms can be used predicatively as either nouns or adjectives (e.g., *I am (a) bisexual*) whereas *other-sex* cannot (**I am (an) other-sex*) – hence it is not regarded as a SIL (Bachmann, 2011, p. 95 makes this point for *same-sex* in constrast to *gay* and *homosexual*). Similarly, *sexuality*, and its various compounds (e.g. *bisexuality*), though they can be used to specify a person's sexuality, can not be used as predicates in a copulative construction labelling a grammatical subject which is a direct expression for a (set of) person(s) (*my sexuality is queer* not **I am (a) queer sexuality*). Hence, *same-sex*, *other-sex*, *homosexuality*, *sexualities*, and so forth are seen as related terms within DoS but not as SILs in this thesis.

The usage patterns of "sexual descriptive adjectives" observed in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) by Motschenbacher (2018) also indicate that *lesbian*, *gay*, *queer*, *straight*, *heterosexual*, *homosexual* and *bisexual* (sub)categorize person(s). Motschenbacher distils the patterns in which nominals occur directly after these terms (that is, R1 nominal collocates of them) as well as after *same-sex* into a "conceptual map of sexual descriptive adjectives", which I reproduce here.

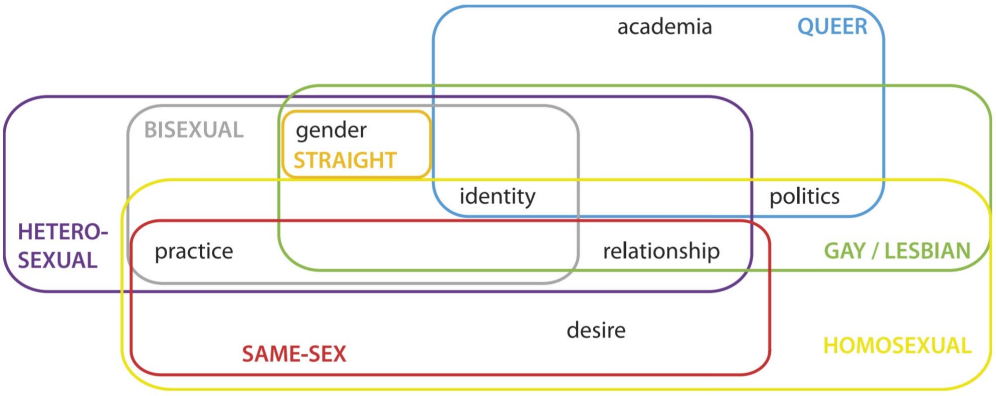

Figure 1 Most prominent categories of nominals pre-modified by sexual descriptive adjectives in the COCA (Motschenbacher, 2018, p. 163, figure 1)

This shows *same-sex* as a descriptive term for behaviour, relationships, and attraction, that is signifying sexual orientation rather than sexual identity. The others tend to have R1 nominal collocates which refer to person(s), often denoting other categorical properties which are socially relevant such as sex/gender, age, religion, and role in relationship (see ibid., table 1, pp. 160–161). Interestingly, *youth* and/or *youths* are listed as collocate(s) of *gay*, *lesbian*, *queer*, *heterosexual*, and *bisexual*; the last additionally has *teens* and *adolescents* in the top 30 R1 nominals (ibid.). This means that young adults are categorized by means of these labels in texts included in a general corpus of English. I investigate my specialized corpus of LBQ YA narratives for them. In fact, I look at the usage patterns of the same terms as Motschenbacher except that I exclude *same-sex* and include spelling variants of LESBIAN and the like-wise female-specific SIL DYKE, as well as abbreviations of BISEXUAL, HETEROSEXUAL and HOMOSEXUAL (see also 3.2.3 and for the semantic field of SILs Figure 2).

Before I conclude this section and move on to the research design, I turn to the notion of 'strategic essentialism' introduced to theory by Gayatri Spivak in the 1980s. According to Baker (2008), the phrase refers "to the strategy by which groups sometimes find it advantageous to 'essentialise' themselves temporarily and bring forward their group identity in a relatively simplified way in order to achieve certain goals" (p. 196; see also Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, pp. 476–477). Hence, the gay and lesbian rights movements of the 1970s can be seen as having employed this strategy promoting *coming out* as *lesbian*/*gay* thus discursively constructing an essential sexual identity. Sedgwick (1990/2008) elaborates this in observing that self-identification as a member of a sexual minority has been necessary to enable "progress" from institutionally sactioned physical and discursive homophobia (p. 58) and that "gay politics oriented around coming out of the closet" has made this phrase "a publicly intelligible signifier" (p. 14) and resulted in an "increasingly intense atmosphere of public articulations of and about the love that is famous for daring not to speak its name" (p. 67). Conversely, given the still prevalent assumption of heterosexuality, a person is not automatically out of the closet for everyone once they have identified as gay to someone, so that "even an out gay person deals daily with interlocutors about whom she doesn't know whether they know or not; it is equally difficult to guess for any given interlocutor whether, if they did know, the knowledge would seem very

important" (p. 68). This thesis looks at how this social environment is (re)presented in contemporary fiction for young adults.

The theoretical background of this investigation is elaborated on in Chapter 2, focusing, as I have done here, on continuities between disciplines. My Q/CDA aim of critiquing dominant cultural structures has not been established in the study of literary and/or fictional texts to the extent that its concepts had been sufficiently adapted for my specific purposes. Thus, my study is informed by the common tenets and observations of different approaches and I apply those aspects of frameworks that help to make sense of the data. Relatedly, Koller (2014) points out that an "eclectic approach to methods […] is typical of critical text-based analysis […] and analytical parameters can be at least partly data-driven" in the context of stating that the term CDA falsely "suggests a certain methodology" (p. 149). She also agrees with van Dijk (2013) that "a good method is a method that is able to give a satisfactory (reliable, relevant, etc.) answer to the questions of a research project" (para. 2). Moreover, a queer approach entails "acknowledging that all approaches have their advantages and disadvantages and result in a specific perspective on a subject" (Motschenbacher, 2010, p. 11; and see p. 8). Hence, my research design is multi-faceted and layered. Nevertheless, some degree of focus and angle has to be chosen so that this thesis remains within the scope of a PhD. In employing Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies I am, on the one

hand, restricted to established signifiers and thus elucidating normative structures more so than non-normative ones (as alternative expressions are only analysed in some cases in which they appear in juxtaposition to SILs), but, on the other hand, we will see within this scope which structures are favoured by "repeatedly exposing text recipients" to them and therefore potentially normatively "align[ing] recipients' cognition" (Koller, 2014, p. 150).

1.3 Research Question, Concepts and Design

This section outlines the overall design of the research and the main research question which is answered in the thesis. It then explicates key concepts of the analytical framework not covered in the previous section as they belong to the methodology of the investigation rather than its perspective.

My investigation starts from search terms which are the linguistic forms widely recognized as possible SILs. Assisted by computer software, I filter the search results so that I do not investigate those instances which are signs outside the DoS. Using complementary methods, so-called qualitative as well as so-called quantitative ones,[4] I describe the lexico-grammatical constructions

[4] I use *qualitative* and *quantitative* at times in this thesis as they are recognized designations, but these only roughly reflect my analyses of which none is entirely one or the other.

and wider contexts in which SILs function. I thereby elucidate the meanings constructed or contested as well as those absent from the use of SILs in LBQ1YA. This indicates discursive structures by tracing the range of portrayals and voids in this range for each label investigated.

By analysing usage patterns quantitatively, I capture the cumulative effect of discursive manifestations, thus, assessing the dominance of a set of conceptualizations (primarily, binary sexual identity). Meanwhile, close-text analysis is better suited to recognizing language used in non-established ways, which sometimes attempt to constitute antithetical structures. Conversely, it enables deconstructing established discursive links, as conventional conceptual links need not be expressed explicitly but can be inferred – they are widely understood based on cultural knowledge and logic (so-called common sense). Fundamental to my observations are the concordance lines of the search terms – their instances in their co-text – and I represent these in various ways.

Overall this thesis is focused on answering the research question stated below for the investigated corpus. Specific questions on the use of SILs investigated and the implications thereof are stated in 4.2.3.

> How are the relationships of characters to SILs portrayed in LBQ1YA, and, in particular, how do the portrayed relationships differ between

labels as regards self-identification by the novels' female character-narrators?

That is, I analyse how language is used in the narratives comprising the corpus to suggest various dimensions of identification with, or distancing from, the investigated labels and what each is perceived to mean by the characters. The richest portrayal of a SIL-character relationship is likely to be found in the LBQ character-narrator of each novel, as the narrative includes presentation of her thoughts. Crucially, in reading this the reader may be shown how, if she does so at all, the character-narrator labels or contemplates labelling herself (private self-identification, for short) and whether this differs from how she presents herself in interaction with other characters (public self-identification, for short), as well as the motivations for this. The centrality of self-identifications of the female character-narrators to themselves, that is the relationship most immediately portrayed to the reader, informs the design of the research, in particular the granularity of the quantification and the selection of text extracts for close analysis.

I developed my analytical framework and the focus of the investigation in a cyclical process with scouting the data (see 4.2.1). To answer my research question for my data, I draw on approaches, such as frame semantics and construction grammar (originating in Fillmore, 1988) together with Text World Theory (originating in Werth, 1999, and centrally developed in Gavins,

2007), all of which fall under cognitive linguistics and have been applied to literary texts (in the field known as cognitive stylistics/poetics). Cognitive linguistics is a usage-based approach and thus can be fruitfully combined with corpus linguistics.

I use the principles of corpus linguistics for instance in annotating the corpus for parameters of the relationships portrayed. This, among other things, enables identifying absences and relative proportions of (re)presentation. Relatedly, a word's evaluative meaning (a central element of its connotation) is discursively contructed by co-occurrence patterns, that is, which linguistic company it tends to keep and the company the words it co-occurs with tend to keep (this is operationalized in corpus linguistics, for instance, by identifying *collocation networks*, Brezina, McEnery, & Wattam, 2015). Koller's (2008) illustration of this phenomenon is particularly pertinent to the research presented in this thesis:

> ADMIT routinely co-occurs with negatively connoted words (e.g., *to admit a mistake*) so that in homophobic discourse, it can be used to derogate lesbian and gay people, e.g., *she admitted to being gay*, where GAY accrues negative connotations by being linked to ADMIT. (p. 194, formatting adjusted to conventions of this thesis).

Thus, it is crucial who labels whom (or a non-human entity) in which context as this indicates which meanings of the SIL used are evoked. Basic to this is

distinguishing between designation of a category and application of a label to a specific person.

Text World Theory provides the terminology used in this thesis to describe the relationships portrayed in terms of the distance of the character-narrator to the use and meanings of a SIL. Within the main text world, which is constructed on the basis of the discourse world, sub-worlds may be cued consecutively. Sub-worlds may also be nested within each other to several layers. In contrast, the most immediate layer in first-person narratives is what I call the narratorial discourse situation in which the narrator-character speaks to herself and/or the implied reader – her self in speaker-now is the deictic centre of the discourse. Direct presentation of character interaction, meaning communication in any medium, always constructs a sub-world with a distinct deictic centre; but reports of instances of language use and the attribution of propositions to other entities or the construction of hypothetical scenarios may also build a distanced space or sub-world.

Further layers are also cued by modality, negation, conditionals and so forth. Matters of reference involving such sub-worlds can be accounted for within cognitive linguistics using mental space theory (see Croft & Cruse, 2004, section 2.6). Drawing on Fauconnier (e.g. 1997), Croft and Cruse define the distinction between specific and non-specific reference as between when a linguistic expression is used to refer to an individual that can be described by

a category or to describe the category (ibid., pp. 34–35). In my data instances of SILs used to describe a category usually refer to its members generically, hence I use *generic* in the annotation scheme for quantification.

These phenomena are explicated in sections 2.2 and 2.3.2 based on previous studies as well as theory and in 4.3 based on the data investigated in this thesis. In sections 5.2 and 4.2.5 I detail a phenomenon which is observable in LBQ1YA but has not been previously described – the clustering of SIL-tokens in the narratives. This pattern affords a systematic identification and selection of extracts which I call token-cluster passages (TCPs), that is, passages in which tokens of SILs occur extraordinarily densely. These provide the extracts for close-text analysis.

1.4 A Note on Terminology

In this section I discuss disciplinary as well as sex and sexuality terminologies. To be noted first of all is that I generally retain the usage of the secondary literature I cite or paraphrase. For references to sex(uality) this is especially pertinent in this thesis as the terms used indicate authors' conceptualizations. An exception to retention is that in general statements about language I change the pronoun to refer to a language user to singular *they* (*them*, *their*, *themself*).

Concise expression in this thesis is hampered by conflicting terminologies in the theories and methodologies I draw upon. This is mainly due to interdisciplinary as well as intradisciplinary homonyms and polysemes.[5] Generally, besides the use of the same term for distinct and continuous phenomena, similar concepts are termed differently in different (sub)disciplines – I describe those relevant to my investigation in the next chapter. This includes the use of the term *discourse*. Its many vague uses in Discourse Studies and sociology (see, for instance, Wodak, 2008, p. 1) have rendered it incapable of denoting a concept operationalizable for analysis without further specification. Therefore, I use *discursive* as a premodifier in nominal phrases designating analytical concepts, as well as adverbially, to evoke the tenet of the dialectical relationship between language use and socio-cognitive as well as social structures. In particular my use of discursive structures rephrases and develops Motschenbacher's (2010) definition of "discourses" as "structures whose traces manifest themselves at least partly in language" (p. 11) – usage patterns of SILs in LBQ1YA are the manifest traces investigated in this thesis from which I infer the involved socio-cognitive structures thus describing the (re)produced discursive structures in their two parts. Furthermore, the use of the adjectival form, *discursive,* frees *discourse* to be used as the hyperonym (superordinate term) for speech and writing within

[5] If phonetic and/or orthographic equivalence in a signifier is regarded as accidental one speaks of *homonyms*, rather than of *polysemes*.

my analytical framework. Hence, I capitalize the nominal form in references to the disciplines or approaches which use it – *Discourse Studies*, *CDA*, and so forth.

Turning to gender and sex(uality), I use terms which I belief most accurately represent the people each proposition is made about. However, language can never fully appreciate human diversity, so whatever terms are used someone may be offended, or feel wrongly excluded or included. The decisions I have made as to when to use which term are based on my own experience of currently widely accepted usage and what I believe are the most appropriate descriptors in each case. I am sorry that my usage will probably not suit everyone.

By *sex* I refer to physiology and the discursively (re)produced distinction between male and female persons. When referring to sexual activity including sexual intercourse, I use such specific phrases. *Gender* is reserved for the concept developed in (Lesbian) Feminism, Queer Theory, and Gender Studies. In this I follow Baker (2008, pp. 3-4). Linguistic expressions denoting the two main sex-categories of humans, used for instance to generically refer to the class of people signifying one as opposed to the other, are an accompanying subject of my investigation. In my explications I use the formal terms MALE and FEMALE avoiding, on the one hand, the ambiguity between sex-specific and broader uses of GUY and MAN, and on the other, the designation of female

young adults as either girls or women; in paraphrasing the text of a YA novel I follow the designation used there. In describing the discursive structures in my corpus of fictional narratives featuring female same-sex attraction in young adults the non-specificity as regards the age of the female humans designated girls or women as well as the liminality of many characters as regards being girls (children) or women (adults) is a greater conundrum than the physiological status of characters, which is specified if the lived or apparent gender identity does not match biological sex, which is not the case in any characters labelled by SILs in LBQ1YA.

As for the full terms, I use *LGBTIQ* and variations on this acronym to represent, to the best of my knowledge, who is included in each observation. Sadly, *I* for intersex, that is characters or people who biologically do not fit entirely into the male or female categories in diverse ways, are rarely being reported on and there are only a few characters in YA who (re)present this identity.[6] The *T* also covers a heterogenous group and going into this is beyond the scope of this thesis. I would like to recognize that gender and sexuality intersect in multiplex ways and discuss, for instance, the relationships in which cisgender females having sexual and/or romantic relations with transgender, pre-op transsexual, post-op transsexual, intersex, non-binary, genderfluid or whatever persons are portrayed to the labels *queer*,

[6] Some parts of the designated community prefer conceptualizing their diversity as a condition and reject the term *intersex* preferring the use of *disorders of sexual development (DSD)*.

bisexual, and *lesbian* but the data identified does not cover this sufficiently. Hence, please note that with *G*, *L*, *B*, and *Q* I refer to cisgender person(s) and issues, in particular I use *LBQ* for the focus of this thesis and *GBQ* for its male counterpart.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

This section details the structure of the following seven chapters, which together with this introduction form the thesis. Additional material, including some displays of the data processed to various extents for analysis, can be found in the appendices, two of which are provided as files on the CD-ROM (found on the inside of the back cover).

In Chapter 2 I present the theoretical background to this Queer Corpus-assisted Discourse Study of literary texts. It does not provide a comprehensive review of disciplinies or even fields but charts the web of disciplines and notions which inform this study. That is, I focus on the significance of certain notions developed by others for the methodology employed in my research, the interpretation of its results and the implications of its observations. In doing so I characterize the social and communicative dynamics of labelling for analysing socio-cognitive structures indicated by lexico-grammatical patterns in narrative contexts.

Chapter 3 reviews what has been observed by others about the objects of my study, that is, the structures linked to SILs and trends surrounding and within fiction about sexuality for minors. As background to the semantic accounts of SILs, I not only describe the contemporary context (re)presented in LBQ1YA but also earlier socio-political and discursive developments to enable a critical perspective on the current structures. The account of LGBTIQ YA Literature, including the size of its sub-sections, sets the population investigated into its wider publication context.

Chapter 4, "Research Design", details the building and characteristics of the corpus as well as other stages in the investigation and what they elucidate. A major aspect of this is the account of the discursive phenomena surrounding SILs, which are the linguistic means of suggesting different SIL-character relationships in the data, and how these can be quantified to some extent.

In Chapter 5 I first detail the quantitative preferences for labels within the set investigated identifying deviations by a number of novels from the overall trends in the corpus as well as tendencies in which labels are used for which entities and for narratorial self-identification. The second section describes the ebbing and rising as well as tight clustering of SIL-tokens and other DoS-tokens of the search terms observed in most narratives in the corpus, and identifies the occasions for these as, in the main, negotiations of links between social identity and experience of female same-sex attraction and/or relations.

The analyses of the TCPs are distributed over three sets each featuring three or four novels from which one or two passages each have been selected. The first set, analysed in Chapter 6, contains passages in which the character-narrator has experienced attraction to or engaged in sexual activity with another young female but only one of them has accepted a same-sex identity for herself; of the other two, one refuses to do so and the other hopes not having to. The second set features *coming-out*s in four novels – the character-narrators are portrayed as ADMITting and ACCEPTing sexual identity to themselves due to FSSA but in various ways quarrel with the implications of this social categorization; this set is also analysed in Chapter 6. Before discussing all fifteen passages, the 7th chapter presents the analyses of the seven passages in the third set. This features the negotiation of the intrinsic link between FSSA and same-sex identity assumed in most others.

The close-text analysis captures marginalized structures and nuances of the patterns identified in the quantitative analysis. For instance, new signs used to define one's sexuality are featured alongside meta-linguistic instances of established SILs and generic references to social groups designated by SILs. Relatedly, the question is explored whether the infrequency of BI(SEXUAL) in LBQ YA novels indicates the dominance of the binary conceptualization of sexual orientation/identity or the deplacement of this signifier for orientation towards both sexes by alternative conceptualizations of sexuality. One aspect

of the quantitative dominance of GAY and LESBIAN in the corpus which is explored in the analyses of text passages is the function of their use in attributed propositions and hypothetical scenarios.

The final chapter provides the answer to the overall research question in two sections, first focusing on linguistic and investigative means, communicative functions, and cognitive, semantic, social structures, and then on the individual labels investigated. Hence, the consequences of the findings for LBQ YA are discussed. Further, I explicate the implications of my project for research in CADS such as future studies of category labels in (YA) literature from a queer perspective. Last, but definitely not least, I highlight the importance of investigating literature which presents characters who do not conform to contemporary norms of sexuality, gender and/or sex – the portrayal of diversity in media for young people down to linguistic structures is crucial and so is diversity in academic approaches to sexuality and to literary texts to produce complementary inquiries across disciplines.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Background

2.1 Introduction: Labelling, Social Identity and Categorization

In presenting the theoretical background to my investigation, the sections in this chapter move from the tenets I share with others, and which inform my interpretations, to the observations made in research so far which inform my methods. I focus on notions under the heading of Discourse Analysis of fictional narratives in section 2.2, under cognitive linguistics in section 2.3, and under corpus linguistics in section 2.4. I prepare the exposition of the linguistic phenomena pertinent to my investigation in the research design chapter by indicating how they are significant for cognition, in general, and reader comprehension, more narrowly. The goal in this is to hypothesize about the impact of the discursive structures surrounding social categorizations of sexuality manifest in novels on readers, that is, the consumers of the texts studied.

The central concern of this thesis is the portrayal of the relationship of individuals, in the form of characters in Young Adult fiction (YA), to sexual identity labels (SILs). I agree with Weeks (2011) that:

> The really important issue is not whether there is a biological or psychological propensity that distinguishes those who are

> sexually attracted to people of the same gender from those who are not. More fundamental are the meanings these propensities acquire, however or why ever they occur, the social categorizations that attempt to demarcate the boundaries of meanings, and their effect on collective attitudes and individual sense of self. (p. 191)

An individual's sexual identity is part of their social identity. Social identity "consists of those aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from social categories to which [they] perceives [them]self belonging" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 16). A sexual identity label evokes a social category.

Arguing that labelling has both negative and positive potentialities, that is it has the power to be either, depending on context, and drawing on clinical practice in psychology, Cross and Epting (2005) describe three possibilities in "claiming a homosexual identity" (p. 57): conflict with the adopted label which is associated with stigma, adoption of the label with its associated lifestyle, and fitting the label to oneself (not oneself to the label) through individual meaning-making. The novels analysed in this thesis provide their (young adult) readers with fictional explorations of these possibilities. I investigate the extent to which each label is portrayed in these possibilities, that is as linked to stigma, to a certain lifestyle, or in individual meaning-making – relative to each other as well as if at all.

In doing so, I tread on underexplored territory in the study of language and sexuality, whose advancement has been held back by controversy about which should be primary in the field – *identity* or *desire*. Among other suggestions for furthering the field Cameron and Kulick (2003) suggest that "identity categories […] deserve our scrutiny [as] social positionings that individuals claim, or avoid claiming, or are prevented from claiming" (p. 133). Disregarding such statements in their publications, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) contend that Cameron and Kulick advocate "that language-and-sexuality scholars should 'move beyond identity' and turn their energies instead to the notion of 'desire'" (p. 174). To this Kulick (2005) replies that "the point of raising the issue of desire in the first place […] was not to extinguish all enquiry into identity, but, rather to complicate it" (p. 618) in the face of the previously dominant approach in which "the study of language and sexuality has been treated by most researchers as co-extensive with the study of the linguistic behaviour of people who self-consciously define themselves in terms of sexual identity categories – prototypically, gay men and lesbians" (p. 616). To inquire into the (fictional) representation of the discursive processes involved in claiming an identity, being prevented from claiming an identity, or negotiating the assignment of an identity, is one way in which to complicate enquiry into identity.

Relatedly, instead of either *desire* or *identity*, Motschenbacher (2014) "takes the central role of *normativity* in the discursive construction of gender and sexuality documented by earlier research *as a starting point* and argues that normativity represents a useful analytical tool for studies on the relationship between language and sexuality within sociolinguistics and critical discourse studies" (p. 51, emphasis added). Crucially, he points towards a hierarchical continuum of sexual (non-)normativity "ranging from powerful, dominant sexual discourses (such as heteronormativity) to marginalised or even silenced sexual discourses, which manifest themselves in (linguistic) practices more rarely (if ever)" (ibid., p. 53). Just like other discursive structures, normativities and their hierarchichal relationships are subject to change: "when certain (originally non-normative) sexualities are enacted as locally valid norms, they are likely to become part of what is perceived as 'normal' on the social macro-level" (ibid., p. 54).

Motschenbacher continues that "it could be argued that this is currently happening to gay and lesbian sexualities in many Western Cultures" (ibid.). In this context it is relevant that norms "are perceived as pertaining to a social group, and the adherence to norms as a means of avoiding social sanctions" but that at the same time they "represent an important means of individuals' self-validation" (ibid., p. 52). Hence, the gay and lesbian rights movements of the 1970s can be seen as having given people who adhere to their norms a

space for self-validation in the way these groups "communicate[d] about sexuality" (ibid., p. 54) thereby achieving recognition as "intelligible" while constructing their own normativity, "critically targeted" by Queer Linguistics as "homonormativity" (ibid., p. 53). Thus, group norms have positive and negative potentialities, like labelling, which may be employed in their enforcement.

By investigating the usage patterns and meanings of SILs in LBQ1YA, I take a critical look at how this literature portrays characters claiming, avoiding claiming, or being prevented from claiming certain sexual identities, and at which normativities and hierarchies underly this. In his 2014 article Motschenbacher documents how objectophile callers to a radio and TV phone-in show orient to what I would call mono-normativity, the aspects of the conservative heteronormative ideal also aligned with in recent gay and lesbian activism for same-sex marriage, namely faithfulness to and a stable relationship with a single partner for life. This overarching normativity suppresses other sexualities such as polyamory and bisexuality. The latter is at times mistaken for the former indicating a lack of discursive recognition that one can have a stable monogamous relationship at the same time as having fantasies involving partners of differing sex/gender to the real life partner, if the couple agrees that both are faithful as long as they do not act on such desires behind the other's back. The extent to which linguistic practices which

render sexual attractions non-exclusive to one sex (un)intelligible as identities are (re)presented in LBQ1YA can be mapped by my corpus-assisted study of SILs.

Thus, my study can identify some, though not all, parts of the corpus which may be seen as "queer discourse" in the sense of "instances of discourse that subvert hegemonic [powerful, dominant] notions of gender and sexuality" (Koller, 2015, p. 257). In other words, (hetero)normative ideals may be manifest in the (stigmatising) use of labels denoting (same-sex) sexuality, while individual meaning-making may be (re)presented in explicating the fit (or otherwise) of a label to oneself (contestation of normative forces of labelling). Meanwhile, the focus on SILs means that alternative conceptualizations of sexuality not expressed by or in the textual vicinity of identity labels, go under the radar of this Queer corpus-assisted Discourse Study (Queer CADS). That is, it is a Queer Discourse Study (QDS) of YA featuring female same-sex attraction (FSSA) in the sense of aiming to describe the prevalent normativities in this body of texts, not in the sense of providing a comprehensive study of queer discourse within this literature. This is an implication of its methodology which bears on theory; conversely, this chapter on its theoretical background furthermore discusses implications of theory for methodology and interpretation of results. Besides, in order to elucidate certain phenomena in the data, I draw on various fields of linguistics but

research on each does not have to be engaged with comprehensively (e.g. the internal debates of a field) in order to describe the function of a linguistic phenomenon (e.g. metaphor) as far as relevant to the inquiry of this thesis.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis and Fictional Narratives

Fictional narratives are part of the ever-ongoing dialectical process between language and society. In other words, I see the texts I study as instances of "language as a means of social construction: language both *shapes* and is *shaped by* society" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 4). In drawing on CDA practitioners' work, though, some notions need to be adjusted for analysing fictional narratives, as their descriptions are written for the kind of texts that are typically analysed by them ("news texts, political speeches, advertisements, school books, etc."; ibid., p. 5). Lischinsky (2018b) argues that Discourse Studies', and even CADS', "bias towards the factual and the official," or "public," has meant that "fictional genres have rarely been accorded a space commensurate with their cultural salience" (p. 63). Crucially, "aspects of social life" (ibid., p. 64) which are "surrounded by privacy, stigma and taboo" such as "romantic love or sexual passion are not only experienced first, but also more frequently and with greater variety in fiction than in real life" (ibid., p. 65) and the knowledge and beliefs gained from these experiences appears not to be distinguished in people's cognitive processes

(see, for instance, ibid., p. 64). That is, early consumption of fiction may prime individuals' cognition for seeing the world, and in particular sexuality, in a certain way, which influences their later processing of both real and fictional situations.

However, according to Lischinsky, there are "three important features that make it difficult to draw inferences about real-world discourse practices from fictional materials":

1. the indirect and unusual nature of literary meaning-making;
2. the multiplicity of levels and voices in fiction; and
3. the temporal, local and even ontological dislocation that fiction allows. (ibid., p. 66)

The first point concerns literariness, which has the following two aspects: deviation in expression and indicating the text's "constructed nature" (ibid.). Foregrounding by means of "the calculated use of expressions that deviate from conventional linguistic and discursive expectations" is "hardly limited to literature" and thus has been subjected to research overlapping stylistics and CDA (ibid.). Texts which foreground their own constructed nature have been shunned by those interested in the (re)production of discursive structures. However, especially the latter aspect of literariness is not so relevant to my data; LBQ1YA varies in literariness but can largely be considered on the lower end of the scale to being non-literary fiction.

First-person narratives are also least complex to analyse as regards the second feature of fictional material, namely polyphony or the presentation of multiple points of view. However, when doing CADS on fiction the multiple layers of the narrative need to be thoroughly engaged with in the methodology in order to account for variation within texts, which "must be taken as the default" in fiction in contrast to other genres CADS works on (ibid., p. 67). Approaches drawn on to do so are presented in 2.2.3. In that final sub-section of this section, I also detail how contemporary realism such as that of LBQ1YA is defined by only minimal dislocation of the fictional from the real world in contrast to the affordances of fantastic stories (see also section 3.3.2).

In sub-section 2.2.1 I elucidate further aspects of the disciplinary and generic divisions, or otherwise, introduced above. That is, I detail differences and similarities in linguistic structures between the real world and contemporary first-person narratives as well as in object of inquiry between CDA and stylistics. Among the notions discussed as relevant to my investigation is *context*. The four levels thereof described in Discourse Studies are further differentiated for my Q/CDA of the novels in LBQ1YA.

Sub-section 2.2.2 begins with a re-convergence of literary criticism and CDA (as well as Queer CADS) in the ideas of ideology, hegemony (or dominance) and erasure (or suppression). Furthermore, I discuss which uses

of *discourse* as a count noun are pertinent to my research. Last, notions attending linguistic choice are addressed in their relation to the investigation of category labels in this thesis.

This section's final sub-section concerns how lexico-grammatical structures evoke the socio-cognitive structures familiar to its readers, who are dependent on them for comprehension. I thereby introduce the two parts in the investigation of the discursive structures (re)produced in contemporary fiction in 2.2.3. They are detailed in 2.3.1 and 2.3.2, respectively. My focus in this section is on the distances, or otherwise, cued in first-person narratives between the reader and voices in the text.

2.2.1 Analysing narrative contexts

This sub-section first contends that published fictional narratives are texts in the sense of appropriate subjects for CDA, that is "a form of social action" (Koller, 2008, p. 11) and instances of naturally-occurring language. Then I discuss how linguistic character interaction presented in novels relates to everyday communicative interaction such as that studied in Conversation Analysis. The final paragraphs explicate what the four levels of context Wodak describes mean in investigating novels.

Discursive structures are shared at least to some extent between the language of fictional narratives and the world the contemporary reader lives

in. However, in analysing fictional texts one needs to take account of certain affordances of these texts. Aspects of this I discuss in this sub-section include the combination of fictional and real entities in text worlds, and the scriptedness of the character interaction and insights into characters' minds, as these are under authorial control.

I share CDA's aim of critiquing discursive structures, in particular regarding language and sexuality from a queer perspective (QDS). However, given the data I investigate, I use the terminologies of stylistic descriptions for certain phenomena. Stylistic and Critical Discourse Studies both use linguistic frameworks, which in some cases are informed by cognitive linguistics and/or employ corpus linguistic methods. However, most of the former endeavour to make observations about language using literary examples and/or literature's language use (in particular the *style* of specific authors or texts, see Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, p. 10; and such edited volumes as Lambrou & Stockwell, 2007/2010; and McIntyre & Busse, 2010). On the other hand, CDA's aim is only engaged in by some who see their research as stylistic (an example is Page, 2010, a paper on and in Feminist Stylistics). As Lischinsky (2018b) puts it, "questions of social function and impact remain marginal" in literary stylistics (p. 65). The combination of data investigated and Queer CADS in my thesis is, I believe, unique.

Like stylistics, also known as *literary linguistics*, this thesis provides "insights into the structures and functions of language in use" (Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, p. 3). However, my investigative focus is that of CDA, in that I am interested in "the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 4). In short, this thesis investigates the usage patterns and meanings of SILs, (re)produced by contemporary YA novels, as instantiations of the discursive structures which (re)produce the conceptualization of sexual identity in the social environment portrayed in YA novels as that of their target readership.

Literature, though, is not recognized by some scholars within Discourse Studies as appropriate data, due to the fact that an author invents the narrative and characters' language use. The apparent origin of this disregard is that Discourse Studies has risen out of distancing itself from the previously established linguistic disciplines by defining its object of study as "'*naturally occurring' language use* by real language users (instead of a study of abstract language systems and invented examples)" (Wodak, 2008, p. 3). The attribute *naturally occurring* is seen by some to exclude fictional narratives and the conversations presented therein, but is generally employed in definitions to exclude language data elicited for research purposes. This applies particularly to experimental set-ups, whereas focus group discussions and interviews are often included within the scope of Discourse Analysis (a case in point is the

edited volume, Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2008). Fiction is not produced for the purposes of experiments or research and I contend that, rather than considering novels as invented examples, they are *a form of social action* which through the medium of language both *shape* and are *shaped by* society.

One aspect of this is that, in reading a novel, we employ largely the same interpretative capacities as in processing any other instance of language use, especially our knowledge of the meanings of words in context, which is gained cumulatively in instances of language use. However, as it is scripted by an author, dialogue in novels does not provide many of the cues used for assessing communicative interactions witnessed in real life and instead interpretation is guided by the author's inclusion of certain features in the narrative (hence, Conversation Analysis cannot be straightforwardly used in investigating novels). Culpeper (2009b) discusses how we tend to attribute behaviour to a character's as well as a person's disposition rather than the context in which they act, unless it is the character through whose mind's eye we experience the context or in real life our own behaviour (see section 4 and in particular p. 147). Whereas Culpeper is concerned with characterization, that is the features attributed to a character's disposition, I am concerned with the context, including contemporary discursive structures, which influences characters' behaviour, including linguistic choices. The inferences narrators and characters are portrayed to draw from characters' communicative

interactions may come to guide readers in their understanding of everyday dialogue and accompanying social interaction.

I now explore the four levels of context, which according to Wodak are to be taken account of in a Discourse Analysis, in their application to my Q/CDA of novels. These are

1. the immediate, language or text internal co-text;
2. the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses;
3. the extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific *context of situation* ([…]);
4. the broader socio-political and historical contexts, [in] which the discursive practices are embedded and [to which they are] related. (Wodak, 2008, p. 13)

The text worlds of contemporary realism, that is the society in which the characters are portrayed to live, broadly share fourth level contexts with their authors and readers. I return to the stylistic notion of *text world* towards the end of this section. General trends concerning access to and production of LGBTIQ YA are presented in 3.3.1 and 3.3.2, respectively.

The *co-text* (first level) in a novel is the preceding and subsequent narrative as well as any communicative interactions between characters presented

therein. Regarding the latter, both narrative commentary and successive utterances by characters may be relevant co-text. The co-text is crucial to identifying mismatches between the linguistic cues and the force or effect of an utterance (see, for instance, Birner, 2013, pp. 186–191). However, in written fiction the analyst can only use that which is given by the author as co-textual evidence (see Thomas, 1995, pp. 201–202 and section 7.6 for corresponding co-textual evidence in spoken discourse in real life interactions). The important thing is to work with the affordances and constraints of the data, in this case first-person narratives. When these include such features as intonation and facial expressions of interlocutors they are generally interpretated as significant on some level. Moreover, such narratives may provide the reader with explicit statements of the intention of the character-narrator in making an utterance, but they do not do so in every instance.

Likewise, as concerns the *context of situation* (third level) within the text worlds the specifics of a communicative event between characters are to be taken into account. Consideration of specific situations of writing and/or reading a novel (see the notion of discourse world described below) are beyond the scope of this thesis. However, data on the authors of the texts in LBQ1YA is provided in Appendix A and a reader response study suggested in 8.4.2.

The second level may cut across the boundaries of fictional text worlds and the real world. Here, I explicate this based on what DA means by *intertextual and interdiscursive relationship*.

> *Intertextuality* […] refers to the fact that all texts are linked to other texts, both in the past and in the present. Such links can be established in different ways: through continued reference to a topic or main actors; through reference to the same events; or by transfer of main arguments from one text into the next. (Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2008, p. 205)

Thus, the characters and narrators in a novel may refer to texts, people and events in the real world of author and reader as well as to proverbs, governmental policies, myths, and so forth, without reference to particular texts (Semino, 2009, p. 66). *Interdiscursivity* is a closely related phenomenon; in fact, some definitions result in interdiscursivity being a form of intertextuality. Most pertinent to my investigation are the discursive structures shared between contemporary YA novels – between their text worlds – and between these and the real world of their target readership. This includes knowledge of such real world entities as celebrities in same-sex partnerships but also of elements in the conceptualizations of sexuality such as debates on whether sexual orientation is a matter of individual choice.

2.2.2 Language use: Discourse(s) and choice(s)

Ideas, like sexual orientation as chosen, whose manifestations can be traced in texts, are at times refered to as *discourses*. However, there are many uses of *discourse*. Below I first discuss one set of ways – dominance and suppression – in which discourses are described in relation to each other. Then I draw on Sunderland (2004) to cover ways of naming a discourse used in (linguistic) research. Finally for this sub-section, I discuss lexico-grammatical alternatives in ways of referring to people which are considered traces of discourses. In presenting the concepts described as *discourses* by others in this sub-section I reiterate their usage and indicate how they relate to my approach, rephrasing crucial notions for my investigation in its own terminology (see 1.4 above).

One use of *discourse* as a count noun is related to the notion of *ideology*. According to Sunderland (2004), "i*deology* can, in fact, be seen as the cultural materialist antecedent of the post-structuralist use of discourse […,] a 'way of seeing the world' (where 'seeing' may extend beyond the receptive to actively 'thinking about')" (pp. 6 and 28). Hence, Discourse Analysis of literary texts can be seen as continuing the tradition of literary criticism initiated by Marxism (see chapters 8 and 9 in Barry, 2002).

In this tradition an important notion related to ideology is *hegemony*, which is "an internalised form of social control which makes certain views seem 'natural' or invisible so that they hardly seem like views at all, just 'the way

things are'"(ibid.). Thus, we can speak of hegemonic discourses, that is, ways of seeing the world that in certain societies/contexts are not recognized as views but as 'the way things are' – common sense. Queer linguistics aims to deconstruct "commonsense assumptions [as they] align with normative practices and regulatory authority" which shape "discussion of sexuality" (Leap, 2015, p. 663). Thus, power is at work in normative discursive structures which have been described as hegemonic or "dominant", and as identifiable by the frequency of their manifest traces and/or by their unmarked presence, that is by default inferences (subconsciously) supplied by the hearer/reader (see section 2.4.2 below).

The opposite of *hegemony* is *discursive erasure*, which has been used in particular to describe the "exclusion or marginalization" of sexual minorities (Baker & Ellece, 2010, p. 40). Erasure can refer to

- the reduction of an identity group to the merely figural, meaning that such identities become unthinkable […]
- the ways that identities are made invisible or left unrecognisable by society (signified by their relative infrequency in language use) […]
- the nullification of an identity, rendering it impossible (Baker, 2008, p. 150)

In other words, discursive erasure is manifest as regards those identities which do not become intelligible in a text or corpus due to their incongruence with necessary and primed inferences and/or the absence (absolute or relative infrequency) of their traces – linguistic structures which would construct them. I return to this notion in the discussion of BISEXUAL in section 3.2.4, as bisexuality tends to be discursively erased, or suppressed, in a socio-cultural context in which 'binary sexual identity' is a hegemonic structure, that is discursively dominant.

Sunderland distinguishes *interpretive discourses* from *descriptive discourses* (for instance, 2004, p. 47). In naming the latter, *discourse* can be pre-modified by adjectives or nouns denoting topic, domain, context, and/or genre (e.g. literary erotic discourse). In contrast, some of the names of *interpretive discourses* indicate the analyst's evaluation of the discourse from a "particular standpoint" (ibid.) and this may be combined with naming a "substance" or "content" (e.g. a heteronormative discourse of teenage femininity, see ibid., pp. 47–49). Other "interpretive names refer not to substance, but to how one discourse relates to others [and/or] what it is seen to do" (ibid., p. 47). *Hegemonic discourse* is an example of this use/naming of *discourse*. Another discourse naming practice which relates to my investigation is the naming of a specific discourse by means of a phrase which states that this discourse conceptualizes X as Y, for example 'open bisexuals as covert homosexuals'

discourse (see ibid., p. 50 and Baker, 2008, pp. 148–149). Such ideas or beliefs I describe as elements of conceptualizations held or refuted by members of communities, and, more narrowly, as meaning elements that may be connoted by a sexual identity label and as schematic elements of its signified identity.

Sunderland (2004) summarises the various linguistic features she regards as traces which can be analysed to identify discourses on pages 31 to 32. As will be explored in sections 3.1 and 3.2.2, concerning SILs "lexical choices" (ibid., p. 32) are particularly relevant. The critical analysis of choices in language use is based in the fact that, rather than being "random, accidental alternatives", "differences in expression carry ideological distinctions (and thus differences in representation)" (Fowler, 1991, p. 4). A related concept from social psychology is *interpretative repertoire*, which Wodak and Krzyżanowski (2008) define as follows:

> The set of ways a speaker has of ways of explaining things, which they expect hearers to recognize; they may shift between repertoires in the course of an interaction. The same speaker may use more than one repertoire in different situations. (p. 205)

Thus, language users, including authors of fictional narratives, are constrained within the choices they have between linguistic expressions and they may or may not be aware of the implications of the choices they make consciously or unconsciously.

CDA frameworks have been developed to query the discursive representation of a social phenomenon. Among those accounting for linguistic choices van Leeuwen's (2008) has been particularly influential. These frameworks are designed to categorize types of reference. My inquiry concerns a particular linguistic realization of reference, namely SILs, and I categorize the referents to which this type is applied. To illustrate this difference in investigative angle, I reproduce the example Machin and Mayr (2012) give for the choice between "specification and genericisation".

> A man, Mazar Hussein, challenged police today.
>
> A Muslim man challenged police today. (p. 81)

Muslim is an identity label which refers to the individual who is construed as the agent in both these sentences. For Machin and Mayr this participant is genericised in the second sentence contrasting with the specification by means of the personal name in the first sentence. This is a legitimate distinction but not as part of annotational categories in investigating uses of identity labels – instances of identity labels are inherently genericizing in this sense but can be used to identify a specific (set of) person(s) like *a Muslim man* does above. What is crucial is that, whereas the name identifies the participant as an individual, the category label identifies him as a member of a category.

2.2.3 Presenting a world and points of view within it

In my discussion of *context* above I have touched upon the relationship between the fictional world and that of the reader. In this sub-section I discuss the interaction between discursive knowledge of the real world and the building of a mental representation of the fictional world by the reader. Furthermore, I am concerned with the deictic centre of this mental representation; that is, in first-person narratives we experience the text world from the vantage point of the character-narrator in speaker-now – we see it through their mind's eye. Their narratives can portray attitudinal distance or otherwise to viewpoints presented in various ways in sub-worlds, which may also be called distinct discourse spaces.

According to Werth (1999),

> the text world, as opposed to the discourse world in which the language event takes place, is the situation depicted by the discourse [...]. The text world depends even more than the discourse world on knowledge, though knowledge informs both (p. 87).

This includes knowledge about membership categorisations. That is, the *discourse world* is the situation of writing and reading a novel set within the discursive context Wodak alludes to in her second and fourth level. It applies

to novels that "in written discourse […] the discourse-world is typically split and the words of the written text form the main point of contact between participants" (Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, p. 222). A crucial consequence of the absence of other cues except the linguistic expressions in the text is that "a literary reader's discourse-world is centrally comprised of the personal and cultural knowledge" which they need to comprehend the text (ibid.).

That is, the reader draws upon their discursive knowledge to construe a text world, "the 'world' projected by a text, i.e. the sets of scenarios and type of reality that the text is about" (Semino, 2009, p. 33). Crucially, in doing so the reader assumes that the text world conforms to their "representation of [...] reality, and [makes] only the adjustments dictated by the text" (Ryan, 1991, p. 51). This is the reason why even the text worlds of fantasy usually conform to, for instance, the laws of physics we perceive in reality and when we read the word *sun*, we represent it as a yellow globe not a "green" one (Tolkien, 1939/1997, p. 140). Characters and their actions in fictional narratives are adjustments dictated by the text but (unlike such genres as historical realism, magical realism, fantasy, and science-fiction) contemporary realism makes no other departures from reality. Although an author's representation of reality may differ from that of the reader so that minimal adjustments are necessary, the socio-political and historical contexts are shared between discourse and text world in contemporary realism.

Another framework that considers mental representations cued by a text is Discourse Space Theory. I take from this that the relationships of a deictic centre within the world described in the text can be portrayed along a socio-spatial (we-here, they-there), a temporal (now, then) and an evaluative (right, wrong) axis (see Hart, 2014, pp. 164–166). This adds socio-political dimensions to spatio-temporal deixis and knowledge, which have traditionally been described in literary criticism's accounts of point of view.[7]

As regards the novels investigated in this thesis, the main deictic centre is the character-narrator and in construing the text world the reader is prompted to adopt her point of view. In other words, first-person narration "tends to push the reader into subject positions identical to those of the narrator" (Talbot, 1995, p. 30; see also Gillingham, 2017, p. 59). However, first-person narration, even if by one character throughout (see 4.1 for this feature of LBQ1YA), can feature sub(ordinated) deictic centres. In the next paragraph I discuss the possibility of a temporal split between the *I* of the character and the *I* of the narrator. Then, I address the portrayal of character deictic centres through speech, writing and thought presentation. In addition, distance from any of these deictic centres can be construed by modality and/or negation, which I discuss in 2.3.2. In these discussions I draw on observations made in

[7] Literary linguistics and literature studies are mostly concerned with the distinctions between kinds of focalisers, which are not of interest to my approach as only first-person narration is investigated (see Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, pp. 99–101 for a brief account of focalisation).

cognitive stylistics which do not share the post-structuralist use of discourse and the critical aim of analysis with Discourse Space Theory, but provide, for instance, descriptions of "distance" from the deictic centre of "mental spaces" (Dancygier & Vandelanotte, 2009).[8]

In first-person narratives *speaker-now*, "the moment in which the narrative is being told", and *story-now*, "when the narrative events occur", may or may not be distinct (Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, p. 165). That is, the story may be told from the perspective of the character-narrator as it is happening or the narrator may be looking back at what has happened to them – various combinations are also possible. For example, a novel in diary format is written within the text world by the character-narrator – with each day's entry the speaker-now shifts and the story-now is firstly the events of the day but may shift to (and back from) the thoughts the character-narrator has as they are writing. Compared to the character-narrator in the story-now, the narrator in the speaker-now may have a different view of the world – not just spatially and temporally, including knowledge of later events, but also in terms of ideological perspective and relationship to SILs.

Furthermore, the presentation of speech, thought and writing in the narratives can portray distinct deictic centres – voices in more literary terms.

[8] Dancygier and Vandelanotte use "discourse space" in a descriptive rather than an interpretative sense.

Several scales, categories and subtypes of discourse presentation have been proposed with variations on where boundaries are drawn (see, for instance, Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, pp. 97–99; and Semino & Short, 2004, pp. 30–31 and 49). What is of crucial import for this investigation is the extent to which the narrator yields the deictic centre or is present in mediating the discourse of a character, including their own earlier speech and writing. In direct discourse presentation the narrator (momentarily) yields the deictic centre to the character. In contrast, in indirect discourse and other narratorial reports of discourse instances as well as alleged thoughts of other characters, "the discourse appears to stem from a narrator or narratorial voice" (Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, p. 98). In other words, the deictic centre does not shift. In free indirect discourse, the subtype between direct and indirect forms in Semino and Short's corpus-based scales, the deictic shift is "partial" (Dancygier & Vandelanotte, 2009, p. 337).

Moreover, Dancygier and Vandelanotte describe another subtype between indirect and direct discourse, "'distancing indirect speech[/writing] or thought' (DIST), in which the speaker's deictic centre is held constant but a distinct discourse space is evoked" (ibid., p. 336). In the case of first-person narrative, the narrator holds the deictic centre but presents a character's speech, writing or thought as at a certain distance from themself along any or all axes of the discourse space model of Discourse Space Theory. In distancing

indirect discourse "the appropriation and echoing of another utterance allows all manner of current speaker's attitudes to be expressed, whether they be more associative or dissociative" (ibid., p. 343). Dancygier and Vandelanotte contend that this portrayal of attitudinal distance is shared with grammatical constructions such as conditionals and negation.

In this section I have outlined the theoretical underpinnings of a Q/CDA of fictional narratives. I have paid particular attention to the various levels of context and how the fictional characters, the fictional narrator, the real-world author and the real-world reader are interrelated through discursive structures. I return to the distinctions I have drawn here in the research design chapter; the same goes for those introduced in the following two sections of this chapter.

2.3 Cognitive Linguistics

This section builds on the previous one in focusing on the knowledge structures that are the basis for authors cueing text worlds in linguistic expressions and the reader comprehending these as well as for any text (spoken or written) to be produced and understood by an individual – real or fictional. In particular, I introduce the notion of *schemata* (2.3.1), a term used in cognitive stylistics to refer to such knowledge structures, in order to

operationalize how a sexual identity label evokes a social category. This brings me to an analytical framework in which grammatical and semantic structures (2.3.2) are seen to interact to produce meaning in context, as they are in cognitive linguistics.

More precisely, in cognitive linguistics, semantics and grammar are seen as matching each other in that both "lexicon and grammar" are seen as aspects of "an inventory of symbolic units" (Hawrrison, Nuttall, Stockwell, & Yuan, 2014, p. 4), that is, form-meaning pairings, or signs. Cognitive semantic studies focus on "conceptual structures and the processes involved in their construction, which together make up a model of meaning in terms of *conceptualization*" (ibid., p. 3). Echoing how Belsey (1980/2002) describes the function of the signifier (p. 118, quoted in 1.2 above), Radden and Dirven (2007) point out that "categorisation means drawing 'conceptual boundaries' and giving structure to an unstructured world around us" (p. 3). Furthermore, in cognitive grammar "a category is the conceptualisation of a collection of similar experiences that are meaningful and relevant to us, i.e. categories are formed for things that 'matter' in a community" (ibid.). Moreover, in cognitive linguistics, "linguistic forms, rather than encoding denotational information, are actually used to represent the world-knowledge of speakers" (Glynn & Sjölin, 2012, p. 88). Hence, context "is part of the meaning of the language event" (ibid.). Thus, categories are part of the socio-cognitive structures of a

language community, its shared social knowledge; certain linguistic phenomena in texts are indicative of these and thus discursive structures which are produced and received in that community, or context, can be described by investigating these instantiations and the overall usage patterns category labels manifest.

Central to my investigation is which aspects of experience are evoked in SIL-use. That is, a linguistic expression underspecifies its meaning which participants therefore infer from the context of its current and previous use. In other words, "iterability" is restricted "to the formal component of the linguistic sign, the signifier," and the "signified" is "not stable in its relation to the signifier and depends on context as well as its earlier uses" (Motschenbacher, 2010, p. 15). Furthermore, individual meanings may be partially at odds with shared ones, in particular, stereotypes. These are defined in social cognition as, "powerful cognitive structures […] that organise, simplify and structure our social world. They ignore individual differences when assigning an individual to a stereotypical group" (Pennington, 2000, ch. 5, section "the role of stereotypes", sub-section "stereotypes and expectations"). In this thesis on category labels I investigate context parameters which function in the discursive construction of sexual identity in LBQ YA first-person narratives (see 2.4.3, 4.3 and 5.1.3) as well as the negotiation by character(-narrator)s of (elements of) conceptualizations

shared by their language community, including stereotypes, evoked by SILs in relation to their own experience (see chapters 6 and 7).

2.3.1 Knowledge structures

As seen above, knowledge structures are referred to using different terms depending on theoretical approach and/or investigative focus. In addition, in naming knowledge structures we have similar issues as with discourse naming – the choice of a name is determined by the analyst's standpoint and selection of a category to focus on, that is, the analytical aim. This is due to the fact that socio-cognitive structures are networks – no item can be described in isolation but there are levels of categorization and nodes, as well as connections, evoked by specific lexical items. In the case of this thesis I focus on the level of sexual identity categories evoked by sexual identity labels and the superordinate level of categorizing sexuality in terms of sexual orientation.

This sub-section addresses the ways in which knowledge structures are said to be somewhat shared and somewhat open to negotiation as well as reproduced in, and reproducing through, texts (that is, language use). As well as *schema* (adapted for literary studies by Cook, 1994, drawing on Bartlett, 1932, a work in psychology), notions of *frames*, *socio-cognitive representations* and *idealized cognitive model* are cited here.

Generally,

> a *schema* (plural 'schemata') is a cognitive structure which provides information about our understanding of generic entities, events and situations, and in so doing helps to scaffold our mental understanding of the world. A schema (sometimes known as a 'frame,' 'script' or 'scenario') contains common default information […]. Authors stipulate only some elements, and readers easily comprehend […] texts by uniting these elements with their appropriate generic knowledge from schemata. These elements therefore provide cognitive support for the default inferences readers make when they process language (Emmott, Alexander, & Marszalek, 2014, p. 268).

In other words, schemata comprise a category's meaning elements shared within a language community. However, the mechanism described by Emmott et al. might fail – participants in a language event may misappropriate knowledge as well as linguistic items and/or draw idiosyncratic inferences.

In presenting a corpus study of FEMINISM, Baker and Koller (2011) describe concepts as *socio-cognitive representations* (SCRs). These

- are cognitive structures jointly acquired, held and presupposed by members of a group
- combine beliefs, values, norms, goals and emotions; give rise to attitudes and expectations
- provide a shared frame of reference and thus enable communication
- establish social identities and relationships
- stabilise through repeated activation
- are continually renegotiated in discourse, through intertextual chains (ibid., slide 4)

Thus, SCRs are a particular way of looking at the dynamics of discursive construction described in section 1.2, namely one particularly pertinent to terms which are social category labels (or are related to these). Relatedly, Baker and Koller state that a term, which they define as "a lexeme and its derivations in different word forms", "evokes/encodes a concept" and that "its usage in discourse influences the structure and content of the associated concept" (ibid., slide 3).

More broadly, the idea that SCRs are simultaneously negotiable and shared to some extent within a language community is something they have in common with not only some understandings of *discourses* but also with the notion of *idealized cognitive models* (ICMs, first proposed by Lakoff, 1987).

These cognitive models are termed *idealized* because their description bears "the caveat that not every individual shares all the facets of a single Cognitive Model" (Glynn, 2015, p. 97).

Knowledge structures evoked by a lexical item such as an identity label can also be described as *frames*. According to natural language semanticist Allan (2001), a *frame* is "the structure for information about a listeme that identifies its form and meaning [as well as] constrains its collocation with other listemes" (p. 257) and "identif[ies] the characteristic features, attributes and functions of a denotatum, and its characteristic interactions with things necessarily or typically associated with it" (p. 251). Similarly, Radden and Dirven (2007) describe a "conceptual frame" as a "coherent 'package of knowledge' that surrounds a category and is activated when we use or hear a word" (pp. 9–10). This *package of knowledge* includes a category's place within "larger groupings of categories" (ibid., p. 8). Culpeper (2001) also notes the ordering of knowledge in defining schemata as "higher-order cognitive structures" which "consist of particular configurations of variables or slots that may accept a range of concepts or sub-schemata" (pp. 63–64). His observations on *social schemata* are particularly relevant as they concern the description of a schema for a person evoked for instance when a person is referred to by means of a label.

Such schemata "contain links between social categories", which can be roughly grouped into "group membership", "social role" and "personal" (ibid., pp. 75–76). The *personal* group includes people's "preferences and interests", "habits", "traits" and "goals" (ibid., p. 75). *Social roles* include "kinship[,] occupational [and] relational roles"; furthermore, social role is often primary in how people assess other people, that is, role schemata often trigger other parts of the social schema for a person such as group membership (ibid., p. 76). *Appearance* values have also been observed to be primary in this way, particularly as regards assigning a value to a person for the *group membership* category 'sex'. An example of this is given by Culpeper regarding responses to a fictional character (ibid., p. 97) and McConnell-Ginet (2002/2011) addresses the primacy of "what is readily apparent" in "applying the terms *woman* and *man* to individuals" in the real world (p. 250). Thus, meaning elements which trigger assignment of an identity label to a person are prominently socially categorizing properties, rather than personality traits or ambitions of a person.

To illustrate the theoretical observations in this sub-section, I hypothesize about the schema for a 'lesbian' person. A lesbian is a female person – a member of the group women. Thus, the schema relates to the schema for 'woman'. On the other hand, a lesbian is a same-sex identified person and thus a member of the group that includes homosexual men. Both are

connections based on a categorical property specified by lesbian in opposition to 'heterosexual man', a 'lesbian' person is same-sex identified and female. In this way, higher level categorizations of identities are relevant knowledge structures as regards a 'lesbian' person. Part of the network is also knowledge relating to sexual relations including scenarios of finding a partner, preferences for certain sexual acts, desire or the lack thereof in a person for another person as well as kinship status and relational roles. Thus, one hypothetical model of a lesbian is as someone who associates with women and hates men, finding sexual partners at feminist meetings. This, though, is based on a certain political and historical context in which these schematic elements have been held, and characters in contemporary YA novels may therefore hold different models.

Schematic elements are subject to explicit and implicit contestation and transformation on the individual, the group and social-macro level. In some lesbian communities masculine presenting same-sex identified women and male-bodied trans women have been met with rejection as not properly 'lesbian'; hence masculine presentation and male physiology can be described as contested elements of the schema in these contexts. Transformation takes place cumulatively and dialectically between discourse instances and social processes. For instance, recently in the UK and the Republic of Ireland commited relationships of same-sex couples have been given legislative

recognition firstly as *civil partnerships* and then as *marriage*. The former differs both in linguistic expression and rights granted from the latter which had been reserved for other-sex couples. But through increased public debate (on the terminology as well as the content) legislators realized that the time had come to give equal recognition to same- and other-sex couples. Crucial to note here is that attitudes changed in enough people to bring about legislative change (in the Republic of Ireland through a referendum in which 60% were in favour of the constitutional amendment), but from the moment the new legislation was used no one could accurately infer that a woman saying that *she got married in Ireland* has a husband, not even those who were against equal recognition. More broadly, in the schema for 'lesbian', as in that for 'heterosexual woman', the slot for kinship status and relational role may now be filled by 'wife'.

I investigate both which meaning elements are considered categorizing properties for a person labelled by means of a SIL in fictional discourse and to whom or what that schema is applied, that is, who or what is labelled by means of a SIL. Crucially, in using a linguistic expression, such as a sexual identity label, a speaker (or author) relies on the hearer (or reader) to activate the schema which provides them with the relevant knowledge to construe worlds within a text populated with referents. These include non-specific

references to the members of a category as well as specific referents such as characters.

2.3.2 Lexico-grammatical structures

In this sub-section, I discuss the cognitive takes on some basic notions about the construction of phrases and clauses. The focus will be on how these linguistic phenomena shape and are shaped by conceptual structures. I also address the interrelation of discourse presentation layers and sub-worlds cued by modality and negation.

Formal grammar traditionally distinguishes primarily between verbs, adjectives, and nouns. In the next two paragraphs and the methodology (in particular, 4.3.1, which gives examples from my data), I show how for this investigation it is more useful to describe how labels function within phrase and clause structures. In doing so I broadly align with construction grammar, which designates the patterning of language based on usage in terms of *constructions* – linguistic forms beyond a single lexical unit which acquire meaning in the same way as lexical units. As part of that, this branch of cognitive linguistics shares an understanding of language comprehension with the accounts of frames/schemata in semantics.

Thus, various constructions at the level of noun phrases can be described in their conventional meaning. Without modification, the bare plural of a label

refers to the members of the "multiplex category" (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 135) it signifies. Premodifier adjectives may specify a sub-category and quantifiers (ibid., ch. 6) a subset of the whole set, that is, a number of the members of the category or sub-category. A difference Radden and Dirven note is that a noun evokes an "entrenched category [encapsulating] a bundle of […] features" whereas an adjective is a "property term" which "singles out one feature" (ibid., p. 146). Yet, premodifier adjectives can function as "restrictive adjectives" expressing a "categorising property" and even form compounds with nouns which express "fully lexicalised (sub)categories" (ibid.). Thus, *a gay man* (adjectival SIL) comes close to *a lesbian* (nominal SIL) on the "continuum ranging from fully entrenched categories to epithetical properties" (ibid., including table 7.2). On the other hand, by means of the adjective in a phrase such as *youthful lesbian* expressive information is conveyed about the referent identified by means of the head noun – *youthful* is an epithetical property (see ibid., p. 143), contrasting with the first adjective in *lesbian young people* , which specifies the set of young people referred to as those seen as members of the category 'lesbian'. In each of these cases the SIL functions to specify a social category associated with a schema. For my investigation it is hence less important to differentiate between nominal and adjectival usage than to detail the lexico-grammatical patterns which are meaningful for the discursive construction of sexuality as identity categories and the relative extent to which certain sexualities are rendered intelligible as

identities through certain usages of the labels denoting them. These usages include referencing collectives by means of (plural) noun phrases categorizing a group of people in which the label specifies the (sub)category, as either head noun or premodifier (adjective).

Noun phrases can be part of larger constructions with more or less conventionalized meanings. Those which are particularly relevant to my investigation are discussed in sub-sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3. This includes ways of combining clauses. Generally, subsequent clauses in a text are interpreted to be interrelated and there are various linguistic expressions dedicated to express particular relationships between them as well as default interpretations in the absence of such cues.

To illustrate, in being told a story in which (1) *I went to university* is followed by (2) *I came out as a bisexual* the reader/hearer construes a text world in which the narrator (referred to by means of the singular first-person pronoun) came out at university. That is, they assume a temporal order of the events described which mirrors the order of the clauses (see Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 53 on the *iconic principle of sequential order*). The narrator may, however, choose to express the reverse order by prefacing (1) with the conjunction *before*, or choose to express, for instance, a causal relationship by means of *because*. Crucially, when such category terms as SILs are concerned, the expression of a particular relationship may have particular implications

for the hearer/reader's schemata associated with the category. In the example, construing a causal relationship between going to university and coming out may reproduce the ideas of universities as liberal spaces and liberal spaces as enabling coming out because the hearer/reader draws upon their discursive knowledge to comprehend the causal relationship. Such ideas may also be evoked when the narrator chooses to set up (2) as a hypothetical or counterfactual scenario, as in *Even though I went to university, I did not come out* (see section 4.3.3 on hypothetical scenarios). In terms of construing a text world such constructions cue a sub-world; that is, the reader/hearer imagines a world in which the narrator came out but, whereas going to university becomes part of the main text world, coming out does not.

Sub-worlds which are particularly relevant to this investigation, because their relationship to the deictic centre within the discourse space is included in the cue for their construction, are modal-worlds. Gibbons and Whiteley (2018) list linguistic expressions commonly used to cue modal-worlds (see p. 206 below). Crucially, "modal auxiliaries can express more than one type of modality, [...] the context of their use is key in determining the type of modality expressed." (ibid., p. 111). Often, they cannot be completely disambiguated as the types of modality are not entirely distinct. This is also likely to be the reason that studies differ in the terms used for types and the number of types distinguished.

How the relationships cued are described depends on how many types of modality are distinguished. Radden and Dirven (2007) give the following as an overall definition, which indicates a basic split.

> Modality is an assessment of potentiality, depending either on the speaker's judgment of the reality status of a state of affairs (epistemic modality) or on the speaker's attitude towards the realisation of a desired or expected event (root modality). (p. 246)

Further types highlight relationships not included above as well as those that are mentioned. For instance, whether the state of affairs in a sub-world is portrayed as desired or not is also called *boulomaic* modality (for instance, Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, p. 111), while *deontic* modality can refer particularly to the portrayal of obligation to (not) actualize a proposed state of affairs (ibid., p. 110). Meanwhile, Palmer (1986/2001) distinguishes deontic modality as obligation or permission "emanating from an external source" (p. 9) from *dynamic* modality as "ability or willingness, which comes from the individual concerned" (p. 10). *Epistemic* modality generally refers to the extent of certainty in a judgment based on the speaker's knowledge, while *perception* modality can be used to highlight expression of evidence perceived by the speaker's senses (for instance, Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, p. 112). In Palmer (1986/2001) the latter would be a subtype of *evidential* modality which applies

when the language user "indicate[s] the evidence they have for [the proposition's] factual status" (p. 8).

As well as each cue having possibly several meanings for the relationship portrayed between a modal-world and the deictic centre within the discourse space, multiple sub-worlds can be nested within each other. For example, the deictic centre of an utterance can express that they desire someone else to perceive something, thereby doubly distancing that state-of-affairs from themself. Further layers can be added, though not infinitely as comprehension might be lost.

Nonetheless, negation always adds another sub-world as "the positive counterpart is imagined by readers in a negative text world" (Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, p. 239). That is, the negative text world is cued by a negated clause and the positive sub-world contains any sub-worlds subordinated clauses construe.

(a) I wish my mother heard that I came out as bisexual.

(b) I wish my mother had not heard that I came out as bisexual.

(c) I do not wish my mother heard that I came out as bisexual.

In the above, the coming out is construed in a sub-world distanced from the deictic centre of the desiring narrator. In (c) that narrator focuses the hearer/reader's attention onto the fact that she considers the sub-ordinated

scenarios undesirable, whereas in (b) the focus is on whether the mother has perceived the event of coming out. Whether the hearer/reader integrates the coming out into the main text world depends on whether in the co-text this event is assumed or asserted to have occurred in the main text world. Regarding modalized and negated assertions and their sub-ordinated propositions as part of the discourse space in this way evades the *projection problem* in accounts of presuppositions, namely, how to determine whether the presupposition of the subordinated clause, that a coming out took place, is negated by the negator in a higher-level clause or projects to the main proposition (see Birner, 2013, pp. 155–157, and Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 57 for such a suggestion of resolution using mental space theory).

In this section I have drawn on cognitive linguistics to provide the theoretical background to interpret the usage patterns of SILs and their implications for meaning construction. Only with co-text and knowing the situational context can a language recipient make sense of lexico-grammatical constructions. Furthermore, in order to mean a language expression needs to evoke knowledge structures from the language community of the person who receives the utterance in which it is used. This is how, socio-cognitive structures are reproduced.

Moreover, as patterns of language use are based on socio-cognitive structures in this way, these can be traced from lexico-grammatical structures

and contextual parameters. I do this in this thesis for the potential and core meaning elements within social schemata of SILs. Core meaning elements are categorizing properties shared in a community so that communication is facilitated. Further elements may be shared by some but not others in a language community. Any may be subconsciously evoked in discourse or consciously reflected upon. Meaning elements may be (re)negotiated in particular contexts (re)presented in my corpus or widely within the texts investigated.

2.4 Corpus Linguistics: Usage Patterns

2.4.1 Introduction: Relationships between corpus linguistics and construction grammar, cognitive semantics and Discourse Studies

In section 2.3, I have drawn upon cognitive linguistic approaches in order to integrate observations traditionally made within the disciplinary boundaries of grammar and semantics into a comprehensive account of meaning construction in texts, including fictional ones. I now turn towards corpus linguistics as a discipline which provides the tools for analysing large sets of texts by means of computer software which can process at once amounts of language data far beyond the capacities of the human mind.

Corpus linguistics is compatible with cognitive linguistics and, in particular, the investigation of constructions in the cognitive linguistic sense. As Zeschel puts it (in Arppe, Gilquin, Glynn, Hilpert, & Zeschel, 2010), "corpus-linguistic methodologies […] permit a data-driven identification of these routinised patterns [that is, constructions]" (p. 19). Furthermore, corpus linguistics enables a systematic and empirical approach in a way hardly possible in Discourse Analysis or literary studies that are not corpus-assisted. Nonetheless, corpus linguists combine the qualitative with the quantitative as well as the subjective and the objective, primarily in that they offer interpretations of quantitative patterns (for discussions of these aspects see, for instance, Glynn, 2014, pp. 12–16; Baker & McEnery, 2015, p. 2, which also provides a summary of the most established tools and their use; Mautner, 2015, pp. 155–156 for a list of the potentials of corpus linguistics for CDA; and for an example of a combinatory study, Baker & Levon, 2015).

In the remaining two sub-sections of this section, I briefly introduce the corpus linguistic notions which can be used to describe usage patterns. 2.4.2 deals with the import of quantitative analyses and of complementing these with looking at when in a text a search term occurs, its locations and co-texts. Sub-section 2.4.3 prepares the presentation in 4.3 of the annotation of context parameters, relating these to the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis which have been described in this and the previous chapter. Pilots on the corpus-

assisted analysis of usage patterns which indicate meaning construction in the domain of sexuality (DoS) in LBQ YA novels are presented in sub-section 4.2.1. Sub-section 4.2.2 details which corpus linguistic tools I have used in which ways.

2.4.2 Frequency-based analyses and plots

This sub-section outlines the different ways of representing how many times and where a linguistic expression occurs in a (set of) text(s) (i.e., a corpus). I address comparisons between frequencies, including the notion of *keywords* in corpus linguistics. This leads to an introduction to concordance plots, as this display is typically used to check whether a search string identified as key occurs in all parts of a text, or texts in a corpus, that is whether it is well-dispersed. Conversely, *collocation* and *collostructions* are notions that refer to the characteristic co-occurrences and lexico-grammatical structures of search terms. The primacy of the co-texts of the terms investigated is highlighted by reference to *concordances* – the assemblage of all instances of a (set of) linguistic form(s) in their co-text. On this the argument for the annotation of corpora is based, which is covered in the next sub-section.

In corpus-linguistic analysis, due to the affordances of computer software, we are restricted to studying linguistic phenomena that can be expressed as search strings (i.e. a certain sequence of characters or formal specification thereof), mainly word forms. However, according to Glynn (2014), "the true

object of study is the motivation for the use of the form, not the form itself," and this is studied indirectly, hence subjectively, by interpreting usage patterns (p. 13). In my view, such motivations include subconscious ones and the notions of discursive constaints and choices discussed above need to be applied to studying them. Furthermore, this investigation is interested in signs, that is the pairing of a form with meaning (a conceptualization) in a specified domain. Hence, results have to be filtered in order to exclude non-sexual senses from the quantitative analysis of SIL-usage patterns (see 4.2.4).

The most basic notion in corpus linguistics is that of the frequency of a word form. As well as the absolute frequency, we can calculate the normalized frequency of a form in a (set of) text(s). Corpus linguistics uses the term *token* to refer to an instance of a word form or lemma, all the forms of a lexeme, and *type* to refer to the latter as an analytical category. According to Stubbs (2002), "lemmatization looks simple, but in fact involves many decisions" such as which word forms to include if one investigates nouns, verbs and adjectives separately (p. 25; see also Stubbs, 1996, p. 172). I use small capitals to refer to the type/lemma and include the plural noun form of SILs as well as the singular form used adjectivally in this. Doing so enables comparisons to previous studies which do not differentiate search terms by word class (for instance, Baker, 2008, p. 147). Thus, we can talk about a corpus containing x tokens of GAY (i.e. *gay*, *gay's*, *gays* and *gays'*) – absolute frequency

– and of GAY occurring x times per billion, million, thousand or a hundred words in the corpus – normalized frequency.

Furthermore, we can compare normalized frequencies between texts or (sub)corpora as well as absolute frequencies between types in a corpus – relative frequency. The number of times a type occurs absolutely and relatively to others within a semantic field is significant in that it is an indication of the extent to which the traces of certain conceptualizations are manifest in a corpus. Relative frequency, or relative extent of representation, is illustrative of "how presences and absences are complementary in comparative work, the one implies the other, and in a sense, they are the same phenomena just seen from a different perspective" (Duguid & Partington, 2018, p. 44). An example would be token counts of lexical items from a semantic field seen from the perspective of one or another item within a single corpus or from the perspective of an earlier or later corpus respectively. In this, zero tokens are described as absolute absence of a word form or lemma, comparatively low counts as relatively infrequent items, and comparatively high numbers as relatively frequent items. This only provisionally maps onto silenced, marginalized, and hegemonic discursive structures, because we need to take into account "the somewhat paradoxical absence [or relative infrequency] of something because it is too obvious to mention and taken for granted" (ibid., p. 40), such as elements of heteronormative conceptualization

which are drawn on (rarely deliberately) in interpreting lexical items (including those marking non-normative sexual orientation), but are not linguistically instantiated and thereby have an unmarked presence (see also pp. 105–106 below).

Corpus linguists often test comparisons for statistical significance as they are dealing with corpora that are meant as a representative sample of a language variety so that they need to determine whether there are enough tokens of the type(s) under investigation in the corpus/corpora to make inductive claims about the whole population (the language variety). I will make claims about the population which has been collected only, that is, the corpus defined by absolute – not sampling criteria. Hence, I do not test differences in relative frequency for statistical significance. Moreover, if the corpus software returns the result that WORD A does not occur in X out of Y number of texts this is a precise measure of the extent to which this sign is absent in the population and an absolute claim can be made about its absence from certain texts.

As discussed above, absolute absence, as well as relative infrequency, of word forms and lemmas is part of inquiring into discursive erasure. Baker (2005) points out that when looking at the frequency of terms we need to make an effort to include what is absent (types with zero tokens in our corpus) in our interpretation (p. 35). According to him, "prior awareness or

intuition about what is possible in language should help to make us aware of such absences, and often comparison with a larger normative corpus will reveal what they are" (ibid.). Duguid and Partington (2018) expand on this drawing on a talk by Charlotte Taylor in 2012: Besides "using other corpora [to] provide a comparative element [and] internal or introspective inquiry" (p. 43), "ways in which expectations of presence may be generated in systematic and replicable ways" include comparison to "external data such as population statistics" (p. 39) or "previous research and metalinguistic data" (p. 43). Thus, we can talk about "'known' – or suspected, or 'searchable' – 'absence'" from a corpus investigated (ibid., p. 39) as well as "from a limited set of texts, including from a specific portion of a corpus" or from "a location" in the linguistic structures of the texts in the corpus (p. 40).

In this investigation I have drawn upon the literature review to determine which word forms should be included as search strings (see section 3.2.3 below). In presenting and interpreting the results I draw attention to the zero token counts, as well as the relative extent of representation, of the linguistic items searched for. This includes absolute absence and frequencies on the layers of word forms, lemmas, sexual orientations denoted, functions of the items and distance from the deictic centre, namely the character-narrator. Furthermore, I cross-examine these layers for the differences between texts within my corpus in order to inquire which discursive structures are

marginal, in that they are limited in their instantiations to a few texts or even a single one, and which ones are normative, in that a reader is likely to encounter them repeatedly.

Though also based on the comparison of relative frequencies, *keyword analysis* differs from the analyses above in that it can draw attention to "unknown absence" (ibid., p. 39) by comparing the frequencies of all words in the corpus investigated to their frequency in another. In other words, it is a corpus-driven approach, that is, word forms or types are not selected by the analyst, they emerge from the computer analysis. Hence, a keyword in the corpus linguistic sense is "a word that is statistically characteristic of a text or texts" (Culpeper, 2009a, p. 30).[9] This is also called *a positive keyword*, while *a negative keyword* is one which is underused (including absent) in the corpus investigated relative to its use in the reference corpus employed. These notions have been developed to work with pre-set tags for types of linguistic expressions, such as groups of semantic domains in WMatrix (Rayson, 2008). To ascertain whether any of the keywords, or key semantic domains, are indeed characteristic of the data set under investigation, rather than of a particular location or locations within it, *concordance plots*, also known as *dispersion plots*, are employed (Culpeper, 2009a, pp. 39–41). The reasons I do

[9] *Keyword* is also used in the social sciences and related disciplines such as Discourse Studies, as well as literary studies, to refer to words that are subjectively prominent in a culture, e.g. *feminism*.

not use keyword analysis in this thesis are given in 4.2.1 and its potential use in future research of LGBQ YA fiction is discussed in 8.4.3.

Plots are used with different aims in this thesis. In building the corpus (see 4.1.4) I saved each novel as a single file, hence for each a plot is generated by corpus software as a rectangular box in which vertical lines represent where in the text file tokens of the term(s) searched for occur. Corpus software available at the beginning of my doctoral studies was only able to display plots of one length for all texts in a corpus. For relatively long texts in my corpus, this resulted in a squashed representation of token frequency and in the inability to identify how many tokens are displayed by the vertical lines (see Figure 25). That is, these plots are able to show token dispersion (occurrences and blank spaces) but not density comparable between texts of varying length in a corpus, which is the visual basis of the identification of token-clusters.

Another notion that is based in frequency and statistical significance but within the corpus under investigation is *collocation*. A collocate of a word type is a word type that occurs relatively frequently within its immediate co-text, called the *span*. The largest span typically used is five words to either side of the word investigated (see, for instance, Bachmann, 2011, p. 87; Stubbs, 2002, p. 30) but no proof of the cognitive (in)validity of any span has been found. This is unfortunate for this investigation, as collocation analysis has the

potential to be indicative of conceptualizations and schemata. As Stubbs (1996) puts it in relation to ideologies, "the main concept is that words occur in characteristic *collocations*, which show the associations and connotations they have, and therefore the assumptions which they embody" (p. 172). Collocations represent the co-occurrence patterns of their node words and thus indicate their characteristic interaction with other terms in the discourse investigated.

Collocation has been extended to take into account grammar as well as lexis in the form of the notions of *colligation* (co-occurrence with word classes) and *collostructions* (based on the construction view of syntax and lexis) (see Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2003, pp. 209–210). Advanced statistical measures such as correspondence analysis have also been used to map associations of lexemes with usage features (for some of which the corpus needs to be previously manually annotated; see, for instance, Glynn, 2015). However, statistical tools bear the danger of over-, under-, and misinterpretation and this increases with the complexity of the calculations and the display of their results.

Baker, therefore, recommends always checking *concordances*, also known as KWIC-displays, or use them instead (personal communication). KWIC stands for *key word in context*, which relates to the use of concordances in exploring *keywords* and to the fact that they show the search string(s) in their co-text(s).

Moreover, for Discourse Analysis, as pointed out above, absolute absence and relative infrequency are of interpretative significance as indications of discursive erasure in corpora comprising a specified non-sampled population, to which statistical significance is not necessarily applicable. For low numbers of tokens complete concordances can be humanly analysed for usage patterns.

2.4.3 Annotation of corpora

For large numbers of tokens it becomes necessary to be able to automatically retrieve and quantify the features of usage instantiated in a data set to describe the patterns without the biases of human memory. Therefore I code the features relevant to my investigation for each occurrence of the search terms in the corpus concordance line by concordance line and based thereon generate the displays of the results. In this various filters are applied in counting and retrieving instances with certain usage features (see Chapter 4).

Corpus annotation is possible in the form of automatic tagging but only well-researched, frequent phenomena have had taggers developed for them and none are 100% accurate (see, for instance, Baker & McEnery, 2015, pp. 1–2; for an example of an assessment of an improvement to recognizing entities automatically see Finkel & Manning, 2009). Furthermore, pre-made taggers do not necessarily share the theoretical underpinnings of one's own investigation. Manual annotation, on the other hand, allows the analyst to compute patterns in usage features in a way that is tailored to the specific data

investigated and to the research aim. In this sub-section I provide only a few references to previous studies as the annotation is quite specific in terms of the domain elucidated (sexuality), and the functioning of category labels in fictional narratives.

Regarding the domain of sexuality, difficulties in the recognition of expressions which belong within it are caused by the taboos imposed on it, resulting in a continuous process of coining new indirect ways of referring to sexuality so that sexual meaning remains deniable. As regards SILs in particular, Motschenbacher (2018) illustrates a problem caused by the polysemy, i.e the literal and metaphorical uses, of the search term *straight* in collocation analysis. He identifies only three collocates for the sign which was intended to be investigated as "other sexually relevant categories do not surface in the top 30", that is, in the collocates he decided to look at for each search term (ibid., p. 162). Apparently his research design did not allow calculating collocates based only on the instances of DoS-usage. This could be enabled by tagging and using a search string which includes the DoS-tag as the node for which collocates are to be generated automatically. However, *straight* might have to be manually annotated for this feature.

Besides DoS filtering, I employed a cyclical process of pilot annotations to determine which analytical categories should be coded for in order to enable queries which would answer, or contribute to answering, the research

question. Categories used in this investigation should not be seen as universally recommended but as the divisions that work best for LBQ1YA given the extent to which each is instantiated in this corpus and relevant to the inquiry. To illustrate, I compare the annotation categories for referents used in Glynn's (2015) study of FEMININITY with those used in mine of cisgender female characters' relationship to SIL. Both studies aim at mapping underlying structures by coding certain parameters of the usage of a set of linguistic items.

Although I share some distinctions with Glynn (2015), what specific tags cover mostly differs. For instance, the focus on human sexuality means that having five categories for "inanimate" referents (ibid., p. 101) is unnecessarily cumbersome, instead only two are used for entities in the human world that are not animate (see 4.3.4).[10] On the other hand, Glynn encapsulated in his two categories for humans the generic-specific distinction (ibid.), which I also annotate for (see above and below).

Also like Glynn I account for "referent gender" (ibid., p. 102) with more than two categories. However, whereas for his correspondence analysis Glynn needs five tags in this parameter, I employ only three as the primary function of this annotation is to focus on uses of the search terms referring to cisgender

[10] Sunderland and McGlashan in their study of two-Mum and two-Dad families in children's picturebooks (2012) had to account for the portrayal of non-human animals but these do not occur in my data in conjunction with sexuality.

females, in contrast to cisgender male referents and referents who include persons of more than one gender or for whom sex and gender are not specified. LBQ1YA does not contain any trans* characters who identify with one of the SILs investigated or to whom any of these are applied. A study focusing on trans* representation and/or of a corpus featuring trans* persons, even as secondary characters, should have categories to capture the application of labels to this group in its diversity.

As regards context parameters, in particular *context of situation*, I focus on generalizable relations within the text world and communicative situation, for instance, the distinction between text world and discourse world as well as deictic categories such as speaker and addressee. In these pronouns are indications but these may also be ambiguous (see, for instance, Pereira de Sousa & Correia, 2014, for a stylistic study which disambiguates *one* and *you* as generic and specific referents). I also code the reality status of and in sub-worlds.

2.5 Summary of the Theoretical Background Chapter: Preparing a Corpus-Assisted Q/CDA of Category Labels and Socio-Cognitive Structures in Fictional Narratives

This chapter has elaborated on the Queer CADS approach to category labels in fictional narratives as informed by notions from queer linguistics, CDA, cognitive linguistics, and corpus linguistics. In the next chapter I give details from other research on the texts and signs investigated. Together these inform the methods of analysis and conclusions presented in the remainder of the thesis.

The theoretical framework attempts a synthesis of semantic, grammatical, literary linguistic and Discourse analytical concepts via cognitive takes on their overlaps. I regard linguistic choices as products and producers of ways of seeing the world, which may be more or less dominant structures in their socio-cultural context. The semantic field of SILs is therefore seen as an interpretative repertoire from which language users can choose and which they can choose not to use but their choice may cause difficulties in communication as they are constrained by the discursive practices of the cultural context.

In other words, schemata are a necessary basis for recognition of communicative content such as who is referred to by means of a label. Default inferences in processing language use indicate schematic elements – meaning

elements evoked by SILs as nodes in the web of knowledge structures. Thus, a SIL not only evokes a social category but also the conceptualization of sexuality as sex-of-object-choice categories – polar orientation. Furthermore, a SIL, if applied to a female referent or if it is a female-specific one, is part of the discursive construction of female sexuality.

The negotiation of meaning elements is situated within the hierarchy of discourse world, text world and sub-worlds. The most immediate layer is what I will refer to as the narratorial discourse situation – the communicative interaction of the character-narrator as narrator in speaker-now with herself and/or (to varying degrees, im- or explicitly) the reader. Various linguistic cues can construct distance from the deictic centre of this space including an array of sub-spaces/worlds. These include the story-now, thought attribution, indirect forms of speech and writing presentation and/or reports of language use, direct speech and writing presentation, modality, negation, conditionals and so forth.

This theoretical framework informs the methodology employed to inquire into discursive structures (as traceable in specific texts written for young adults) from a queer perspective. In order to comprehensively map the dominance of those structures which normatively (re)produce binary sexual identity I eclectically draw on corpus linguistic methods. In this chapter I have introduced manual annotation and the concepts of concordances, plots,

frequency, keywords and collocation. I have applied, developed, repurposed, and/or replaced these in order to describe the preferential trends in LBQ1YA in the usage of a set of SILs (established in contemporary Western Anglophone contexts) and how these connect to the elements of conceptualizations of female same-sex sexuality negotiated in the first-person narratives investigated.

Thus, by means of corpus software and close-text analysis (in order to take context modulations of linguistic expressions into account), the methodology enables charting the extent to which certain labels are portrayed as referring to communities with which cisgender female young adults can identify. This is based on recognizing and quantifying lexico-grammatical structures, in the cognitive linguistic sense of *constructions*, which categorize sexual attractions according to the sex/gender of the individuals involved and construct this categorization as the basis of sexual and social identity. I see this discursive construction as potentially either positive or negative – it offers self-validation, if one's self-image aligns with the elements of a social schema shared by one's environment, but can cause distress, if the way one is perceived (which may be expressed by labels) does not match one's self-experience.

A related aspect to take away from this chapter is that characters in novels are presented in a fictional world by an author but, at least in the case of

contemporary realism, this fictional world represents the society the readers live in and the author is subject to the discursive (socio-cognitive and lexico-grammatical) constraints of that shared society. Of particular relevance to my inquiry is that the social schemata that the use of words, in and outside of fiction, evoke depend on the readers' prior experience of the world they live in, including in the form of its (re)presentation in fiction. A reader may learn from fiction when it is considered appropriate to apply a label to a person including herself, particularly when the fictional self (re)presents a self such as the reader.

Chapter 3: Literature Review on Sexual Identity Labels and on LGBTQ Fiction for Young People

The first section of this chapter will provide an ouline of an historicized approach to the conceptualizations of sexuality. The next section covers observations on the usage and meanings of sexual identity labels (SILs). Section 3.3 describes patterns in publishing and criticism of fiction about sexuality for minors, in particular literature for teenagers with lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans*, intersex and queer content (LGBTIQ YA).

3.1 Socio-historical Developments and Sexual Identity Labels' Meaning and Usage Shifts

Discursive contexts are specific to time periods. Hence, it is crucial to a Queer Discourse Study (QDS) of the conceptualizations of sexuality evoked by sexual identity labels to trace in which contexts these labels have originated and how socio-historical contexts have established or destabilized their use as well as influenced their meaning elements. Furthermore, as sociologist Weeks (2011) puts it, "a historicized approach to sexuality opens the whole field to critical analysis and assessment" including questioning "the validity of the sexual identities (homosexual/heterosexual/bisexual, etc.) by which many

people have set so much store" (p. 199). That is, an account of socio-historical developments is fundamental to this inquiry.

Most socio-historical accounts note a fundamental change at the end of the 19th century from the definitions by legal codes of 'forbidden sexual acts' to the conceptualization by medical professionals of 'all-encompassing sexuality which remains stable over the lifetime of a person' – constructing 'the homosexual' (see, in particular, Foucault, 1976/1978, p. 43). Epstein (1987/1998), D'Emilio and Freedman (1988/1997), and Katz (1995/2007) deliver summaries of the stages in Europe and/or America since then until the end of the 20th century. Canaday (2014) provides a review of current scholarship on LGBT history exploring especially the bias towards accounts of gay male experience in contradistinction to the other facets of the LGBTQ community. The focus in the following account is on socio-cultural structures.

From the perspective of social constructionism, "the creation of the homosexual category was a form of social control designed to minoritize the experience, and protect and sustain social order and traditional sexual patterns" (Weeks, 2011, p. 191). This oppressive structure, however, resulted in those that the category constructed as members of a group organizing to revolt against the stigmatizing discursive and state practices. In June 1969, the Stonewall Riots took place in New York City. Though initially a resistance struggle against a police raid on the Stonewall Inn, which catered to the LGBT

community, they are now seen as the launch of the modern gay rights movement (see, for instance, Sedgwick, 1990/2008, p. 14). This activism, though, further stabilized the categorization of sexual minorities. According to Weeks (2011),

> despite its initial enthusiasm for ending the distinction between homosexuality and heterosexuality, the most immediate impact of the new movement was to consolidate a sense of sexual identity built around a fixed orientation. Many believed clearly that homosexuality was intrinsic to their sense of self and social identity, essential to their nature. (p. 191)

More recently, in conjunction with the rise of Queer Theory in academia, more fluid accounts of sexuality have emerged in ethnographic and text-based research; these challenge, in particular, binary distinctions centring on re-conceptualizing 'bisexuality' (see, for instance, Hall & Pramaggiore, 1996, in particular p. 7; and Parker, Adams, & Phillips, 2007).

These fluid conceptualizations correspond with the rejection of established sexual identity labels. Motschenbacher and Stegu (2013) note that "[SILs] construct people's identities as clear-cut and enforce an either/or choice" (p. 526). This is because these labels are inextricably linked with the modern Western categorization of sexual orientation in which the primary "criterion for differentiation" (Murphy, 1997, p. 44) is "the [sex/]gender of the object

choice" (Sedgwick, 1990/2008, p. 8) and in which sex/gender is dichotomized (for instance, Rust, 2002, p. 196). Relatedly, Cameron and Kulick (2003) state that "the classification of sexual desires, practices and identities does two things simultaneously: it produces categories and it labels them, gives them names" (p. 24). As seen in the previous chapter, the usage patterns and meanings of SILs are inextricably linked as linguistic indications of socio-cultural structures and social schemata.

Cameron and Kulick further discuss the "power struggles carried on at the symbolic level" (ibid., p. 26) regarding the usage and meanings of these labels and the differences between particular ones, for instance, *homosexual* and *gay*.

> Although [they] have the same referential meaning – they identify the same group of people – their meanings in actual usage are not identical. The selection of one or the other can signify the difference between conceptualizing homosexuality as deviance or sickness, and conceptualizing it in other more positive ways. (ibid.)

Similarly, Baker (2008) discerns that "*gay* and *homosexual* are not synonyms, but represent very different ways of constructing same-sex desire", based on examining their collocates in the British National Corpus (p. 28, note 7). These observations indicate that which SILs are used is relevant to which schematic/ meaning elements are potentially evoked. Also, this section has shown that

these differences are due to socio-historical developments, that is, *homosexual* was at first a medical category and *gay* a call against discrimination.

3.2 Linguistic Expressions used as Category Labels for Sexual Orientation

This section draws together observations made about linguistic expressions used as category labels for sexual orientation. This serves as a foundation for the investigation of the usage patterns and meanings of SILs in contemporary YA novels in this thesis. Unfortunately, relatively little research describes the SILs of the Anglophonic first world linguistically and existing studies do not form a coherent field. There are papers about one aspect of a (set of) SIL(s) and aside mentions in papers and books about linguistic phenomena, but there are hardly any substantial descriptions of their functioning in language use. Furthermore, the terminology used is not consistent. In particular, the set I refer to as *sexual identity labels* is also referred to as *sexual labels*, that is without the middle element in the phrase, or with a different one as in the quite commonly used phrases *sexual category labels* and *sexual orientation labels*. Moreover, researchers vary in which labels they include in their discussions. Additionally, the extent and concerns of academic coverage differ from label to label.

In section 3.2.3, I explicate how I arrived at the search terms for my inquiry, that is, the word forms concordanced by means of corpus software, based on reviewing the literature on SILs. The following sub-section focuses on each of the SILs included in this investigation in turn. In these summaries of the observations in the available academic literature, I include accounts which are mainly based on the sexuality scholars' own experience of the discursive structures and labelling practices in the socio-cultural contexts they have lived in as members of LGBQ communities, due to the scarcity of studies. One source of these descriptions are the notes on the terminology used in a paper or monograph, as LGBQ and allied scholars are sensitive to the potential for these terms to cause offence in their readers and justify which terms they use and with which referential meaning. Empirical studies, on the other hand, tend to compare the usage of several SILs to each other. These are mainly drawn on in section 3.2.2 on SILs as a semantic field and in the first sub-section below, which presents the available contemporary studies, one from linguistics and some from psychology and sociology, which have used interviews and questionnaire surveys focused on SILs. Section 3.2.5 summarizes the observed use and meanings of SILs in contemporary Western Anglophone contexts.

3.2.1 Surveys and interviews on SILs

There are several questionnaire studies by psychologists who sought to empirically investigate clinical and developmental psychologist Savin-Williams's (2005) claim that gay, lesbian and bisexual identities are becoming meaningless to teenagers (see, for instance, Glover, Galliher, & Lamere, 2009; McInroy & Craig, 2012; and Russell et al., 2009). They found that the majority of contemporary youths do self-identify with traditional SILs, meaning primarily *gay*, *lesbian*, *bisexual* and/or *straight*. Although the populations studied and proportions of totals reported differ somewhat, it is notable from their figures that about thirty percent of participants identify in their questionnaire answers as *bisexual* and, for instance, in Russell et al.'s study the proportion of *bisexual*-identified youths was higher than that of *gay/lesbian*-identified ones. Therefore, I regard it as relevant to study these established labels in fiction written for contemporary young adults and representing the world they live in to see whether the proportions of characters portrayed to identify with these labels is similar.

Moving on towards sociology, some interview studies address the labels as lexical items. Coleman-Fountain (2014) found in his study with youths that the participants tended to see *sexual labels* as something they use to define their sexuality, in particular their sexual attractions. Conversely, these young adults tended to reject the meanings they experienced their peers to be

entertaining for these labels as these meanings went beyond sexuality, for example, into gender performance. Thus, it is worthwhile considering which meanings are potentially evoked when labels for sexual identity are used in fiction and how this is negotiated in these stories as models for such youths.

Based on her adult interviewee's responses, sociologist Rust (1996) describes "six general types of change that can lead to individual identity change" (p. 67). Her third type (pp. 71–74) concerns the availability of lexical items for self-description. That is, depending on the social context an individual inhabits at any particular time and on their relationship to the meanings labels have in that context, they experience certain labels as available or unavailable to them.[11] As meanings change in a context or as an individual moves into a different context, some labels may become available and others unavailable to them – the individual may appear to change their identity, though it may be just the label they use for self-description which changes. Hence, one aspect of how SILs are used in YA fiction which may be investigated is which motivations for changes in self-labelling to oneself, to others, and depending on the group one is with are portrayed.

[11] *Context* in this and other ethnographic studies refers to local socio-cultural context, not so much in the sense of space as in that of participants. It is more akin to the notion of *community of practice* than any particular one of Wodak's levels listed above. As defined by McConnell-Ginet and Eckert (1992/2011),

> a community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavours. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of members' joint activity around that endeavour. (p. 100)

That is, these are contexts with specific discursive practices.

Linguist Murphy (1997, p. 49) presents questionnaire results for the application of labels to oneself by women who have experienced same-sex attraction (see ibid. and pp. 41–43 on her methodology). Problematically, from my perspective, she splits these women into two groups, namely "bi female" and "lesbian" (ibid., p. 42). *Queer* is the label that most "bi female" respondents apply to themselves, closely followed by *dyke*, *bisexual* and *bi*. For "lesbian" respondents the most popular label is *lesbian*, closely followed by *dyke* and *gay*. For all of these items, at least three quarters of respondents in the respective group said they apply the label to themselves; thus, the majority apply more than one label to themselves. This thesis will show the order of preferences by the character-narrators in using various labels for themselves or the extent to which they favour one label over others in labelling themselves to themselves.

3.2.2 SILs as a semantic field

SILs can be seen as a "set of lexical items" (Zwicky, 1997, p. 25), which comprise a semantic field (see Murphy, 1997, p. 44).

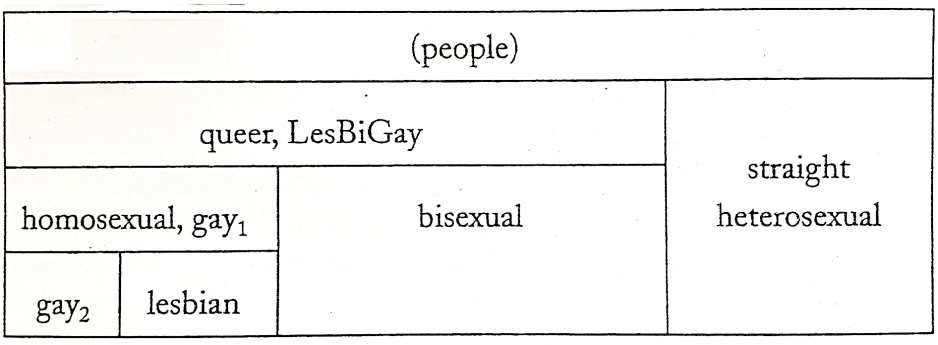

Figure 2 A simplified representation of the semantic field for sexual identity labels (Murphy, 1997, p. 45)

The relations of antonymity (contrary meaning) and hyponymy/hyperonymity (subordinate/superordinate category meaning) within a semantic field are shaped by and shape the knowledge structures – categorization and schemata – evoked by its lexical items (see Allan, 2001, pp. 258–259; Murphy, 1997, p. 44; and Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 8). This means that newly-coined labels which fit into these structures are more easily established than those that do not. Murphy (1997), for instance, discusses *monosexual*, an antonym of *bisexual* which has not gained common usage – "it does not observe the highest level of contrast" of the semantic field in Figure 2, namely "exclusively other-sex orientation versus same-sex orientation" (pp. 45–46). On the other hand, Murphy suggests, *byke* denoting "only women with either-sex orientation" may be added to the field without changing its structure (ibid., p. 45). This is because the categorical distinction between the sexes is already part of the associated schemata and manifest in the field in the form of *gay* and *lesbian* as antonyms of each other and hyponyms of *homosexual*. Another version of this label, *bi-dyke*, attested in Ault (1996, p. 45), makes more explicit how this hyponym draws on the established categories of not-exclusively-other-sex oriented people (see the discussion of DYKE in section 3.2.4).

However, in this contemporary structuring of the semantic field even bisexuality is under discursive pressure by what Baker (2008) calls the *erasure of bisexuality* and the *exaggerating of binaries* in discourse (pp. 145–152). That is,

the definition of same-sex orientation in contradistinction to other-sex orientation is the governing antonymity in the field. This manifests itself in the varying extents of usage of the SILs which denote these orientations. Drawing on corpus data Baker shows, for instance, that "words relating to heterosexuality occur less often" than those relating to homosexuality but "those which refer to bisexuality" are less frequent "collectively" than either of the other two sets (ibid., p. 148). Motschenbacher (2018) finds the same pattern in the COCA: 10,543 tokens of *homosexual**, 4,221 of *heterosexual** and 2,227 of *bisexual** (p. 152).[12] An explanation for the relative absence of words relating to heterosexuality is its "unmarked presence" (Weeks, 2011, p. 79), that is, people often talk about things that apply only to heterosexual people without marking this by using a term which specifies this sub-category. On the other hand, "same-sex sexualities as the marked cases are more likely to be explicitly oriented to in communication" (Motschenbacher, 2018, p. 152). For instance, one could say that *homosexual couples can marry now, too* which evokes that heterosexual couples used to be the only ones able to marry but only same-sex couples are specified by a lexical item denoting them. The observation that terms for bisexuality have the lowest frequencies may be due to either-sex-attracted people using other labels to identify themselves than BISEXUAL or variants thereof searched for by Motschenbacher and Baker. Ault

[12] Using the asterisk in this way finds all words that begin with the specified characters followed by any number of other characters including none.

(1996), for instance, reports the use of not specifically either-sex designating labels in order to reside comfortable within one's social circles.

> Some women in this study denied features of bi identity in order to reside comfortably in heterosexually oriented families, but the majority use assimilation to reduce the social distance between lesbians and bisexuals. In addition to simply allowing themselves to be 'read as' lesbian within the codes of the dominant sexual discourse, these bi women use labeling strategies to demonstrate their affinity with those marked, in ascending categorical breadth, by the terms 'lesbian,' 'dyke,' and 'queer.' (p. 455)

My investigation will show whether the relative frequencies of SILs and other usage patterns in LBQ YA fiction also reflect these observations.

3.2.3 Set of SILs investigated in this study in relation to others

In the choice of which lexical items I investigate in my thesis I drew primarily on Murphy (1997, p. 49) and Baker (2008, p. 147). The core set of SILs for my thesis is as follows: *lesbian*, *gay*, *dyke*, *queer*, *bisexual*, *homosexual*, *heterosexual* and *straight*. *Queer* and *dyke* are not included in Baker's sets but are in Murphy's questionnaire results (as discussed above). They are also discussed elsewhere in the literature and relevant to my data (see, for instance, Ault, 1996, p. 455). I also include, as does Baker, the shortened forms *bi*, *homo* and

hetero. These truncations of *bisexual*, *homosexual* and *heterosexual* are attested as early as Stanley's questionnaire study published in 1970 (see p. 54). Other variant forms of the set listed are included in as far as they are forms which indicate a change in register (more colloquial) rather than a change in meaning and contribute significantly to the number of instances of the label in the corpus (i.e. not occasional new formations). An example of this is *lesbo* from *lesbian*. These are not explicitly discussed in the academic literature but as derivatives relate to those in the set, which are the SILs most extensively discussed. However, the variant forms are treated separately in some analyses as it cannot be assumed that usage patterns and meanings are entirely the same.

There are of course many more SILs, such as newly-coined terms by people who are usually labelled *bisexual*s by the wider community, including academics. Some of these, for instance *heteroflexible, bi-curious*, *pansexual* and *omnisexual*, may be found by the corpus software alongside the core set of SILs due to their overlaps in form (see sub-section 4.2.4, especially footnote 26, below). However, there is no substantial coverage in the academic literature of these and there are likely to be other labels which are completely undocumented and/or do not relate to those which are. As the list of SILs to be investigated has to be finite, I exclude those which are less discursively recognized.

I include the plural forms of the labels and their derivatives in the search list even though some are more recognized as adjectives than as nouns, for example *gay* is less accepted as a noun than *lesbian* is (see Baker, 2005, p. 22; Lalor & Rendle-Short, 2007, p. 149; and Zwicky, 1997, p. 22). I searched for lesb* and lez* in order to find variants of LESBIAN in the corpus under investigation and then added the variants found to the search list.[13] The variants of LESBIAN, as well as the abbreviations of HOMOSEXUAL, HETEROSEXUAL and BISEXUAL are listed as separate search terms in the final list, though, as homo*, hetero*, and particularly bi* finds too many words that are not SILs. The corpus software was set to not allow the character ' within a word so that the genitive forms are included in the concordance without specifying them as search strings. Note that the string of characters which forms the genitive singular, for instance *dyke's*, may also be the contraction of the noun as subject and *is* so that these cases cannot be differentiated solely on the basis of their searchable form. This means that there would hardly be a benefit to creating separate search strings especially because genitives of SILs are extremely rare in my data. The label DYKE has variant adjectival forms; these were not added to the list because they do not seem to be used as sexual identity labels, that is to categorize people, but rather to describe behaviours (see next section). The word form *dyke*, though, is used as a premodifier in

[13] Small capitals indicate that all word forms of the linguistic expression are meant, that is adjectival, singular, and plural. When I use HETERO(SEXUAL), HOMO(SEXUAL), and BI(SEXUAL), I refer to all forms of these labels included in the search strings.

noun phrases, in parallel to the SILs that are more common as adjectives without variation in form.

gay	dyke	hets
gays	dykes	bi
lesbian	queer	bis
lesbians	queers	bisexual
lez	homosexual	bisexuals
lezzer	homosexuals	heterosexual
lezzers	homo	heterosexuals
lezzie	homos	straight
lezzies	hetero	straights
lesbo	heteros	
lesbos	het	

Table 1 Search strings

To summarize, I investigate two sex-specific labels – LESBIAN and DYKE, three other labels denoting not-exclusively-other-sex orientation – GAY, QUEER and HOMOSEXUAL – and additionally BISEXUAL, as well as exclusively-other-sex denoting HETEROSEXUAL and STRAIGHT. No variant forms are included for GAY, QUEER, DYKE and STRAIGHT, but those concurrent in referential meaning for the other half of the labels.

3.2.4 Specific SILs' usage and meanings

LESBIAN. The term *lesbian* to refer to a same-sex attracted woman is derived from its use to refer to an inhabitant of the Greek island *Lesbos*. This is because in the 6th century BC the woman poet Sappho was one such inhabitant who declared her same-sex attraction in her writings. The term may still be used to

refer to people and other entities from Lesbos but its use within the domain of sexuality has been established since the latter half of the 19th century. In the context of 1970s feminism the term acquired currency in reference to women who disassociated themselves from men, at times aggressively. The converse affiliation of these women with other women did not necessarily involve sexual activity or attraction. Weeks describes the term's meaning variations as follows:

> 'Lesbian' had begun its twentieth-century history as a deviant label. The sexual politics of the 1970s had politicized the term, either as the definition of anti-patriarchal politics or as sexually transgressive. But for thousands of women it simply described their personal and social identity and culture. (Weeks, 2011, p. 103)

McConnell-Ginet (2002/2011) notes that "in contrast to *queer* and *gay*, the term *lesbian* has no generally familiar uses outside the domain of sexual identity and politics" (p. 242). Put differently, *lesbian*'s other domains of discourse are rather specialized and easily recognizable.

Lesbian feminism is also relevant to the term's sex-specificity, that is, its application to women and not men. Shapiro (1990) argues theoretically that the binomial *gays and lesbians* perpetuates the marked status of femaleness. Simultaneously, the use of the sex-specific term *lesbian* has been felt by female activists to be necessary in order to raise awareness of women in the gay

community. This is also the only aspect Cameron and Kulick (2003, p. 27) discuss in relation to *lesbian* specifically. One can deduct from these discussions that this label's sex-specificity constructs a distinctly female same-sex sexual identity in opposition to male same-sex sexual identity. Motschenbacher's (2018) R1 nominal collocates, furthermore, contain marked cases of lesbians in heteronormative family roles (p. 161) and, like *gay*, strongly associate it with politics (pp. 160 and 162).

Lesbian feminist Ripley (1992) details the polysemy of *lesbian* and *bisexual* as well as, conversely, how these labels have been the only words available for women of various emotional, cultural, political and sexual orientations. Hence, no individual has access to a word that uniquely describes her orientation (the more recent availability of *queer* has not changed this, nor has it been intended to). Meanwhile "acceptance in some community: a social identity" (ibid., p. 93) is associated with adopting or at least accepting an available label.

McConnell-Ginet (2002/2011) makes observations on the term *lesbian*, which resemble those made by Ripley (1992). These include that *lesbian* "has been the least marked designator outside communities" of "women whose sexual desires are primarily directed toward other women" to refer to them (McConnell-Ginet, 2002/2011, p. 242; see Ripley, 1992, p. 101). That is, *lesbian* is a socially accepted and established out-group designator.

To return to the initial observation, generally there has been "considerable dispute about how to construe lesbian" within feminist, lesbian and academic communities, in particular about who should be included in the category (McConnell-Ginet, 2002/2011, p. 244; and see Donoghue, 2010, p. 207 on the debate in sexuality studies). Concerning this, McConnell-Ginet (2002/2011) mainly discusses the label's "connections not only to antihomophobic but also to antisexist politics" (p. 246) and hence the dispute about whether it is a "sexual or a political identity" (ibid., p. 244; see Ripley, 1992, pp. 98–100). This question applies to other SILs as well, but less acutely.

DYKE. In contrast to LESBIAN, which has never been widely seen as an insult, DYKE "has fairly recently been reclaimed; for some speakers in some contexts and for some purposes, it is no longer […] a term of derision" but in others it still is (Zwicky, 1997, p. 22; see also Jones, 2012, p. 70). Interestingly, Stanley (1970) notes that the "male homosexuals" in her study "always define *dyke* as 'lesbian' without intended derogation, but female homosexuals interpret it as a pejorative referring only to a specific, generally avoided type of lesbian" (p. 47). As "an expression of pride" (Zwicky, 1997, p. 22) in one's own identity it only appeared later – sometime between 1985 and 1995 judging by the observations of Richard Spears (1985, p. 318) and Susan Krantz (1995, p. 220).

Like its usage in pejorative and positive ways, the term's association with masculinity is nuanced. This seems to be linked to its disputed derivation

from *bulldike* (see the discussions of etymology in Spears, 1985, and Krantz, 1995).[14] At the cusp of gay liberation and lesbian feminism in the United States, Stanley (1970) observers that

> for the female homosexuals, a dyke is an extremely masculine, easily identified lesbian, given to indiscretion. The bull dyke is all of the foregoing and, in addition, is nasty, obnoxiously aggressive, and overtly demonstrative of her hatred of men. (p. 48)

In contrast, in a community of practice in the UK Jones (2012), as a member herself as well as an academic, observed the in-group construction of a positively-evaluated "Dyke persona" in contradistinction to feminine lesbians who were evaluated as inauthentic (see in particular pp. 67–69). Furthermore, she notes that *dykey* and *dikiest* are used in the group to describe approved of 'masculine' behaviour indexing 'lesbian', not 'male', identity (ibid.). Hence, in contemporary self-identification DYKE may, or may not, "signify toughness and assertiveness" (Krantz, 1995, p. 220), but not female-to-male transsexual identity.

As already hinted at in my discussion of Murphy's and Ault's results on self-identification, *queer* and *dyke*, more so than *gay*, *lesbian* and *homosexual,* have been attested to be used inclusive of those who are same-sex oriented

[14] Also disputed is any association with the 'ditch' and 'ridge' senses, male and female genitalia repectively, of the word forms *dike* and *dyke*.

but not exclusively so. Murphy's (1997) discussion focuses on *queer*, though. Generally, *queer* seems to be more recognized as an inclusive label, which also shows in its function in extending the LGBT acronym to LGBTQ. This can be an advantage, though, as self-identified *dykes* may include other-sex attraction in their own meanings of the word, thus using the term to be true to themselves, while those who do not recognize their other-sex attraction do not recognize their inclusive use of *dyke* either. Ault (1996) observes that

> many women in this study define dyke as 'anyone who is not heterosexual,' and lesbian-aligned bisexual women often use the term to describe themselves. This move allows bisexual women to participate in lesbian contexts without either the onus of deception, since 'dykes' includes bisexuals, or the burden of the bisexual stigma. These bisexual women pass as lesbian in lesbian and gay contexts until they are pronounced bisexual, much as the dominant cultural code encourages a normative interpretation of all bi subjects in heterosexual contexts until they are otherwise revealed. (p. 455)

This also shows another difference between *queer* and *dyke* – the sex-specificity of *dyke*, like that of *lesbian*, can express affiliation with women.

GAY. In contrast, GAY is a SIL which can be used to refer to members of the other sex – men, and, as the binomial *gays and lesbians* discussed by Shapiro

(see above) shows, in exclusive reference to them (see also McConnell-Ginet, 2002/2011, p. 241). Whether GAY is used as a "subordinate term, taking in men only," or "a superordinate term, including both women and men," is often ambiguous (Zwicky, 1997, p. 23). The noun phrase *gay men* is, hence, used to indicate sex-specific use and to avoid the plural form (see above). According to Motschenbacher (2018) *gay* has a "strong male social bias" (p. 159) but my investigation will show to what extent it is used to label female persons in a set of narratives.

GAY is also ambiguous in that it has senses which belong to different domains. Historically, GAY in the sense of 'happy' came to be used as 'frivolous' including in sexual contexts in the 17th century (Lalor & Rendle-Short, 2007, p. 148) and hence by metonymic change 'homosexual' in the early 20th century (ibid., p. 149). In this regard, however, Taylor (2002) states that *gay* is a rare example of "polysemy-avoidance" in that the sense of 'homosexual' has effectively suppressed the earlier meaning due to language users finding the ambiguity between them too troublesome if they do not intend to refer to same-sex sexuality (p. 472). However, the recent emergence of a third sense has been a prompt for Lalor and Rendle-Short (2007) to investigate these. They report on two experimental questionnaire studies on, respectively, the relation of the three meanings of the lexical item *gay* to the

sociolinguistic variable of age and the potential disambiguation by the co-text of the word.

The gay rights activists of the 1970s (using the signifier *gay* to oppose stigmatization of themselves as leading sad lives) largely improved mainstream society's attitudes, but the greater visibility also brought new levels of homophobia to same-sex identified men and women. Concurrently, and possibly causally, a new negative use of *gay* meaning 'stupid, lame' gained currency (Lalor & Rendle-Short, 2007, also include 'bad', 'feeble', 'boring', 'pathetic', 'weird' in their various references to the sense; McConnell-Ginet, 2002/2011, p. 247 gives 'uncool', 'gross' based on her students' reports). Whether using *gay* in this sense is homophobic is a matter of dispute both academically and among those who experience its use, mainly young people (see, for instance, ibid.; Baker, 2008, p. 153, note 2; and Lalor & Rendle-Short, 2007, p. 167). A relevant finding of Lalor and Rendle-Short is that, as regards the disambiguation by co-text, the factors "inanimate subject" and "male subject" had a greater effect either way (recent negative meaning and homosexual meaning, respectively) than "female subject" (ibid., p. 168). This suggests that being labelled *gay* may be experienced as pejorative more often by contemporary girls than by boys as in its application to young female persons by their peers the term is more ambiguous. Meanwhile, McCormack's (2011) argument that "the phrase 'that's so gay' is not *necessarily* homophobic"

(p. 673) is based on research with male peer groups. Hence, girls may be especially affected by the new negative use but more research is needed on female peer groups.

Concerning the history of use in its 'homosexual' sense, McConnell-Ginet (2002/2011) cites evidence that "as a label of self-identification for men" *gay* became "increasingly common" during the second world war, preceding such an increase in use for women in the 1950s (p. 242). The specifics of this rise may have differed regionally (possibly originating in metropolitan centres in the USA) and *gay* did not become current in mainstream heterosexual society before 1969 – Stanley (1970) lists it among her "homosexual slang" terms (p. 45). When "gay liberation became a real political force," though, "it very quickly established itself as the most general 'polite' form for outsiders to use in referring to self-identified homosexuals" (McConnell-Ginet, 2002/2011, p. 242). This trajectory is very different from that of *queer*, which has long been and remains familiar to out-groups as an insult.

QUEER. Because of its use in academia (Queer Theory, Queer Discourse Studies, etc.), *queer* is probably the most discussed SIL in scholarly literature. Here I focus on its main meaning shift and currency of use outside of academia, as these are the relevant aspects for the investigation of its usage patterns in YA novels. In a contemporary American general reference corpus,

the nominals *queer* premodifies predominantly evoke identity, politics and academia (Motschenbacher, 2018, p. 159).

In its original sense *queer* was used as an adjective, in similar ways as *weird*, meaning 'strange' or 'out of the ordinary' and this sense coexisted with its use for homosexuals and influenced its meaning inside the LGBT community (see Stanley, 1970, p. 51). The two examples from literature below illustrate the two senses.

> "[Bilbo] thought the ring was very beautiful, and very useful at need; and if anything was wrong or queer, it was himself." (Tolkien, 1954/1991, p. 60)

> "Those guys must be crazy, tryin' to live there. Probably queer for each other anyway." // "Like those fag interior decorators", Royal agreed. (King, 1975/2006, p. 100)

Whereas in the *Lord of the Rings* an interpretation in a sexual sense is not warranted by the context, in the quote from *'Salem's Lot* the reply using *fag* disambiguates *queer*.[15] Note that in King's vampire novel, *queer* is used at other times ambiguously and/or outside the context of sexuality. This investigation will show whether *queer* is used polysemously in the YA novels

[15] *Fag* is the truncated form of *faggot*. This label can be seen as the male-specific equivalent to *dyke* (Jones, 2012, p. 69), but does not seem to have been reclaimed to the same extent (Zwicky, 1997, p. 22).

studied or the earlier meaning of *queer* has been suppressed, as has been suggested of that of *gay*.

British sociologist Weeks claims that before 1969 QUEER was "the most common self-description amongst people who identified as homosexual, [even though] it signalled the general perception of same-sex desire as something eccentric, strange, abnormal, perverse" (Weeks, 2011, p. 144). This shows how the conceptualization of sexuality evoked by this label is influenced by its earlier meaning. Regarding the currency of use in self-identification, other scholars disagree with Weeks, which may be due to regional differences. In her US study Stanley (1970) found that "when homosexuals do use queer, it is reserved for application to individuals, not necessarily homosexuals, [whose sexual activity goes] beyond the group-defined 'norm'" (p. 51). Discussions of the use of QUEER within the community, which since the rise of Queer Studies is often designated by it, seem to indicate that whether it was used appreciatively or depreciatively depended and still "depends on who is using the word of whom and from what kind of position" (McConnell-Ginet, 2002/2011, p. 239). McConnell-Ginet continues, "certainly, until the late 1980s *queer* as a positive term was nearly invisible to people outside communities with a focus on same-sex desire" (ibid.). Furthermore, in the 1970s and 1980s it was disfavoured by those who then self-identified as *gay* and/or *lesbian* and/or *bisexual*.

Since its reclamation in the 1990s the central tensions in the usage and meanings of QUEER have been between the "dis-identity politics that theorists have so often associated with *queer*" (McConnell-Ginet, 2002/2011, p. 241), its use as an umbrella term for people with non-norm sexualities and/or gender identities (see, for instance, ibid., Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 490; Chapman, 2016, p. 24; and Zwicky, 1997, p. 23), and its use to solely denote exclusively-same-sex sexuality (see, for instance, Murphy, 1997, p. 46–48). For some the renewed use of *queer* was a "confrontational gesture" (Weeks, 2011, p. 145) against the discursive structures established by gay identity politics (Baker, 2008, p. 189), which failed in that "'queer' has not succeeded in displacing the existing classification system and producing an alternative" (Cameron & Kulick, 2003, p. 28). As regards the use as an umbrella term, some feel that the inclusion of either-sex orientation, as with *dyke*, and further non-normative sexualities beyond homosexuality, often is not recognized and the experiences particular to each of these minorities erased (see Ault, 1996, pp. 456–457 on "bi women"; and see Chapman, 2016, p. 24 for further references). Furthermore, even when "the queer/nonqueer binary displaces the hetero/homo divide" (Ault, 1996, p. 458), it simply adds a level in the categorical structures of the semantic field of SILs which remains intact.

Concerning especially the use of QUEER to denote exclusively-same-sex sexual identity, according to Baker (2005), the term "has not been reclaimed

by the majority of gay people (in the UK at least – it seems to have had a little more success in some parts of America)" (p. 22). Moreover, it is not always recognized as applying to women as well as men (see, for instance, McConnell-Ginet, 2002/2011, p. 241; and Murphy, 1997, p. 47). Besides, many "who do not identify themselves as belonging to sexual minorities" still assume that QUEER is "derogatory" and avoid it in public contexts (McConnell-Ginet, 2002/2011, p. 242) and this may include using *weird*, or other synonyms of the earlier meaning, instead of *queer* in contemporary discourse.

***STRAIGHT*.** In contrast to controversial QUEER, STRAIGHT is probably the least discussed SIL. Chapman (2016) points out that both *straight* and *heterosexual* are widely used in "academic and popular works in relevant fields," at times without defining them, and that, in contrast, to those nowadays labelled LGBT/queer "heterosexual people do not have a history of having their sexuality labelled with offensive slurs" (p. 18). Some within the LGBT/queer community, though, object to either HETEROSEXUAL (see next sub-sub-section) or STRAIGHT (for instance, Baker, 2005, p. 22). Motschenbacher (2018) notes that the top-30 R1 nominal collocates of *straight* are dominated by its non-sexual meanings (pp. 161–162). The three nominals listed, that is the relevant ones, all refer to male people as a class (ibid., table 1). Here I discuss the senses of STRAIGHT in various domains and, in conjunction, its antonymity

relations to other SILs. Thus, its meanings and usages are outlined for this investigation.

As with DYKE, the use of STRAIGHT as a SIL is of obscure origin. There are, however, a few conceptual links between the meanings of the adjective and its use to label hetero(normative) sexuality (or to refer to those who are other-sex identified, including by means of the plural nominal form *straights*). Baker (2005) states, in relation to his dislike for STRAIGHT, that "one of its antonyms is *bent* (a word which has been used in a derogatory way towards gay people)" (p. 22). This antonymity relation apparently comes from *straight*'s literal usage, that is, the adjective often attributes being 'without curvature' or 'direct' to, for instance, hair, gaze, or travel. By metaphorical extension (see Cienki, 1998, pp. 116–121), it can also refer to communication being 'direct', 'clear', 'candid' and 'unambiguous'.

Another intriguing connection is that QUEER has been suggested to derive from German *quer* meaning 'crosswise, crooked' which is antonymic to *gerade* meaning 'straight' (see McConnell-Ginet, 2002/2011, p. 240). Crucially, STRAIGHT is often used to define QUEER as its antonym ('anyone not straight') and may be used to define one's sexual identity as *not straight* thereby avoiding choosing a particular label for 'non-heterosexual' together with its particular conceptualization as well as pejorative usage. However, the metaphorical extensions of straight reflect its status as "a standard", that is,

"the assumed default value evaluated as positive in the Judeo-Christian tradition" (Cienki, 1998, p. 142); hence, being *not straight* is connoted negatively in Western culture on the social macro-level. Furthermore, the use of QUEER for non-normative sexuality and the 'frivolous' sense of GAY (both remarked upon above) suggest that STRAIGHT as a SIL may be most closely related to its meaning 'chaste, virtuous, respectable' (see Murphy, 1997, p. 43) and 'undeviating' from decency and conventionality, or returning to this path (see Katz, 1995/2007, p. 95). This is also supported by Cienki (1998), who lists its meaning 'heterosexual' in the group exemplifying metaphorical usage based on the conceptual mapping "normal/conventional is straight" and *queer* as an exemplary antonym in the domain of "expected behaviour and social norms" (p. 126).

HETEROSEXUAL and HOMOSEXUAL. I discuss these together as both their discursive and their etymological origin are parallel; in Weeks's (2011) words, they are "relational terms: each exist[s] because of the other" (p. 80). *Homo* is Greek for 'same' and *hetero* for 'other', or for 'different', namely in their common use as scientific prefices. The discursive history of these terms is well-discussed by those who have employed it to show how "these identities are socially constructed", that is queer theorists (Baker, 2008, p. 187).

Most widely known is probably *The Invention of Heterosexuality* by Jonathan Ned Katz. He traces how in the first half of the 20th century *hetero-* and

homosexual came to mean what they do in contemporary Anglophone culture as well as German in which they originated (see Katz, 1995/2007, pp. 83–96). Initially though, the medical discourse of the turn of the century used these terms to describe non-procreative sexual relations between members of the same (homo) or other (hetero) sex, regarding both as pathological – abnormal and in need of curing (see, for example, ibid.). As desire became re-evaluated positively, even in women, the complementary difference between the sexes was stressed and thus homosexual relations disparaged, and "the lesbian" demonized (see, in particular, ibid., p. 90). As with GAY, the existence of the sex-specific term LESBIAN has meant and still means that HOMOSEXUAL is used male-specifically, as well as non-sex-specifically (for instance, Motschenbacher, 2018, pp. 160 and 162), and that LESBIAN was used alongside (*female) homosexual(s)* (for instance, Stanley, 1970). LESBIAN, though, is not regarded as medical to the same extent as HETEROSEXUAL and especially HOMOSEXUAL due to their origin (see, for instance, Baker, 2005, p. 22; and Cameron & Kulick, 2003, p. 26). In contemporary texts for health professionals, however, the terms MSM (*men who have sex with men*) and WSW (*women who have sex with women*) have gained currency in order to talk about certain group-specific health risks irrespective of people's identity labelling practices (see, for instance, Knight & Jarrett, 2017).

More widely, there has been a shift away from HOMOSEXUAL particularly, due to its associations with negative views of same-sex sexual/erotic relations/desire. Cameron and Kulick (2003) state that HOMOSEXUAL is "used by people who typically do not belong to the relevant group, or necessarily support their struggle" and that "as a noun [it] is now avoided in contexts where a non-pejorative term is wanted" (pp. 26–27). There have been several corpus-linguistic studies of parliamentary debates in the UK at the turn of the millennium and in the 21st century showing that the use of HOMOSEXUAL correlates with opposing legislative change which equalizes homo- and heterosexual relations (Bachmann, 2011, particularly p. 92; Baker, 2005, in particular p. 43; Findlay, 2017, in particular p. 43).[16] The way in which various labels express one's attitude towards same-sex relations and desire has led to HETEROSEXUAL being used in texts which do not use HOMOSEXUAL but (originally) less formal SILs denoting same-sex sexuality (especially GAY and LESBIAN; for instance, Knight & Jarrett, 2017). Nonetheless, as discussed in the previous sub-section, the marked nature of non-heterosexual sexuality is indicated by the fact that in representative samples of English language use those SILs denoting same-sex orientation are more frequent, including HOMOSEXUAL being more frequent than HETEROSEXUAL. Conversely, as a

[16] Both Findlay and Bachmann cite Baker's study, which was also published in 2004 as an article. The legislations under review concerned, in chronological order corresponding to the publications, are the age of consent for sexual acts between men, the introduction of civil partnerships for same-sex couples, and of same-sex marriage. All these reforms were eventually passed.

marked case "heterosexual HIV infection" is indicated by Motschenbacher's collocate results (2018, p. 162). Meanwhile, he characterizes *homosexual* as the adjective with the "broad applicability range" (ibid.) – it is used in various contexts and for various purposes.

However, the increasing visibility of same-sex orientation also means that more people assert a heterosexual identity.

> The emergence of people explicitly declaring their heterosexuality, or straightness, may be a testimony to continuing fear of the other. But it also indicates a growing pluralization of sexual subject positions and identities that requires the articulation of what was hitherto unspoken. (Weeks, 2011, p. 82)

Whether in natural language use this equates to HETEROSEXUAL and STRAIGHT becoming more frequent is another question, because language users can choose to define their sexual identity using a label denoting its opposite; hence, manual annotation of corpus data for negation would be needed to obtain figures for declarations of heterosexuality versus homosexuality. This question is even more acute as concerns bisexuality because, as its position in the middle of the semantic field of SILs indicates (Figure 2), stating that one is *not bisexual* may mean either that one is *homosexual* or *heterosexual*. Additionally, those who have been attracted to and/or engaged in sexual

relations with male and female persons do not necessarily label themselves – at all, or using BISEXUAL or its abbreviation.

BISEXUAL. Prior to the late 19th century, rather than to the sex(es) of the persons one desires, *bisexual* referred to having male and female characteristics in one's own physiology (Weeks, 2001, p. 13). In both senses the prefix *bi* meaning 'two' indicates the two sexes traditionally recognized in Western culture – male and female. Identification with *bisexual* might be used strategically to question binarism, as Ault states:

> Although meaning inheres in the bisexual label's reference to a binary system for organizing biological sex and social gender, many politicized bisexual women issue trenchant invectives against Western cultural dualism […]. The category 'bisexual,' then, constitutes a social category that depends upon the contestation between the dominant and the marginalized for its own existence, while it is populated by social actors who eschew the binary systems of categorization common to Western culture. (Ault, 1996, p. 451)

Many members of bi and queer communities, therefore, define bisexuality not as 'sexual orientation towards both sexes' but as 'attraction to more than one sex/gender' or 'intimacy irrespective of sex/gender' (see, for instance, Gurevich, Bower, Mathieson, and Dhayanandhan, 2007; Thomas, 2019; and

Zane, 2018). Relatedly, there are tensions in conceptualizing bisexuality as identity, behaviour, or attraction because of the implications for to whom the label BISEXUAL is applied. This is also true of the other labels but discussion often focuses on bisexuality. Mostly, though, these discussions do not treat BISEXUAL as a lexical item.

Again, corpus linguistic analysis can provide results that centre around the term and the implications of how it is used. In the next two paragraphs I present two published studies investigating large representative corpora, one on British, the other on American English and ten years apart. The earlier is based on concordance lines, whereas the recent one is the collocate study already extensively drawn on (namely, Motschenbacher, 2018).

Regarding the 81 occurrences of *bisexual* in the British National Corpus, Baker (2008, pp. 148–149) finds that those referred to are "the subject of scandal or secrecy; they are characterised as promiscuous and as having problematic relationships" (ibid., p. 149). Furthermore, the concordance lines indicate that bisexuality "is constructed as being more similar to homosexuality than heterosexuality" including being aligned with and possibly "subsumed under homosexuality" (ibid.). Relatedly, 19 of the lines show *bisexual* "in phrases like 'gay and bisexual'" in which it becomes "a kind of tag-on 'after-thought' identity group that is both secondary and linked to gay identities" (ibid., p. 148). As well as showing the discursive erasure of

bisexuality, this does not render BISEXUAL an attractive label for self-identification.

Regarding the nominal R1 collocates of *bisexual*, Motschenbacher (2018) claims that "the centrality of young social actors suggests that bisexuality is commonly conceptualized as a phase that young people may go through" (p. 163, see also my reference in 1.2). Although in the top 30 it has more collocates in the COCA which refer to young people than the other labels he investigates, it also has hardly any nominals following it which do not refer to a category of people, including sex-categories and older age (*adults*, *veterans;* see table 1). Furthermore, these are mostly in the plural.

Historically there was an "increase in self-categorization as bisexual" in the face of the "increased essentialism in gay and lesbian identity politics" post-1969 and particularly the 1980s are associated with a bisexual movement (Murphy, 1997, p. 38). Murphy's questionnaire results also suggest that "bisexual-identified people" apply the label to a wider range of people due to same-sex sexual relations as "gay- or lesbian-identified people" (ibid., p. 52). Private self-identification is another matter, though. Diamond (2008) interviewed 79 "nonheterosexual" young women five times in a 10-year period and asked them how they label themselves to themselves (p. 7). She found that "the most commonly adopted identity was 'unlabeled'" (that is, respondents said they do not "apply a label" to themselves which was

explicitly prompted as an option in the question; ibid., p. 8) and "more women *adopted* bisexual/unlabeled identities than *relinquished* these identities" (ibid., p. 5). Only a third of participants did not change their response during the study, which includes nearly half of those who initially identified as *lesbian* (21 participants) (ibid. p. 9). Five women in Diamond's study consistently said they did not label themselves (to themselves) and twelve "maintained" *bisexual* (ibid., p. 10). This suggests that for over half of these women there is considerable fluctuation in whether they think of themselves as *lesbian*, *bisexual* or none, though the latter two are more common.

3.2.5 Summary: Usage and meanings of SILs in the contemporary Anglophone context

In this section I have discussed which lexical items are widely recognized in contemporary English as SILs and their discursive history as well as the relationships of relevant social groupings towards them. One aspect highlighted, because of its implications for the meanings of the SILs and the methodological procedures needed in the investigation (see section 4.2.4), is the polysemy of the search strings. STRAIGHT and, to a lesser degree, GAY have current usages outside the domain of sexuality, though GAY is more likely to be ambiguous. In contrast, the full forms of HOMO-, HETERO-, and BISEXUAL specify their belonging within the semantic domain of sex and sexual orientation by means of the second element. All others originally and

theoretically still have meanings outside the domain but for LESBIAN, DYKE, and possibly QUEER, the SIL-usage is most common except in specialized contexts. All SILs are, meanwhile, slightly ambiguous between denoting emotional, cultural, political and/or sexual orientations; that is, a woman can, for instance, identify as a *dyke* and mean thereby that she affiliates with other women emotionally, culturally and politically while her sexual attractions and relations are not exclusive to women.

In the last century and a half or so there have been considerable socio-historical and discursive developments in the categorization and labelling of sexuality. LESBIAN, HOMOSEXUAL and HETEROSEXUAL had emerged by the beginning of the 20th century to describe whether people engaged in sexual relations with women or men. In the 1970s GAY quickly supplanted HOMOSEXUAL as the term to identify men who desired and/or practiced sexual acts with men as well as the activist community who identified thus. Although also used of women, the 1970s were also the heyday of lesbian feminism, which brought to the fore women-identified women independently of men. In the 1980s the bisexual movement sought similar visibility for those who are not exclusively oriented towards one sex, but bisexual stigma also increased in the latter half of the decade with the AIDS crisis. Since the 1990s the reclamation of the term QUEER, on the other hand, was an attempt to unite

all those who at some point or in some way have been regarded as deviating from the norms of sex, gender or sexuality.

However, research has shown that the homo-hetero divide has remained hegemonic, repeatedly erasing recognition of bisexual identity as antonymic to monosexual identity. Relatedly, other-sex aspects of the schemata potentially evoked by QUEER and DYKE have been suppressed. Those who have experienced same-sex attraction or engaged in sexual relations with someone of the same sex are discursively pushed out of the category evoked by STRAIGHT and into LGBQ. Yet, research has also shown that individuals may not stick to one label only, even if their experience of their sexuality remains largely the same. Moreover, the extent to which certain labels are available in certain contexts depends both on widely disseminated labelling practices, such as the use of a SIL as an insult, and local ones, such as the availability of BISEXUAL in a *bisexual* versus a *gay and lesbian* activist group.

In this section I have drawn on corpus linguistic work in the field of language and sexuality (queer CADS) and external data from surveys and questionnaires, as discussed in publications, as well as other linguistic and sociological inquiries, in order to characterize the usage and meanings of SILs in the contemporary Anglophone context. This provides the basis for comparison in characterizing SIL-usage in LBQ1YA; in other words, I have generated expectations of presence which the corpus investigated may or may

not fulfil. By looking specifically at Young Adult novels (with a focus on normative and alternative structures manifest surrounding SIL-usage) I fill a gap in language and sexuality research as well as Q/CDA, in which this data has been overlooked.

3.3 LGBT(I)(Q) Young Adult Literature

In this section I draw on research on the literature for children and young adults which portrays non-norm sexualities and/or gender identities. Sub-section 3.3.4 details how this investigation fills a gap in that research by centring on sexual identity labels and conducting a Corpus-assisted Discourse Analysis on a systematically selected set of novels that belong within this literature. The specifics of this selection are presented in section 4.1 (next chapter), while sub-section 3.3.2 sets what is included in the corpus in the context of the wider field of LGBT(I)(Q) YA.[17] Sub-section 3.3.3 reiterates observations made about LGBT(I)(Q) YA texts using other approaches that nevertheless relate to the focus of this thesis. This includes stereotypical portrayals of female same-sex attracted characters, the commonness of coming-out stories, and issues surrounding the conceptualization of sexuality, such as conservative portrayal of female sexuality and fluidity of sexual

[17] Some researchers, especially in the USA, use GLBT; Q is more often included than I (intersex), but not always, particularly not in older articles and books.

desire. Throughout this section one may have to keep in mind that there are many conflicts of interest both within and beyond academia regarding publications about sexuality for minors. Therefore in 3.3.1, I present the central controversy in this area between those who believe that the child should be protected in its supposed innocence from sexual aspects of life, including their presentation in literature, and those who believe that literature can and should be used to educate young people about sexuality, including the so-called sexual minorities, to improve life for everyone.

3.3.1 Ideological struggles surrounding fiction about sexuality for minors

As with sex education in general, many people have argued that public institutions, such as schools, should not provide young people with access to texts with sexual content without the informed consent of parents. LGBTIQ YA scholars draw on the figures provided by the American Library Association (ALA) on which texts have been challenged for which reasons to chart this phenomenon and its relevance to LGBTIQ YA novels (see, for instance, Epstein2013a, pp. 56–57; and Wickens, 2007, p. 59 and pp. 331–333), and so will I. As concerns ALA's statistics, "a challenge is an attempt to remove or restrict materials, based upon the objections of a person or group" reported in the media or directly to its Office for Intellectual Freedom (n.d., Banned Books Q&A, para. 2). These challenges mainly concern schools, school libraries and public libraries (ALA, n.d., infographics, images "2017 Book,

Material and Services Challenges" and "Challenges by Institution") and "parents challenge materials more often than any other group" (ibid., Banned Books Q&A, para. 11). The following figure indicates that challenges widely relate to age group suitability, language and sexuality.

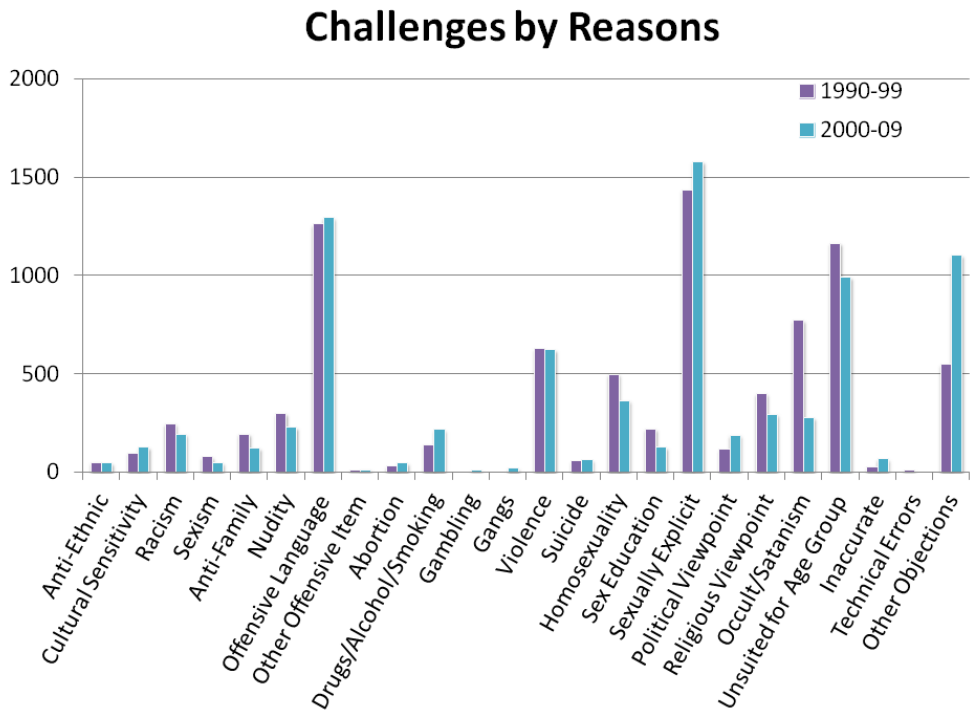

Figure 3 Reasons for challenges of materials (ALA, n.d., Infographics)

Though "homosexuality" and "sex education" (as well as "anti-family", "nudity" and "unsuited for age group") slightly decreased from the 1990s to the noughties, even in the 21st century many publications about sexuality for minors, including LGBTIQ YA novels, are among the top most challenged books each year. For example, a graphic novel published in 2014 for 12-18-year olds but told from the perspective of a pre-teen girl was challenged for "LGBT content, drug use, profanity, sexually explicit, [and] mature themes"

(ibid., 2016 infographic Top Ten Most Challenged Books, *This One Summer*). The controversy was fuelled by it receiving not only an award for YA literature but also the Caldecott Honor for "Most Distinguished American Picture Book for Children" (see, for instance, Jaffe, 2015, para. 1 and see para. 9). This case illustrates how the depiction of sexuality, language use and age group suitability interrelate in challenges aimed at the availability of fiction texts to young readers.

On the other hand, the novel has also received several awards and Jaffe suggests using it in classrooms (ibid., para. 23). More generally, in the face of sometimes successful attempts to restrict young readers access to texts seeking to protect children from the realities of life, especially sexual aspects, YA scholars have long contended that young people should have access to texts that prepare them for these (for instance, Wickens, 2007, pp. 49–50 and Klein, 1997, cited in the former). Furthermore, LGBTIQ YA scholars argue that literature can be an aid in teaching children to empathise with rather than harass those who do not conform to gender and sexual norms (for example, Cart & Jenkins, 2006, p. xx; Epstein, 2013a, p. 246; Wickens, 2007, pp. 36–37). In particular, non-stereotypical portrayals of LGBTIQ people may reduce prejudice by forming contact between social groups and revealing commonalities between readers and characters (see Chapman, 2016, pp. 60–61 and 64–65; and Epstein, 2013a, pp. 126–131; and, for instance, Pennington,

2000, ch. 5, section "reducing prejudice and discrimination", on social psychology research upon which this idea is based). Another viewpoint, though, has long hampered the inclusion of positive material about sexual diversity in curricula – this view sees such texts as "homosexual propaganda" which may lead young people into a "homosexual lifestyle" (see, for instance, Epstein, 2013a, pp. 58–60). In the UK, this view held sway even into the twenty-first century through legislation which affected those employed by local authorities, that is, among others, teachers and librarians (see, for instance, Kessler, 2014; and Sunderland & McGlashan, 2012, p. 191). As Epstein (2013a) summarizes,

> Section 28 was a controversial amendment made in 1988 in the U.K., which stated that local authorities could not promote homosexuality or publish material that did so. This caused LGBTQ support and activist groups to shut down and publishers to self-censor, among many effects, and generally promoted a non-LGBTQ-friendly atmosphere throughout the U.K. Section 28 was finally repealed in 2003. (p. 254)

As, for example, Kessler's testimony shows, this means that in the UK for a long time there was hardly any viable market for novels with LGBTIQ characters and some written in the UK during those times are only recently

being accepted for publication. This is also seen in the data on publications that I and others have gathered (see section 4.1 and the next sub-section).

3.3.2 History and other trends in publication

Wickens (2007) notes, in her summary of the socio-historical development of YA (pp. 46–53), that "publishing companies […] began publishing novels targeted to teens in the 1940s and 1950s" (p. 47). The first YA novel to feature female same-sex sexuality was British, *The Chinese Garden* (1962) by Rosemary Manning, and the first featuring male same-sex attraction American, *I'll Get There, It Better Be Worth the Trip* (1969) by John Donovan (see ibid., pp. 60–62). However, whereas the former features "homoeroticism in an all girls' boarding school during the 1920s" and belongs to the British sub-genre of boarding school stories, the latter was the "first to explicitly confront issues of homosexuality" and is regarded by LGBTIQ YA scholars as the first LGBTIQ YA novel (ibid., p. 61). Hence, in the considerable amount of work done on charting LGBTIQ YA fiction published in English, 1969 is generally seen as the beginning of this literature. In this research LGBTIQ YA is defined as literature with lesbian, gay, bi, trans, intersex, queer and/or questioning content published for young adults (ages 12-18) with at least one young adult protagonist, narrated from at least one young adult's point of view, and concerned with YA issues (see Cart & Jenkins, 2006). The content criterion excludes YA texts by authors who identify as lesbian, gay, bi, trans*, intersex,

queer and/or questioning but are not explicitly about those who do not conform to gender and/or sexual norms as well as texts which have been only read as queer (see Chapman, 2016, pp. 22–25 for a discussion). In this sense this literature has seen an exponential rise in publication volumes.

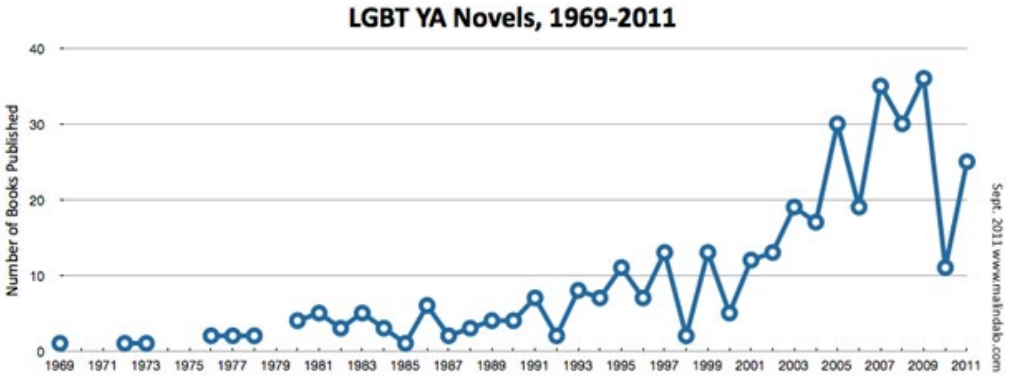

Figure 4 Number of LGBT YA novels published in the US per year (Lo, 2011)

The number of novels per year first enters into double figures in 1995 and does not fall below that in the 21st century. Lo, who is an author as well as a scholar of LGBTIQ YA, suggest that "the most notable recent dip" (only eleven novels in 2010) is due to US publishers reducing their range in the wake of the economic crash in 2008 (ibid.). Wickens (2007) notes that YA generally "reinvigorated" in the 1990s (p. 53) and, concerning LGBTIQ YA, "the number of gay and lesbian secondary characters rose substantially" (ibid., p. 64) and "depictions of gay and lesbian adults have shifted from emotionally bereft, stereotypical caricatures of the 1970s to emotionally stable and mentally healthy individuals" (ibid., p. 65). Hence, Lo (2013) proposed to narrow down the definition of LGBT YA to only include novels in which at

least one main character is LGBT themself and/or LGBT-related issue(s) are major plot element(s). The pie chart below shows a breakdown of that narrower field for books published by major publishers in the US in the last decade.

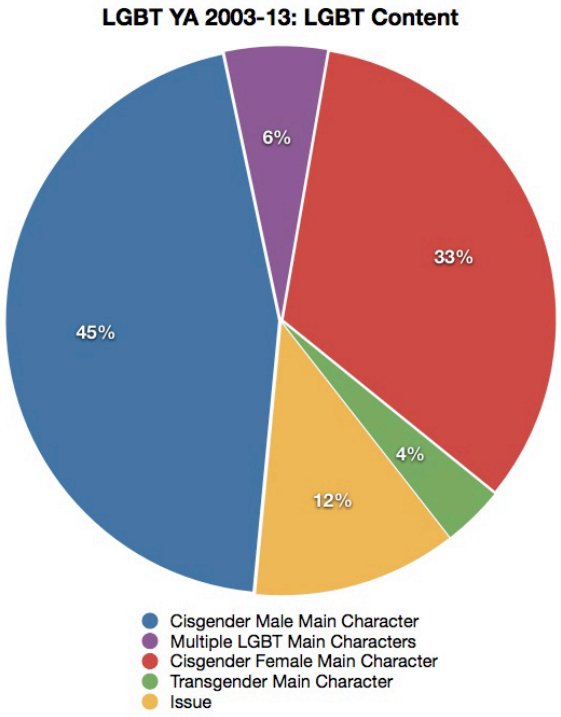

Figure 5 LGBT main characters and major LGBT-related issue plots in YA 2003-13 (Lo, 2013)

For my inquiry I narrow down the data pool even further, focusing on cisgender female main characters who are LBQ (lesbian, bisexual, queer or questioning) (see section 4.1 on data collection). The imbalance between male and female characters has been noted by Epstein (2013a) for the YA novels she investigates (p. 107) and by Cart and Jenkins (2016) for the 1980s and 1990s (p. 90). In addition, Cart and Jenkins point out that in both decades gay male and lesbian characters "rarely […] appear in the same story" (ibid.); what they call *gender segregation* is seen in Figure 5 in that 78% of LGBT YA by major

publishers has either a male or a female cisgender main character. Besides, Epstein (2013a) discusses the scarcity of trans and "otherwise queer" (including intersex) characters in YA (pp. 142–158). There is also a lack of diversity in LGBTIQ YA as regards class, race/ethnicity, religion and spirituality, dis/ability, and weight/size; or, put differently, if a character belongs to one non-norm social group in the sense of their sexual (or gender) identity they rarely belong to another (ibid., pp. 158–190).

Another imbalance is that between English-speaking countries – the US has dominated LGBTIQ YA in publishing, authorship, setting and criticism. However, differences in setting may be as significant between US states as between these and Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the UK, and Ireland, as well as between ethnic, religious, (etc.) communities. However, the data collected by Chapman (2016) suggests that "whether or not a title is published in the UK [is] an important factor in whether or not a title is stocked by [UK] library authorities" although these seem to "have made some effort to seek out titles published outside the UK" (p. 362). Hence, the lack of titles published by non-US publishers is likely to negatively impact the public availability of LGBTIQ YA to young people in smaller Anglophone countries.

LGBT YA also rarely departs from contemporary realism, though genres such as fantasy and science-fiction afford creating text worlds which are not necessarily tied to the discursive structures of contemporary society such as

negative connotations and associations of SILs or even the categorization of sexual identity itself. Crisp (2009) describes something similar in defining a particular LGBT YA novel as *magical realism*: "'magical realism' can be used to describe a text that re-imagines 'normal' by re-imagining 'reality' in ways that challenge readers to deconstruct both the novel and the contexts in which they live" (p. 340), although they otherwise resemble the contexts in which the reader lives. In the next pie chart, the biggest slice represents contemporary realist novels – Lo's categories "poetry or novels-in-verse" and "anthologies" also contain largely contemporary realism.

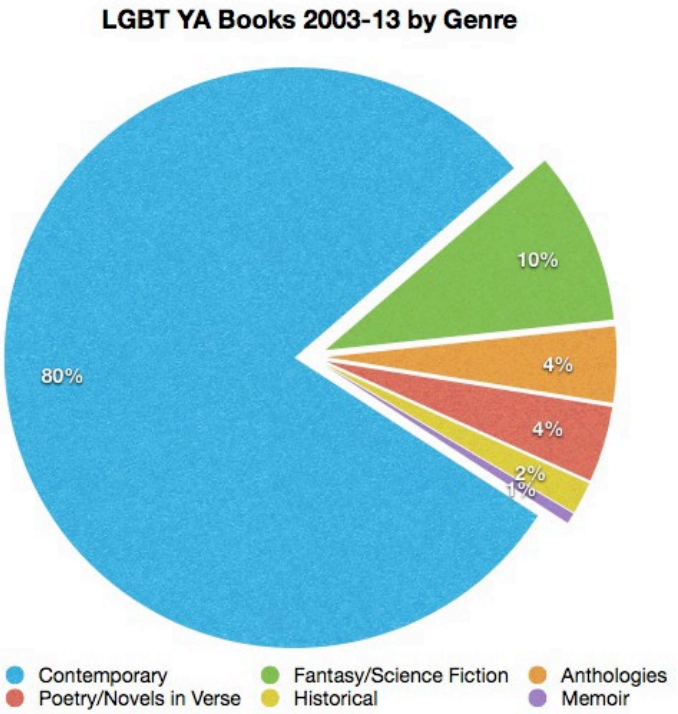

Figure 6 Genre breakdown of LGBT YA books 2003-13 (Lo, 2013)

In my corpus I include only contemporary realist novels, that is, stand-alone publications, not anthologies/collections. I also exclude memoirs, in the sense of explicitly indicated non-fiction – novels may be fictionalized memoirs to

different extents. Finally, only prose texts are analysed, that is, no poetry or novels in verse and no comics or graphic novels. This is because images cannot be analysed by standard corpus software and multimodal texts require additional analytical frameworks (see, for instance, Unsworth & Cléirigh, 2009).

3.3.3 Stories, themes and conceptualizations of sexuality

In this sub-section it is particularly pertinent to point out that LGBTIQ scholars' descriptions of YA literature with LGBTIQ content are influenced by their conceptualizations and perspectives. That is, evaluations of trends as progress or of a particular portrayal of a queer character as a shortcoming or a strength of a novel depend on the authors' views and their analytical goals as well as their intended audience. Thus, LGBTIQ YA scholars may disagree with each other, while those who challenge texts for young readers with LGBTIQ content because of promoting a homosexual lifestyle would probably disagree with the ideological underpinnings of most of the observations presented below. Also, my focus below is on LBQ but it is not always clear in the referenced literature to which extent an observation applies more or solely to portrayals of gay male characters.

There are many historical overviews available on the portrayal of LGBT characters in YA novels (for a book-length work see Cart & Jenkins, 2006; for a summary account, see Chapman, 2016, pp. 65–67). Cart and Jenkins are

concerned by the conceptualization of same-sex attraction or behaviour as a phase in adolescence particularly in early novels. For instance, they juxtapose six novels from the early 1980s which feature "female sexuality" but in which "homosexuality is a phase, a crush, a passing fancy" with *Annie on My Mind* which "treated it positively" – the girls in the story reunite as a couple once the point-of-view character "discover[s] [herself] and the truth about homosexuality" (Cart & Jenkins, 2006, p. 52 and p. 56). This portrayal of the conceptualization of one's same-sex attraction as one's identity enabling same-sex sexual relationships appears as the only positive way to portray homosexuality in many analyses. Furthermore, though often the publication date of *Annie on My Mind*, 1982, is given as the end of the exclusively negative portrayal of homosexuality, it rather stands alone in the 1980s (see Wickens, 2007, pp. 62–64). Moreover, the origins of YA in the formulaic *problem novel* (see, for instance, ibid., p. 51) have not been left behind completely as struggles surrounding coming out or being outed often remain centre stage (see, for instance, Cart & Jenkins, 2006, p. 166; Epstein, 2013a, pp. 74–76 and 93).

Even in recently published novels, LGBTQ characters often experience internalized homophobia and external violence. Epstein (2013a) states about the texts she investigated that they "tend to offer the message that coming out is a dramatic, stressful experience that may involve rejection, verbal and even

physical abuse, problems in school or with friends or peers, and potentially even death" (p. 92). Likewise, in her 2000-2005 sample of seventeen novels, Wickens (2007) found that "fourteen of them include some explicit form of persecution or harassment – the most pervasive being verbal harassment (14/14)" (p. 198), and that "in eleven of those fourteen books, the verbal abuse happens most frequently in the context of school settings" (ibid., p. 199). Such verbal abuse includes the use of SILs, such as *dyke*, as "slurs" (ibid.). Conversely, as Wickens notes, "in novels with GLBTQ characters, secrets are commonplace, with a significant number of characters in the closet, worrying over 'who knows'" (p. 307). Yet, "resiliency" in the face of homophobia is portrayed as achieved "through prominent affirmations of identity" (ibid., p. 322). In this context Wickens discusses labels both as "disciplining agents" and providers of "clarity", and in conjunction that "modernist notions of identity prevail" in the novels she analysed (p. 320). Furthermore, she links the psychological concept of the "stable, unified self" (ibid., p. 318) to the fact that "flashbacks [are] now a common narrative technique" to create "life histories" for LGBTQ characters (ibid., p. 319). Relatedly, another "common plot device is that a character goes to the library, [and] looks up homosexuality in an encyclopaedia or dictionary" (Epstein, 2013a, p. 50). Hence, contemporary realist LGBTQ YA shows its characters as embedded in the discursive structures and labelling practices of the 20th century. Moreover, although stories need an obstacle that the protagonist has to overcome for

suspense, Epstein (ibid.) argues that the focus on coming out portrays "queer lives" as limited to these struggles (p. 76).

One aspect of this is that "a common response" by their parent(s) or guardian(s) "to a teen coming out in these books" is "that their children will not have children or be able to get married" (ibid., p. 86). Epstein also discusses other aspects of stereotyped portrayals of LGBTIQ characters. These include that the plots and characterization imply that "queerness has a cause" (p. 96), "a cure" (p. 93), is "preventable" (p. 94), and/or "infectious" (p. 96). Similarly, Wickens (2007) observed "repeated references […] across various texts […] which invoke notions of homosexuality as sickness" (p. 84). Epstein (2013a) also identifies in various texts "the implication that it is easy to tell who is queer just by clothes and appearance" (p. 103) and that "the idea that lesbians are unattractive is not uncommon" (p. 102). Reminiscent of linguist Jones's observations in a real-life context, Epstein contends that in YA novels LBQ characters construct a "hierarchy of lesbians or perhaps of lesbianness" (ibid., p. 117), or embody one of two categories – "the butch, who is athletic and short-haired, and may use a male name" or "the feminist/intellectual, who is often angry and may rant about the oppression of women and enjoys art, philosophy, and/or literature" (p. 108, and see pp. 115–118). Gillingham (2017) notes that some novels "reproduce a butch/femme dynamic in the depiction of" protagonist and love interest (pp. 60–61 and see chapter 2 on the

YA novels by Julie Anne Peters). This investigation will show whether these schematic elements are also evoked in instances of SIL-use in my YA corpus.

As noted in section 3.2., conceptualizing 'bisexuality' is contentious. Discussions of YA literature differ in their evaluation of evocations of 'adolescent phase', 'stable identity' and 'radical postmodernism'. However, they generally agree that the relative scarcity in LGBTIQ YA of narratives which overtly treat the experience of attraction to more than one sex/gender should be redressed by authors and publishers. For instance, Szymanski (2010) states that "a bisexual book for the youth audience is tough to find" (p. 489) and brings a few recent publications to the attention of the readership of the *Journal of Bisexuality*. Cart and Jenkins (2006) remark upon several YA novels whose characters find closure in deciding to remain within uncertainty about their sexual identity and/or to leave it unlabelled (pp. 134–136), but Epstein (2013a) calls them out for implying that this is only afforded to "a teen's self-definition", contending instead that "bisexuality is a valid identity for people of all ages" (p. 136). In contrast, Kneen (2015) claims that YA should "offer bisexual readers the sense of validation associated with being part of a community, without imposing on them the limitations of an offensive, essential identity" (p. 376).

An intriguing observation is that, similar to Stanley's findings on "homosexual slang" terms changing their meanings as they reach "less

populous areas" from the "large metropolitan centres" (1970, p. 53), reading overviews of realist LGBTQ YA it seems that what it means to be non-conforming to sexual/gender norms changes between rural and urban contexts. Furthermore, a common plot device seems to be that travelling to population centres propels characters' understanding of their sexuality. For example, in *Postcards from No Man's Land* the male protagonist travels to Amsterdam where his "ideas about love will be challenged and expanded" by the people from "its *avant garde* culture" who have moved beyond gender (Cart & Jenkins, 2006, p. 136; and see Epstein, 2013a, p. 141). In contrast, in *Finding H. F.*, the female narrator and her male best friend "leave their bigoted town" in which they do not expect to be accepted for their homosexuality (Epstein, 2013a, p. 89). Differences between contexts are also seen in YA's portrayal of varying degrees of freedom to explore one's sexuality, for instance, in the face of more or less liberal attitudes towards queer sexuality depending on setting in the sense of ethnic/religious communities, or summer camp and so forth where there are fewer expectations about who one is, as parents and sometimes old friends are absent.

To return to the concerns around sexual content, children's and YA literature scholar Caroline Jones (2013) points out that "most sexual encounters in adolescent literature regardless of the characters' sexes" occur "off-page" (p. 84). Lee (1998) mentions some early lesbian YA for which this is

true of "genital sex" and identifies "holding hands" as a "trope of the genre" (p. 155). Epstein (2013b) also finds regarding lesbian sex lives in YA that "direct description" is avoided and that this is "reflected in the words chosen" (p. 23); crucially, whereas "the themes of shyness, hesitancy, and clumsiness are common" in female sexual encounters (ibid.), "the words in scenes featuring gay males relate more to body parts and to actions" (ibid., p. 24). Epstein suggests that her findings reflect "stereotypes about promiscuous gay men versus 'lesbian bed death' and/or" cultural discomfort "with portraying females, whether homosexual or not, having active, healthy, satisfying sex lives" (ibid., p. 25). Epstein also notes that "the lack of female masturbation in YA literature could reflect the view that masturbation is somehow inappropriate or wrong for teenage girls because it is too active at a point where they should be learning to be passive" (ibid., p. 20). Relatedly, Stein (2012), though not an LGBTIQ focused study, discusses *Hello, Groin*, a Canadian novel with a female same-sex attracted character-narrator, as a rare example of "progresssive portrayal" of female masturbation. However, she contends that "just by being a homosexual character" Dylan is distanced from the reader, who may therefore "chastise her sexual actions as being a product of her otherness" (p. 423) – she apparently does not consider a same-sex attracted reader (see pp. 423–426). In contrast, Jones (2013) clearly has a different perspective on female same-sex attraction when she writes about the rise of the "progressive novel" depicting lesbian experience and identity

beyond the problem novel "typical of the 1970s to 1990s" (p. 83). But in the face of the traditional view of female sexuality they seem to share an understanding of *progressive* as portrayals of how "girls find ways to reclaim their bodies, their modes of sexual desire and expression and their lives as active subjects" (ibid., p. 91).

3.3.4 Implications of the literature review for this investigation: A novel approach to LBQ YA

In sum, a lot of research has been done cataloguing LGBT YA, and there are several thematic studies. However, the intentional and unintentional discussion of the conceptualization of sexuality in this literature is fraught with personal and cultural ideologies. No one seems to have systematically applied a linguistic analytical framework to a set of texts collected according to principles other than that they fit the theme that one wishes to discuss. The lack of linguistic analysis of LGBTIQ YA is surprising given that literary scholars' accounts are often set in the context of the use of literature in education and that language and sexuality research has investigated texts used in real-world educational settings, but non-fiction ones.

Hence, this thesis fills a research gap in investigating a comprehensive set of female first-person YA fictional contemporary narratives for the usage patterns of SILs and the meanings constructed therein using a corpus linguistic methodology. This enables the triangulation of investigative

approaches between previous and the present research. A corpus-assisted approach addresses the drawbacks of a thematic approach which gathers evidence for the investigator's argument – without a quantitative sense of the extent to which this reflects the whole population of texts or being verifiable/falsifiable, as well as of research that categorizes individual novels rather than conducting a cross-novel analysis of internal patterns which may show continua between categories and the plurality of voices within the texts. Another difference between this and previous, as well as current, literary research is that this thesis sets out the selection and analytical principles in the next chapter prior to describing and thereafter interpreting the quantitative patterns (Chapter 5) and the meaning construction in selected extracts (Chapters 6 and 7) according to these principles.

In addition, this thesis is not concerned with assigning the characters in the novels that comprise the corpus to a sexual identity based on the attractions they are narrated to experience and/or the behaviours they are narrated to engage in. Rather, I combine approaches to the relationships between worlds within texts, to investigate the portrayal of the characters', especially the narrators', relationships to SILs. Thereby I also investigate the negotiation of their meaning elements by these characters, in particular which elements of stereotypical characterization are (successfully) challenged and which enable communication by constituting the categorizing properties in the schema

evoked by a SIL. Hence, I explore the evaluations of the potentialities of labelling in contemporary YA realist fiction. This portrayal is relevant to contemporary YA readers who identify with any of these labels or find themselves labelled with them.

There is however a slight caveat to this in that the usage patterns of SILs reproduced in the novels may be influenced by the discursive structures and labelling practices that authors experienced as young adults rather than those experienced by contemporary young adults. Meanwhile, some authors actively try to reflect the changes that have occurred in the socio-cultural context. A related aspect is that the text worlds of contemporary realism, in order to be an accurate portrayal, need to include the new visibilities and discursive practices of social media. Yet, YA literature will always tend to lag behind the times slightly and so will research on this literature, as in any other area, due to the time it takes to write and get published.

3.4 Summary of Chapter Three

This chapter has reviewed the observations made elsewhere on Anglophone SILs and LGBTIQ YA. Its first section outlined the socio-historical contexts which shaped the categorization and conceptualizations evoked by SILs for the authors and readers of contemporary realism.

In section 3.2, I have detailed the polysemy of the search strings I investigate and their discursive recognition as well as outlined how individuals become part of communities by identifying with the social category evoked by these SILs. I also discussed out- and in-group uses as well as fluctuations and co-existence of labels in an individual's self-identification. A recurrent theme has been BISEXUAL as a sexual identity and its precarious discursive position in the 20th century hegemony of binary sexual identity, which even QUEER has not been able to deconstruct.

LGBTIQ YA is also infused by the post-19th century view of sexual identity originating in psychology. In this context, this literature has been endorsed as teaching empathy with sexual minorities and preparing for negotiating one's sexuality in one's social life. Conversely, it has been challenged as homosexual propaganda misleading young people and perverting the alleged innocence of children. The statistics on YA with LGBTIQ content which I have drawn on in my data collection in 2014 (see next section) indicate a lack of diversity as regards social identities and in particular intersections of multiple non-norm identities in main characters. By contrast, a 2:1 imbalance between male and female cisgender characters in the 20th century seems to have been slowly equalizing in recent years (see Lo, 2017, section "Gender Representation in 2015-16 LGBTQ YA Novels"; and section 8.4.3 below). However, contemporary realist novels and cisgender characters are in the majority as

regards YA books featuring non-norm sexualities and/or gender identities, so limiting my corpus to LBQ contemporary realist novels considers a sizable part of LGBTIQ YA and enables a more focused investigation of SILs.

Chapter 4: Research Design

This chapter covers how I operationalized the novel approach to Young Adult (YA) literature introduced in the previous chapters. The first section details how I constructed a corpus of female same-sex attracted (LBQ) first-person fictional narratives set in contemporary Anglophone societies (1994-2013). Section 4.2 provides an overview of how I arrived at the investigative research design. It furthermore includes the definition of the semantic boundaries of the search terms and of the textual boundaries of token-cluster passages (TCPs) fundamental to the combinatory approach of this Queer Corpus-assisted Discourse Study (CADS). The third and final section presents how I analysed the meaning construction and relationships to SILs in the novels investigated. Sub-section 4.3.4 details the quantification of the usage features involved in how sexual identity is discursively constructed in LBQ1YA, which are detailed in the previous three sub-sections; the analytical framework described is also used in the analysis of TCPs, which deconstructs the normative structures identified as hegemonic in the quantitative analysis.

4.1 Data Collection

Sub-section 4.1.1 introduces the resources used for the identification of YA novels featuring female same-sex attraction (FSSA) and their further features. Several of these features were used to narrow the selection of texts to the corpus investigated – this process is described in 4.1.2. Sub-section 4.1.3 focuses on the statistics for the final set of 34 novels. These two sub-sections also present temporal charts regarding the publication and setting of the novels identified as well as compare these and other statistics to the figures for LGBTIQ YA literature as a whole presented in the previous chapter. The final sub-section of this section mentions some things about the preparation of the files for corpus analysis that are relevant to the methodology developed in the following section as well as to the corpus results and their interpretation.

4.1.1 Identification of novels

In order to identify YA novels featuring FSSA published in English, I drew on the extensive work that had been done on cataloguing YA publications featuring non-norm sexualities and/or gender identities (also referred to as LGBT/GLBT(Q) content). In accordance with this work, I have not catalogued novels that were first published before 1969. I have catalogued novels up to and including those first published in 2013. Thus, for my collection of LBQ YA novels, I have considered a period of 45 years of publications.

To identify potentially relevant publications I have primarily used the "Young Adult" section of the *full list of LGBT fiction for children and young people available in the UK* by Chapman (2012) as provided on her university website, as well as Cart and Jenkins (2006), which covers publications until 2004, and a blog at www.leewind.org called "I'm here. I'm queer. What the hell do I read?" (Wind, n.d.).[18] As Chapman only lists the year of publication, the author's name and the title of the publication, I have used the latter two as well as other resources, such as descriptions and reviews on Amazon, to gather more information about the novels (such as current availability), their authors, characters and narratives.

This resulted in a catalogue, in the form of an *Excel* spreadsheet, which allowed me to apply further criteria and see how they affected corpus size. As far as I am aware my catalogue is the only one which provides a list of YA novels featuring SSA in specifically female characters – some of the rescources which were available to me in the data collection provide searches for *gay* and *lesbian* separately but both male and female either-sex attracted or sexuality questioning characters tend to be found under *bisexual* or *questioning*, respectively.

[18] Further lists are available online, for instance, at http://daisyporter.org/queerya, http://lgbt-ya.tumblr.com, and http://www.gayya.org.

4.1.2 Selection of novels: Criteria for narrowing to a manageable corpus

In this sub-section, I describe the selection criteria for my corpus in stages and give the respective size of the potential corpus. Figures 7 and 8, below, were generated from the Excel catalogue with filters applied according to the selection criteria in the respective stage. Initially this catalogue of YA novels featuring FSSA contained over 200 publications. Of these fewer than 200 are still in print and only just over 120 are available in electronic format. For the purposes of this catalogue novels are defined as separate publications of at least 100 pages, as opposed to books including non-fiction (as discussed in section 3.3.2).

In the first stage of narrowing the selection, novels which do not meet the following two criteria were excluded:

- at least one character who is experiencing FSSA is a young adult protagonist whose point of view is taken;
- FSSA identifiably plays a major role in the narrative.[19]

This reduced the size of the prospective corpus to about two thirds of the size of the catalogue. 88 novels featuring an LBQ YA point-of-view character and FSSA as a more than marginal force in the driving of the plot were found to be

[19] As I had to depend on reviews and other descriptions and, like any other reader looking for novels on a particular topic, had not read the novels (with a few exceptions), I may have erred on the side of over-exclusion. Novels in Chapman's list for which I could not find information as to the queer content have not been catalogued, for example, in cases in which the descriptions only mention that a character has a secret, which is not specified further.

available in electronic format; 113 were in print in October 2014. This means that in the majority of YA novels featuring FSSA, FSSA is actually focused on – fictional narratives with sexual attraction/relations featuring as hardly an issue and only secondary female same-sex attracted characters are in the minority within the literature. The initial publication years of the 127 novels which fit the narrow definition above (of focusing on FSSA) published in total in the 45 years from 1969 to 2013 (inclusively) fall into the nine half-decades, which constitute this time-span, as shown in the following figure.

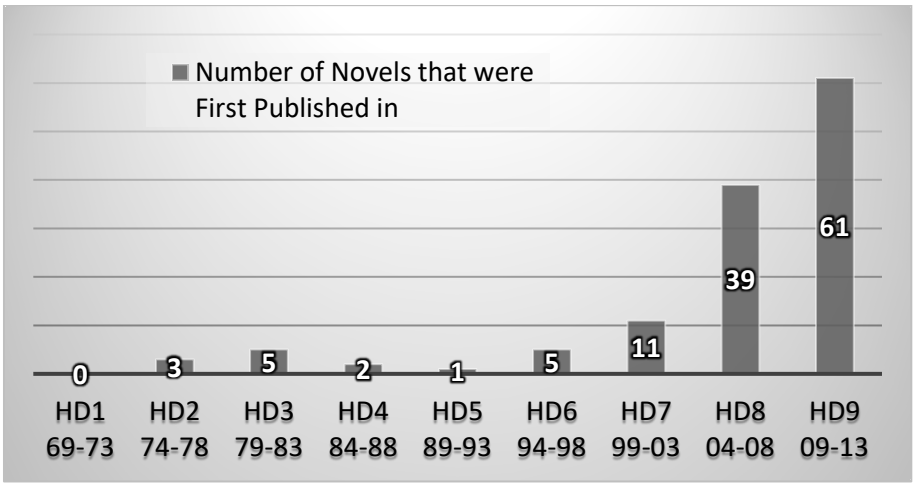

Figure 7 Histogram of LBQ YA publishing in the narrow sense of point of view and plot elements – number of novels by half-decade of first publication

As seen for LGBTIQ YA literature as a whole (in 3.3.2 and Figure 4), the rate of publication picks up in the mid-nineties and has risen exponentially in recent years. For the female-focused narratives shown in Figure 7, it is of particular note that the second and third half-decade in the reckoning of LGBT YA are stronger than the following two. This chimes with Cart and Jenkins (2006) noting that in the seventies the proportion of lesbian to gay male titles is more

favourable to the female ones than in the eighties (pp. 40–41, and see pp. 73–80 for the list of novels which shows that 8 of the 11 titles including FSSA in the eighties were published before 1984). This also goes some way towards explaining why for a long time *Annie on my Mind* (Garden, 1982/2007) was *the* lesbian YA novel. On the other hand, in 2008, 2009, and 2011 to 2013 each year a double figure of LBQ YA novels in the narrow sense was published. The dip to only eight publications in 2010 (no less, though, than in the earlier years of this century) is probably due the financial crisis as Lo suggests for LGBTIQ YA literature as a whole. In sum, especially from recent years plenty of YA novels with LBQ YA point-of-view characters are available.

In the second stage, I applied three criteria which match the data set to the investigative approach and focus. In conjunction with the basic criterion of original publication in English, I specified realist novels set after Stonewall. This matches the data to the SILs identified as socially recognized. By including only novels already available in electronic format (as e-books for Kindle on Amazon), I drastically reduced the amount of time I had to spend on preparing the novels for analysis using corpus software (see section 4.1.4 and Appendix 1). Following the trial analysis of a pilot corpus, which indicated that only a small proportion of the novels left in the catalogue are not written in first person,[20] I decided that the corpus should only include

[20] Gillingham (2017) notes for lesbian YA romances that they are "almost exclusively narrated in first-person by the female protagonist" (p. 59).

novels which are narrated throughout in first person by a character who experiences FSSA as a young adult. As the previous chapters imply and the following two sections and the analysis chapters illustrate, having only novels with one first-person narrator throughout each makes the analysis more straightforward. At the end of the second stage only 39 novels were left in the prospective corpus. For these the temporal setting was investigated (see 4.1.4 and Table 15 Conversion of novels into corpus) resulting in the following figure. (If no indications of an earlier setting could be found, the year of publication was used in the generation of the figure.)

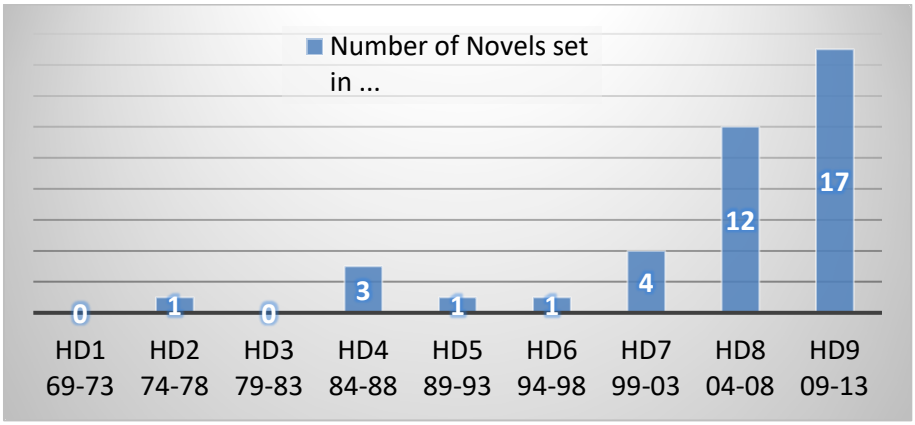

Figure 8 Realist Anglophone first-person cisgender LBQ YA novels available in electronic format by half-decade of setting

Except for the earliest of these, which was originally published in 1978, all novels were first published in the 21st century. In those not set at the time of their original publication, this appears to involve the authors drawing on their experiences of the setting when they were young adults themselves. Due to the scarcity of novels identifiably set in the early half-decades, I focused the corpus by one more criterion, namely, to include only those novels set post-

1993. I chose this cut-off as the novel appearing in HD5 above is explicitly set in 1989 and 1993, whereas the one in HD6 is placed there due to one reviewer's impression. This also makes the corpus texts contemporary to the extent that their setting allows for computers, mobile phones and the internet, hence social media, to feature. A further five novels were excluded by this criterion, making the final corpus consist of 34 novels.

In sum, LBQ1YA consists of all identifiable first-person narratives by one narrator throughout a realist YA novel who is unambiguously female and experiences same-sex attraction as a young adult (or questions whether an attraction to another female is sexual) set in an English-speaking first-world country post-1993, purchaseable in digital format in 2014 (when the data was collected) and published no later than 2013. In the following I refer to these features as the corpus definition.

4.1.3 Characteristics of the corpus

This sub-section presents the attributes of LBQ1YA which contribute to placing it in further context(s). The corresponding details for each of the novels is given in Appendix A, that is, the Excel table on the CD-ROM. This is ordered alphabetically by the author's last name (column A). Column M contains notes on the narration of these novels, mainly the inclusion of computer-mediated communication and the relations between story-now and speaker-now, as far as known to me.

In corpus linguistic terms, the size of the corpus investigated is 2,005,806 tokens in total. The type count for the corpus as a whole is 31,991. For each novel the count varies between 2,020 and 8,249 types; the mean of the type counts for each text, being 5030. The range within these YA novels likely reflects the expected reader competence, that is, whether a text is written for readers in their early teens, for reluctant readers, for avid readers, for readers about to enter third level education, or a group in between these. As regards tokens, the mean is 58,994. But in this count, as well, a wide range of wordiness is found. Intriguingly, there are some outliers, a small group at the higher end and a group containing 22 of the 34 novels in the corpus. Thus, the range can be summarized as follows. The shortest novel is 14,740 tokens, there are two around twenty thousand and then one at 38,917. Most novels in the corpus are between fourty and sixty-five thousand tokens. Seven novels fall between seventy-two and ninety thousand, while the outlier at the higher end (the longest novel in the corpus) has 133,030 tokens. Three of these eight novels are by the same author and published by the same publishing house; for these and for others at this end of the range, the high token count seems to be due to the writers not editing their texts down, or having them edited down. Setting these aside, the novels in LBQ1YA are below or at the lower end of the length range regarded usual for novels (see Cuddon, 1999, p. 560).

In this paragraph I am concerned with identities intersecting with the queerness of the character-narrators in the corpus texts. Except for two male-authored novels, the authors are female like the first-person narrators they have written about. Regarding where the novels were published, the following figure shows the dominance of the United States in my corpus. This was observed in LGBTIQ YA publishing as a whole, too.

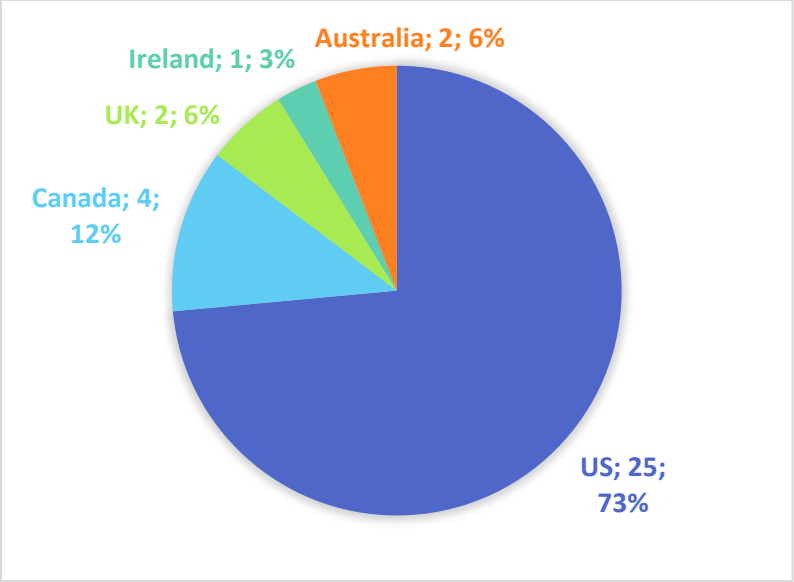

Figure 9 Corpus texts by country of primary publication

All except five novels were published in North America, that is 85% of the corpus texts. Three authors have more than one novel in the corpus, namely, US author Peters (3), Canadian author Stevenson (2), and UK author Payne (3). Payne's novels were all produced in the US, but are set in the UK where their author lives. Thus, there are four authors writing in the British Isles and two in the southern Hemisphere represented in the corpus investigated. My corpus also reflects the lack of diversity in LGBTIQ YA literature as a whole in

that only two novels investigated are prominently set in a non-white community, namely a rural African American one and the Cuban community of Miami, Florida.

The latter is featured in a novel for which I obtained an edition which had been "updated" since its first publication (Dole, 2008/2012, Author's note). Alerted to this possibility, I noted the year of publication for the edition I obtained in the spreadsheet and generated the following figure showing the 34 texts in the corpus by that year.

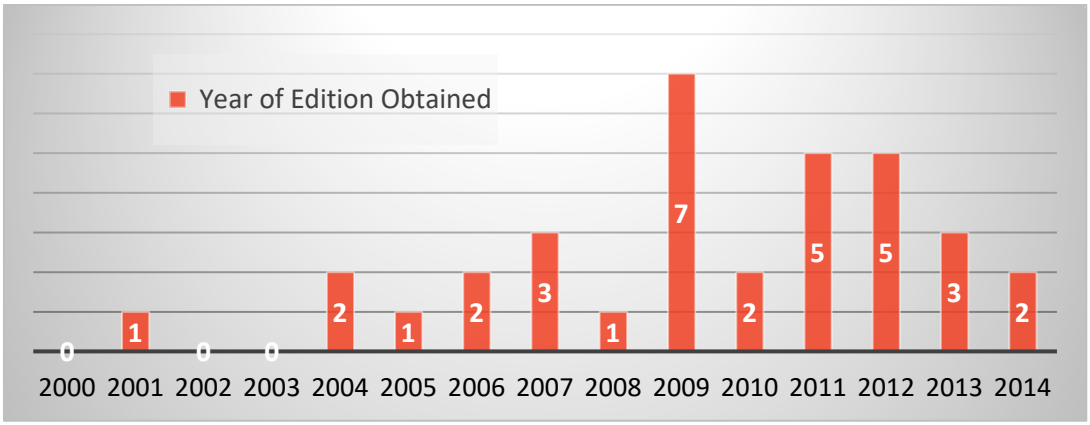

Figure 10 Twenty-first century histogram of the edition of corpus texts obtained

This indicates that LBQ YA publishing has recovered since the financial crisis but, at least as far as my corpus goes, not reached the heights of 2009 again, when the risk-taking of the years leading up to the crash bore fruit.

Overall, this section has shown that, as far as data has been available on LGBTIQ YA publishing as a whole, the corpus collected for this thesis does keep with the wider trends in this literature. From Lo's figures presented in section 3.3.2, I estimate that YA realist novels featuring FSSA make up about a

third of LGBTIQ YA publishing. Realist first-person narratives set after 1993 available in electronic format (i.e. the corpus investigated) make up about a quarter of those novels told from an LBQ YA perspective in which the main plot involves FSSA. At various configurations of the selection criteria, the criterion of availability as a legally purchaseable e-book excludes about thirty percent of texts. I consider it likely that the texts which have been made available as e-books by publishers are more likely than others to be promoted to their readerships and those who provide access to these texts to young people and/or are already widely purchased by these. That is, I regard this criterion as selecting texts with a higher impact as well as saving time in converting the novels into files readable by corpus software.

4.1.4 Preparation of files for corpus analysis

This sub-section covers how the corpus texts are referred to in the corpus-assisted analysis and how their format was made consistent with each other. Information needed for producing a corpus consistent with how the one investigated in this thesis was built is found in Appendix 1 (p. 481). The checks done on the converted files for features relevant to the investigation are also found there (Table 15 Conversion of novels into corpus, p. 483). Below I focus on why I created the files in that way.

For each novel in the corpus I generated a Title Code following the rules listed in the first Appendix. These are designed to disambiguously and

concisely refer to the texts (i.e. novels) in LBQ1YA as well as to name their corresponding files consistently. The publication year is included for single word titles, as some of these re-occur in YA. Thus, it is possible to enlarge the corpus or create comparative corpora with file names remaining unique (see section 8.4.3). The file names are, furthermore, designed so that they are understood as one unit by relevant software and operating systems. Nonetheless, I have aimed to create the code so as to be reminiscent of the title, that is, the full title is easily brought to mind, if known. The table below lists the 34 corpus texts ordered as in the reference list and corresponds to the first three columns of the Table on CD-ROM.

Author's Last Name	**Title Code**	**Full Title**
Adams	**Sparks_D**	*Sparks: the epic, completely true blue, (almost) holy quest of Debbie*
Argo	**GIveRunAW**	*Girls I've Run Away With*
Bigelow	**Start_FH**	*Starting From Here*
Bjorkman	**MyILife**	*My Invented Life*
Bloss	**BandGOut**	*Band Geeked Out*
Burchill	**SugarRush**	*Sugar Rush*
Calin	**BetweenYM**	*Between You & Me*
Clanton	**QaU_Devon**	*Quite An Undertaking: Devon's Story*
Cronn-Mills	**SkyAHills**	*The Sky Always Hears Me And The Hills Don't Mind*
Dole	**DownToTB**	*Down to the Bone*
Goobie	**HelloG**	*Hello, Groin*
Hoblin	**A_enemy13**	*archenemy*
Horniman	**AboutAG**	*About A Girl*
Jahn-Clough	**CGCGirl**	*Country Girl, City Girl*
Knowles	**LfaDGirl**	*Lessons From A Dead Girl*
Lehman	**Torn2010**	*Torn*
Mac	**Crush2006**	*Crush*
Meade	**Flick2011**	*Flick*
Myracle	**KissingK**	*Kissing Kate*
Payne	**365Days**	*365 Days*

Author's Last Name	Title Code	Full Title
Payne	**MeAtYou_**	*me@you.com*
Payne	**A365Days**	*Another 365 Days*
Peters	**R_ALoveS**	*Rage: A love story*
Peters	**Keep_YaS**	*Keeping You a Secret*
Peters	**PYouLoveM**	*Pretend You Love Me* (originally published as *Far From Xanadu*)
Rainfield	**Scars2010**	*Scars*
Rice	**WhoIAm**	*Who I Am*
Ryan	**Empress_W**	*Empress of the World*
Schaeffer	**TQWithin**	*The Questions Within*
Stevenson	**Inferno09**	*Inferno*
Stevenson	**OoOrder**	*Out of Order*
Watts	**FindingHF**	*Finding H. F.*
Wilkinson	**Pink2009**	*Pink*
Wyeth	**OrpheaP**	*Orphea Proud*

Table 2 Corpus texts: Full titles with corresponding Title Codes and ordered alphabetically by author's last name

As seen in this table, the novels in the corpus investigated vary widely in length and expressiveness of the title. The controlled length of the Title Code, on the other hand, facilitates the handling of the files as well as making the presentation of the quantitative results neater. (I use them in this, the next and the final chapter for reference to the novels/files).

A small set of tags was added to the texts to enable certain inquiries. Again, consistency was the objective in this aspect of conversion. The conventions for the mark-up of the files are detailed in Appendix 1. This includes templates which can be used for creating further corpora of sub-sections of YA publishing. A header was added to the files in order to keep the information on the text (gathered in the spreadsheet) in computer-readable format within

the text in case this is needed in future research. The tagging described in the appendix also makes the chapter breaks regular and hence searchable. In conjunction with this, the line breaks were regularized; they are shown in the concordance lines by a character (\ was used). Hence, differences in formatting between the novels cannot impact on the analysis.

In other words, the mark-up makes everything about the novels equal except what is of interest to the analysis – the linguistic expressions used in the narrative. After the final stage of preparation, the file names were prefixed with three digits corresponding to the file length in thousands of characters (see Column H in Appendix A). This simplifies the analyses of concordance plots as the corpus software used thus orders its display in ascending file length.

In this way I obtained 34 files of novels readable by corpus software. The corpus comprises LBQ first-person fictional narratives published as YA novels and set 1994 to 2013. They are ordered by length of novel and ready for the investigation of SIL-usage patterns. The next section discusses how the methods and tools for this investigation were chosen, that is, how I operationalized the research question. This includes a couple of corpus pilot analyses I undertook including on a sub-section of LBQ1YA. LBQ1YA_HD8 is comprised of novels first published, set in, and not updated later than the eighth half-decade in the reckoning of LGBT YA.

4.2 Corpus Methodology

In this section I describe some steps undertaken in my PhD project prior to the main investigation.

Sub-section 4.2.1 briefly covers several stages in determining the methods suitable for the data and investigative aim. Approaches rejected (mainly on the grounds of pilot analyses) will be further explored in the final chapter (in particular, 8.4.3). In sub-section 4.2.2 I explicate the complementarity of methods used in the investigation, in conjunction with the aspects of the occurrence of sexual identity labels (SILs) in LBQ YA novels inquired into in this thesis. This leads to their formulation as operationalized research questions in 4.2.3. A general principle in my que(e)rying SILs has been to constantly check various ways of representing the data making sure that what appears one way in a set of results using a particular method, does not appear in another when looked at differently.

Sub-section 4.2.4 is concerned with the impact of the homonymy and polysemy of the search strings on the investigation. I detail the annotation system used, the tokens for each category found in the data, and how the annotation was used in filtering the occurrences that appear in the later results displays. One of these displays is used in identifying the passages in the

narratives in which SILs and related terms occur extraordinarily densely. The final sub-section (4.2.5) describes how these are operationalized as token-cluster passages (TCPs) in this thesis. This involves deciding which features circumscribe a passage in novels which can be fruitfully analysed for SIL-usage, such as the dynamics of labelling within a narrated context of situation.

4.2.1 Finding the methods of inquiry and developing tools

This sub-section details how I developed a Corpus-assisted Discourse Analysis of fictional narratives to investigate the usage patterns of category labels. These linguistic features are relatively infrequent and tend to co-occur with each other in the YA novels studied, which causes a number of difficulties for established corpus linguistic methods. This was indicated by a pilot of a single novel and one of a sub-section of the final corpus. The resulting rejection of keyword and collocation analyses as well as the adoption of the close-text analysis of token-cluster passages and manual annotation is outlined below. Also the reasons for using AntConc as the corpus software are given.

Initially, several corpus softwares and tools were tested on a single novel (Boock, 1997/2009), which I had read. The novel is set in New Zealand and authored by a resident thereof. Its token count is in the mid-range and its type count slightly above the mean of those in the final corpus. It was not included in LBQ1YA as it is narrated in third person with two point-of-view LBQ

characters. This highlighted several contraints on the usefulness of keyword and key semantic domain analyses (Rayson, 2008).

Regarding automatic annotation, WMatrix was tested showing its semantic tagger as not sensitive enough on the domain of sexuality.[21] That is, it was not able to accurately distinguish euphemism (e.g. *sleep with* followed by a person (Boock, 1997/2009, p. 67) versus *the noise* (ibid., p. 74)) and homonymy/ polysemy (e.g. *dyke* was tagged as a part of buildings even though it was used as a SIL in the novel (ibid., p. 108)). Concerning discourse presentation, taggers which were accessible to me would only have been able to mark up consistent use of either single or double quotation marks, not other formats of character interaction (such as those noted in Column M of Appendix A).

I decided against keyword analysis between YA novels featuring FSSA and other texts of similar type, as no such reference corpus was available to me offline. According to UK copyright regulations, I am responsible for not making copies of my corpus texts available to others, which limits the use of online databases with integrated corpus software. Besides, I tested comparing two narratives against each other by splitting Boock's novel according to the two perspectives. The terms of interest to this investigation appeared as not frequent enough to feature as keywords. On the other hand, story-based idiosyncracies such as proper names featured prominently even though the

[21] http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix/

sub-corpora share a setting. Hence, it would be necessary to purpose-build a corpus and manually prepare the texts or taggers in order to conduct a meaningful internal comparison of LBQ narratives or YA more widely. Finances and the time-scale of a PhD do not allow to build a corpus large enough for differences to emerge from such a keyword analysis that are sound, that is, not skewed by single novels or authors.

Collocation analysis of SILs was also found to be skewed by how relatively low numbers of search term tokens interact with statistical measures. Specifically, parts of the corpus (texts) in which a critical proportion of the total tokens of the search term (node word) occurs are the co-texts represented in the collocates. This was observed both for the single novel corpus and for a subsection of the final corpus, which was used in further pilot analyses. LBQ1YA_HD8 contains eight novels (marked in blue in the Appendix A table).[22] The pilot corpus consists of a total of 369,864 tokens. That is, the sub-section of the final corpus piloted is nearly a fifth thereof token-wise and nearly a quarter text-wise.

The concordance plot display for SILs in LBQ1YA_HD8 indicates that their tokens tend to co-occur and there are often long stretches of narrative between such clusters with no occurrences. Closer inspection of these clusters and the

[22] A ninth novel was initially collected as it was first published, set in, and not updated later than the eighth half-decade in the reckoning of LGBT YA, but, as it was the only one not in first person, this criterion was added to the corpus selection (see section 4.1.2).

co-texts of the collocates determined for SILs in this corpus reveals the collocation analysis to mainly reflect these clusters and/or phrases particular to a text (which would be found by an n-gram analysis, i.e. a search for n number of words re-occurring in the same order). For instance, HelloG contains 30 of the 42 tokens of LESBIAN in LBQ1YA_HD8 and the top three collocates of this node word in the pilot corpus analysis are all part of the designation of a group of females at the character-narrator's school (namely, "the Dief's five official lesbians", one instance is reproduced in sentence 6 in A4.2.2, see also 6.2.2).

Without looking at the text extracts in which SILs cluster, it would not be possible to know whether and in which ways the collocates are meaningful. The tool *GraphColl* (now integrated into LancsBox),[23] which was developed during my doctoral studies at Lancaster, is able to display collocation networks, which include collocates of collocates and collocation between collocates of a search term (Brezina et al., 2015). But even using that on the whole final corpus mainly showed the co-occurrence of the search terms with each other in certain text passages in which SILs occur extraordinarily densely. Hence, their identification and analysis yields similar insights to collocation analysis and allows for close-text analysis.

[23] http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/lancsbox/

Although not based in statistics, the identification of such passages is conducted as transparently and consistently as possible given the nature of the data. The empirical and reproducible procedures employed are described in section 4.2.5. This analysis was preferred to analyses of whole novels, which have been done in previous research, as a wider range of texts can thus be presented in this thesis. A disadvantage is that in this investigation the passages or texts which construct sexuality without using category labels are not included; however, in some TCPs identified alternative constructions of sexuality are manifest. (See also section 8.4 on limitations of this study and suggestions for future research.)

Another disadvantage is that a smaller number and proportion of instances can be analysed than with such quantitative analytical procedures as collocation. This is ameliorated by manually annotating all tokens of not-just-other-sex denoting SILs with more than fifty tokens in the corpus (see sections 4.3.4 and 5.1.3). For inclusion in this annotation scheme various features were explored in the pilots in order to arrive at meaningful categories for the data (LBQ fictional first-person narratives) and the investigative aim, including comparison between the labels' usage. A simple distinction between adjectival and nominal use was rejected as the concordance lines revealed this distinction not to be straightforward in the constructions SILs occur in. Furthermore, comparing the extent to which the word forms are used partly

covers this distinction and exploring the relative extents to which SILs fulfil certain functions (such as generic reference) is interpretatively more significant (see the cognitive linguistic underpinnings to this investigation described above, in particular in 2.3.2). The manual annotation is also used to differentiate between character interaction and the narratorial discourse situation as well as nesting within these. Thus, my inquiry takes into account the linguistic phenomena discursively constructing sexual identity via the use of category labels in various layers and elucidates their various facets with a combinatory approach befitting a Queer Corpus-assisted Discourse Study.

Regarding the most technical level of developing a fitting methodology for Queer CADS of fictional narratives, throughout the pilot analyses, AntConc 3.4.3 was explored (Anthony, 2014). In order to facilitate gauging the density of token-clusters in the concordance plot display the programme was developed in conjunction with me and I used a 3.5.0.0 (dev) version of the software provided to me by the programmer in the final analyses (Anthony, 2016). At the time of writing (autumn 2018), the new features I used are available in the current version (3.5.7) and detailed in the version history.[24] I explain their functions in my investigation in sub-sections 4.2.4 and 5.

I chose to use Microsoft Excel to process the annotation schemes (polysemy and usage features) on the concordance imported from AntConc as I believe

[24] http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/releases/AntConc357/version_history.pdf

this resulted in easily and cheaply reproducible procedures even for those with disciplinary distance from quantitative analyses. AntConc is available for free to use on personal computers. Most students and researchers have access and training in Microsoft Office programmes. Instructions for generating frequency tables and figures are available freely online. Various such ways of representing the data were tried out by me for this thesis. Excel is also able to display the concordance lines filtered according to any (combination of) code(s) entered into its rows. Thus, the population of the categories can be checked in the interpretation of the quantitative results. AntConc was furthermore chosen for the approachability of its developer, resulting in the best available plot display for my investigation. It also provides access to the co-text of search terms via links between the concordance plots, lines, and full text displays. The text included in the imported lines was set to a window of 250 characters around the search term.

4.2.2 Rationale for the research design: Complementary inquiries

The combination of the manual annotation of concordance lines and the close-text analysis of extracts from the narratives in which the terms of interest to the investigation occur extraordinarily densely makes it possible to present a comprehensive picture of the usage, range of functions, and meanings of the category labels investigated. As concerns SILs in YA novels in particular, the

results of the present inquiries can be compared to, and/or set into the context of, the observations presented in the previous chapter.

The first step in the investigation is to annotate the concordance lines (of the search strings in Table 1) imported into Excel for homonymy/polysemy (see 4.2.4). Hence, the frequencies of SILs can be calculated. The tables and figures I generated allow for comparisons between the frequencies of the labels and their forms overall and distinguishing between the texts which comprise the corpus. Thus, it can be observed which SILs feature to which extent across how many LBQ first-person narratives and hence which constellations of SILs readers are more or less likely to encounter.

This picture is further refined by the annotation for usage features (see 4.3.4). This allows, for instance, to see which labels are used for factual self-identification by how many of these YA novels' character-narrators to themselves. On the other hand, certain labels may emerge as mostly or only occurring as distanced from the deictic centre, for example, as labelling someone else in character interaction or in their applicability being questioned. Furthermore, the relative absence or presence of a SIL used in reference to people as a group defined by that label also contributes to the discursive erasure or hegemony of the designated sexual orientation in the socio-cultural context portrayed in these contemporary realist, though fictional, narratives.

Another aspect of what SILs are used for in these texts is which experiences of the character(-narrator)s involve the use of SILs in which ways. In literary studies, *plot* "refers to the order and manner in which events are actually presented in the narrative", whereas *story* "refers to the chronological sequence of events" (Cuddon, 1999, p. 328). That is, a concordance plot displays where an instance of the use of a word occurs in a novel's plot. But, the place in the concordance plot in which a SIL occurs does not match a known point in the story. Therefore, in identifying the token-clusters in the plot display (Appendix B, and see 4.2.5) I follow the link to the whole text in AntConc to see what happens in the story. Thus, patterns in the occasions for SIL-usage in these narratives can be described and it can be seen, for instance, whether SILs are featured in flashbacks.

Following the listing of the TCPs identified (Appendix 4.1), I apply a criterion which narrows the selection of TCPs to what can be analysed closely within the scope of this thesis and yet provide a balanced picture of the features of interest to this investigation (see 5.2.3). The selected TCPs are analysed for the motivations of the character(-narrator)s' in identifying with, or distancing themselves from, certain SILs. This involves identifying which meaning elements are evoked by which SILs, including attitudes towards, and stereotypes of, designated groups of people. This is how the negotiation of

conceptualizations of sexual orientation in these text passages and the presented potentialities of labelling are characterized.

Together these four steps in the investigation enable answering the overall research question for the corpus compiled. As stated in 1.3, this is the following:

> How are the relationships of characters to SILs portrayed in LBQ1YA, and, in particular, how do the portrayed relationships differ between labels as regards self-identification by the novels' female character-narrators?

In answering this question, I not only describe the linguistic means of this portrayal (see 4.3.1–3 and 8.1.1), but also what models this provides to LBQ young adults for dealing with the discursive structures and labelling practices surrounding SILs in contemporary Western Anglophone societies. These models include the conceptual structures implied by the texts as well as the occasions of use and the extent to which a specific (set of) SIL(s) is absent in the texts which comprise the corpus, or in certain passages within these.

4.2.3 Operationalized research questions

The main research question stated above conflates the steps in my investigation as well as aspects of the data – the LBQ1YA corpus defined in 4.1.2 – elucidated in this thesis (see above). In answering it I first describe

empirically what is evident in this population and then interpret this explicating from which perspective (including assumptions). Hence, the overall research question can be broken down as follows.

1. a) What are contemporaneously widely recognized SILs used for in LBQ1YA?

   b) Which range of relationships is portrayed for GAY, LESBIAN, DYKE, QUEER, BISEXUAL, STRAIGHT, HETEROSEXUAL and HOMOSEXUAL, respectively?

2. a) What does this indicate about the underlying cognitive, semantic, and social structures of contemporary labelling/categorization of (same-sex) sexuality?

   b) From a perspective which endorses the representation of human diversity, what does this mean for LBQ YA literature?

This means that I am concerned with (re)produced discursive structures. Discursive structures are manifest in lexico-grammatical constructions and context (structures of co-text and context of situation) from which socio-cognitive structures can be traced.

4.2.4 Initial corpus analysis: Polysemy annotation

As indicated above, the first step in investigating the usage patterns of SILs reviewed in 3.2 is to annotate the concordance of the hits for the list of word

forms (Table 1 Search strings) for polysemy/homonymy. In other words, it needs to be possible to filter the concordance lines by sense – sexual or not – in which the orthographic search terms are used for inquiring into the linguistic phenomena involved in the discursive construction of sexual identities in LBQ1YA. To that end, the 1853 lines compiled by AntConc for the search strings were imported into Excel and coded according to the annotation scheme detailed in this sub-section.

I also use this annotation scheme to be able to differentiate as required in the results presentation between the labels widely recognized in contemporary English – for which existing research is reviewed in 3.2.4 – and the variant forms of them included in the search list. A third category covers other SIL-tokens found as a result of overlap in form but which are new or idiosyncratic SIL-formations. A single category is used for tokens with non-sexual senses, as these are not of interest to this investigation beyond the discussion in this section. A final category of liminal uses is designed to capture everything in between SIL- and other uses. The annotation scheme is summarized in the following table; thereafter I exemplify the categories.

Category	Annotation
GAY, LESBIAN, DYKE, QUEER, BISEXUAL, STRAIGHT, HOMOSEXUAL and HETEROSEXUAL used in their established SIL-form and sexual sense	**SILr**
Variant (including abbreviated) forms of LESBIAN, BISEXUAL, HOMOSEXUAL and HETEROSEXUAL searched for and used in sexual sense	**SILv**
Linguistic expressions used as sexual identity label not concurring in referential meaning but partly in form with the above	**SILn**
Uses of a search string outside the domain of sexuality	**outDoS**
Uses of a search string ambiguous between sexual and other sense(s); other linguistic expressions included in the concordance due to form overlap but not a SIL in form or meaning yet still of interest to the study	**Liminal**

Table 3 Categories and their abbreviations – codes – used in polysemy annotation

If used to label sexual orientation, *bisexual* is coded SILr, *bi* SILv and *bi-curious* SILn. outDoS covers all non-sexual meanings no matter other linguistic attributes, for instance the literal *straight teeth* and *straight ahead*, as well as the metaphoric *answering straight out* fall into this category. The liminal category is designed to capture instances which do not clearly fall within or outside the remit of this investigation. This includes discussions of the meanings of the form and punning on polysemy – cases in which both sexual and non-sexual senses are indexed. These instances contribute to meaning construction and some are analysed qualitatively. Also an instance of *bi-curiosity* and the phrase "any lingering bit of hetero or bisexuality that I had in me" (Sparks_D) turned up in the concordance lines and were coded liminal as they are not SILs but within the domain of sexuality.[25]

[25] There are no other instances of *bisexuality* in the corpus but 3 tokens of *heterosexuality*, 12 tokens of *homosexuality*, one of *sexualities* and 22 of *sexuality*, which however were purposefully not included in the scope of this investigation (see 1.2).

Overall, the categories are filled (or not) as follows for the node words in the KWIC display, that is, the search strings in my corpus.

	LESBIAN & variants	DYKE	GAY	QUEER	STRAI-GHT	HETERO-SEXUAL & abbr.	HOMO-SEXUAL & abbr.	BI-SEXUAL & abbr.
Search Hits	405	142	546	74	547	29	41	69
SILr	325	140	536	73	124	11	17	28
SILv	78	0	0	0	0	16	18	34
SILn	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	5
outDoS	1	0	0	0	417	1	0	0
Liminal	0	0	10	1	6	1	6	2

Table 4 Tokens of search strings by polysemy annotation

Notable here is that except for tokens of STRAIGHT, there are only two outDoS-tokens. The one under HETEROSEXUAL is an instance of the expression *het up* (meaning *worked up*, SugarRush). The one under LESBIAN is a reference to the "Island of Lesbos" as a holiday destination (MyILife), that is, it is a use of a search term easily recognizable as outside the domain of sexuality (though, on a meta-level it refers to the origin of the label). All five tokens coded SILn under BISEXUAL are of *bi-curious*, which functions as a SIL but was not found intentionally.[26] The two tokens of DYKE coded SILn are instances of *bull dyke* in R_ALoveS, which according to the literature does not concur in meaning (see 3.2.4).[27] The same novel also features "the LesBo Dykes, or Les Beau Dykes", which gives rise to the SILn token in LESBIAN. The SILv cells for DYKE, GAY,

[26] The other emerging SILs listed in 3.2.3 do not occur in the corpus (nor do their plural forms).
[27] Neither *bulldyke*, nor *bull dike* or *bulldike*, occur in the corpus. *Dike* occurs once, namely in WhoIam, but is judged as an incorrect spelling of *dyke* by its character-narrator.

QUEER, and STRAIGHT are empty as no variants of these labels were searched for. Finally notable as regards empty cells is that the two labels which are female-specific have no liminal uses in my corpus whereas all others do. The liminal one under HETERO(SEXUAL) is *hetero* in the *sexuality phrase quoted above. The liminal uses of HOMO(SEXUAL), GAY, QUEER and STRAIGHT are dicussed after the next table, which shows the proportions in which the search strings for each label are used as recognized or variant forms of the SILs searched for, other SILs, liminally, and outside the domain of sexuality.

The first thing to note in that regard is that the variant forms searched for make a significant contribution to the total instances of their respective labels (which was a requirement for their inclusion in the search list, see above). In fact, those labels whose full form ends in *sexual(s)* are used to a roughly equal extent in their full forms and their abbreviated forms (see 5.1.1 for details). And, the variant forms of LESBIAN amount to almost a fifth of the instances of the label; however, the contribution of the variant forms varies by novel (see Table 16 or Table 14, in particular Flick2011, in which all 19 tokens of *lezzer(s)* occur, while it only contains nine tokens of the formal form of the label).

For the whole corpus, the following table shows the impact of homonymy and polysemy on the frequency figures of the set of SILs investigated. The last two rows highlight this by giving first the normalized frequency for the search hits and then for the tokens coded SILr and SILv only (corrected normalized

frequency). The first five rows provide the relative frequencies of the polysemy annotation categories in percentage figures rounded to one decimal.

	LESBIAN & variants	DYKE	GAY	QUEER	STRAI-GHT	HETERO-SEXUAL & abbr.	HOMO-SEXUAL & abbr.	BI-SEXUAL & abbr.
SILr	80.2%	98.6%	98.2%	98.6%	22.7%	37.9%	41.5%	40.6%
SILv	19.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	55.2%	43.9%	49.3%
SILn	0.2%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
outDoS	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	76.2%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%
Liminal	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	1.4%	1.1%	3.4%	14.6%	2.9%
N. Freq.	0.202	0.071	0.272	0.037	0.273	0.014	0.020	0.034
Cor. N. Freq.	0.201	0.070	0.267	0.036	0.062	0.013	0.017	0.031

Table 5 Proportions of senses and variants of search strings

As expected, STRAIGHT has by far the highest percentage – just over three quarters – of tokens outside the domain of sexuality. Thus, the impact of filtering out non-sexual senses is largest for this label. In fact, whereas according to its uncorrected normalized frequency it is the most frequent SIL in the corpus (having one token more than GAY), it drops to fourth place among the signs to be investigated (GAY has ten tokens per fifty thousand words more once uses outside the domain of sexuality, liminal uses and other SIL tokens are excluded). All other normalized frequencies are only marginally impacted by the filter. In fact, there is only one instance of QUEER not coded SILr and this liminal use is explicitly commented on as intentionally punning (the line is quoted below in example (6)). Similarly, the liminal uses of HOMOSEXUAL and GAY are part of discussions of the meanings of the linguistic form and/or a use in a non-sexual sense portrayed as relating to the

SIL-usage by the co-text (such as a character-narrator's reaction to the new negative use of *gay*). Finally, even though the non-sexual senses of STRAIGHT dominate its concordance, the lines were mostly easy to annotate as either SILr or outDoS. That is, only a few tokens were truly ambiguous in their co-text (an example from PYouLoveM: "About last night. You knew I was upset about Bailey, right? I wasn't thinking straight. Straight." [Xanadu] let out a little laugh). This means that the polysemy of these words is in the main not portrayed as a problem for the characters in LBQ1YA, although it is at times highlighted – both positively and negatively – in the narrative or character interaction.

In order to allow such meta-linguistic discussions to feature in the qualitative analysis, liminal, as well as SILn-tokens, were included in the analysis that led to the identification of token-cluster passages (see below). They were, though, excluded from the frequency figures in order not to dilute the investigation of the SILs as signs, that is the specific form-meaning pairings intended to be researched. Thus two initial filters were applied to the concordance lines – one excluding all but SILr and SILv tokens and one excluding only outDoS-tokens – see section 5.1. and 5.2 for the respective results.

To apply either filter to the concordance plots, I noted the hit numbers for the tokens to be excluded and deleted those lines from the concordance

display. Since version 3.5.0 of AntConc, this deletes the corresponding lines in the plot display. For SILr- and SILv-tokens only I generated plots with standard length for the whole corpus resulting in a picture of when in each novel SILs are used which are socially recognized or meaning-concurrent variants of these. The display is partly reproduced in Appendix 3.1 for illustration and as far as refered to in the discussion in 5.1, which describes the preferences between the SILs intentionally included in the investigation (i.e. not SILn). At the time of generation, the developing version of AntConc did not correct the number of hits so I manually added the total of SILr and SILv tokens and the corrected normalized frequency to each novel's plot display. Given the ordering of the files in ascending length (see 4.1.4), more densely populated plots are to be expected as one looks down the display. This is because the display showing the occurrences of the search terms along the length of a novel's plot is stretched or condensed to result in concordance plots of equal length for each file.

Hence, I instigated further development of the plot display. New options include the choice of whether to display plots for files with no hits and whether, above the lines in the plots, ordinals for each novel are to be displayed corresponding to the numbering of the concordance lines. Both these features have been programmed to be sensitive to the deletion of lines from the concordance, such as the application of a filter. These features were

later used in generating filtered concordance plots of standard length based on the annotation of usage features (see below and Appendix 3.2, which shows narratorial self-identification, discussed in 5.1.4). They were also used in generating plots with a *relative plot scale factor* set in the tool preferences for concordance plots. This factor determines how many characters of the file are displayed per pixel of the length of the plot. This means that, when this new setting is used, the length of the concordance plot corresponds to the length of the text (the novel in this investigation), thus enabling reading density off the plots of a corpus comprising texts of varying lengths (see 4.1.3 for the wide range in my corpus).

However, when dealing with texts in which the search terms occur extraordinarily densely in some, at times very short, stretches of the (concordance) plot, a further requirement for the principled identification and selection as well as description of token-cluster passages is that the number of tokens in each of these clusters can be determined. For the display of the tokens of interest in this investigation (1434 unevenly spread over 34 novels), the scale had to be such that plots fitting in their entire length/breadth onto an A4 page are the exception. Hence, it is appended on the CD-ROM (Appendix B). To facilitate this display another new feature of AntConc 3.5. was used, namely to save the display as a postscript file which can be converted into a PDF preserving the original resolution. Hence, unlike screenshots, it is

readable when zoomed. 150% is a good zoom setting for reading the textual information in Appendix B, 75% for reading token-density off the plots, and 25% shows the overall picture of the occurrences of the search terms not identified as outDoS in LBQ1YA.[28] In three novels in the corpus only outDoS-tokens occur, therefore these files are not included in the display reproduced in Appendix B. The hit numbers behind the 31 plots displayed are also automatically corrected to exclude outDoS-tokens.

In this sub-section I have detailed how the 1853 concordance hits for the search strings (Table 1) were sorted for the corpus-assisted analyses of the discursive phenomena constructing sexuality in LBQ1YA by means of SILs and related terms. In order to make claims about the relative frequencies and absolute absences of the signs discussed in 3.2.4 on various layers of the narratives and on the facets of forms and functions of linguistic instantiations, I only include SILr and SILv tokens in the analyses presented in 5.1. Furthermore, the usage feature annotation described in 4.3.4, on which the latter results in 5.1 are based, was also only executed on the tokens of BI(SEXUAL) coded SILr and SILv in the initial annotation for polysemy, and the SILr tokens of LESBIAN, GAY, QUEER and DYKE.[29] In addition, this initial annotation highlighted some accidental hits on terms which, although related

[28] For technical reasons the display is split onto two pages in the PDF.

[29] If I were to do it again, I would also annotate STRAIGHT for usage features, as not doing so necessitated checking concordance lines in interpreting the plots in A3.2. That is, excluding this other-sex denoting label from the usage feature annotation did not save time overall while it reduced my ability to present evidence and making claims based thereon.

to the search terms, are either variants in form which denote a somewhat different sexual orientation and were coded as SILn, or compounds of *sexuality*, which were coded liminal. Also coded liminal were instances of the search terms which index both sexual and non-sexual senses of the search terms. As the analyses of passages allow for a more contextualized analysis of the discursive contruction of sexuality in the corpus, the scaled plots used in identifying them include SILn and liminal tokens. I have given so much detail on the relatively small number of tokens excluded from the initial analyses in 5.1 but not from that in 5.2 (34 tokens coded SILn and liminal) in order to highlight the importance of being sensitive to which uses of search strings are included in a Corpus-assisted Discourse Study – especially in a Queer CADS one should be aware of how one's analytical categories, and particular categorical exclusions, impact one's results.

4.2.5 Identifying token-cluster passages

In this sub-section I describe the procedures in identifying token-clusters from the scaled plots showing all but outDoS-tokens. Furthermore, I detail how the boundaries of the corresponding text passages are determined in order to operationalize TCPs as an analytical unit.

In the corpus, the close co-occurrence of two, three, four and more tokens is very frequent partly due to phrases such as *lesbians and gay men*, lists of labels to comprise different categories (*straight, gay, bi, or queer*), and representations

of the repetition of one label or an assortment of labels in speech, writing and/or thought ("Thespian lesbian, thespian lesbian. How can I be a thespian lesbian when […]?", Empress_W). I marked the concordance lines which show another search term token occurring within the imported co-text. In generating the concordance and plots, I set the number of characters which are reproduced within a concordance line and the *relative plot scale factor* so that when the ordinals in the plot display are too close to be legible, the numbering of the marked concordance lines is sufficient to disambiguate the number of tokens displayed in the plot. Having done so, I am able to read off the plot how many tokens occur in any stretch of the plot. However, it is not possible in the plot display to distinguish to what extent the clustering of tokens is due to lists, phrases, and other such rather mechanical co-occurrence of tokens and to what extent it is due to words which can refer to a person's or people's sexual identity being discussed in a narrative passage. Concomitantly, these are not mutually exclusive within a token-cluster. Thus, it is not possible to determine a number of occurrences which represents an interpretatively significant threshold for token-cluster passages. Therefore, the threshold for a concentration of tokens to be potentially considered as a token-cluster passage must be set depending on the scope of the research and the extent of clustering identified in the data (see section 5.2.1).

In the present investigation, I used seven tokens as this threshold. Hence, I have only followed the link to the text from a concentration of tokens in the plot if there is the possibility that a corresponding token-cluster passage contains more than six tokens. The first criterion in the definition of a passage I use is that it cannot extend over a chapter boundary. Hence, the annotation of the chapter boundaries in the corpus is an aid in narrowing down which surges of tokens may correspond to a token-cluster passage and its extension in the plot. For the 31 novels for which occurrences of the search terms within or liminal with the domain of sexuality are plotted in Appendix B, I generated plots displaying the chapter boundaries using the same *relative plot scale factor*. Thus, I have been able to mark where chapter boundaries divide tokens of the search terms.

In determining the boundaries of token-cluster passages, I first selected for text view the part with the highest density of occurrences from a token-cluster in the plot and, if there are several in the concentration of tokens of the same density, the earliest of these within the same chapter. Then I skimmed the text prior to this point to determine the beginning of the chapter or, if typographically marked, for example by means of an asterisk, the section. Then I read the section or chapter and afterwards determined where to cut the text so that the narrowest narrative passage is achieved which is coherent and encompasses the concentration of tokens in the plot. Points which are suitable

for such cutting are a break or change in the activity which is narrated or in the configuration of the characters in narrative space-time. Regarding the latter, there may be a change in which characters are present, a break in the temporal flow of the narrative, a change in the spatial setting, any two of these three or all three given at a point of the text. A further principle I followed is that, if there is more than one concentration of tokens within a chapter, these are to be encompassed in one token-cluster passage rather than split. On the other hand, a stretch of plot with several tokens in quick succession which corresponds to accounts of several events over discontinuous narrated time is not considered one token-cluster passage. Thus, passages in the narratives in which SILs are concentrated are defined to, or rather operationalized as, TCPs.

4.3 Framework for Analysis of Text Passages and Concordance Lines

This section covers the linguistic means by which the relationships of the characters to SILs are portrayed and by which the labels' "meanings are constructed […] in specific contexts of use" (Taylor, 2002, p. 439). As well as being context-dependent in their interpretation, these linguistic phenomena constructing meaning can operate on various levels and/or co-occur to form complex expressions. In the following I will, as far as possible, differentiate the various features and how they function as regards the aspects investigated in this thesis. In this, I implicitly draw on cognitive linguistics (including

construction grammar and cognitive stylistics), especially the observations presented in the initial chapters on sub-world construction and reference, to which schemata and default inferences are essential (see also cross-references below). The linguistic observations are often valid for any lexeme but, given the scope of this thesis, I specify only SILs to enable simultaneously succinct and pertinent description. Thereby I present the framework used to describe the relationships of characters to SILs portrayed in the LBQ1YA corpus, both in close-text analysis and in quantitative analysis via manual annotation.

Initially, I describe how the labels function in four constructions – noun phrases, copulatives, gerunds and meta-linguistic uses. Then, I discuss how these functions can be modified by such features as negation and modality as well as those variations on the basic constructions which are particularly relevant in the analysis of my data. Thirdly, I outline another set of important features of my data, namely the attribution of propositions containing SILs, the presentation of hypothetical thoughts as well as discourse instances, and the reporting of discourse instances. These descriptions are necessarily very reductive as only what applies across co-texts is included in this chapter. This prepares the comprehensive exploration of these linguistic phenomena in the specific co-texts of text passages from my data in chapters 6 and 7.

The final sub-section of this section (4.3.4) explains how the relationships of characters to SILs described in the previous sub-sections can be codified to

enable a quantitative analysis of all SIL-tokens in the corpus (presented in 5.1.3). For ease of cross-reference I have consecutively numbered the examples given in the sub-sections 4.3.1 to 4.3.3. The examples are taken from my corpus, more precisely from the concordance of the search terms, that is, they all feature at least one SIL. None of the examples are featured in any of the passages analysed comprehensively in chapters 6 and 7. Each example includes the Title Code of the novel (see Table 2, Appendix A or References) and, as far as necessary, a note on the discourse situation it occurs in.

4.3.1 Basic constructions

The phenomena discussed in this sub-section are basic in the sense that the discussions in the other sub-sections will build on them. As linguistic expressions, sexual identity labels serve to specify a sexual identity category (see Chapter 2, in particular pp. 69–71; as well as p. 23). The constructions in this sub-section differ in the kind of entity for which that category is specified and/or in the way the application of the category to the entity is achieved. A special case is the phenomenon discussed last in this sub-section, where it is the label itself which is referred to rather than another entity which is labelled. Thus this sub-section introduces the basic ways in which SILs can be used to refer to a specific (set of) person(s), a non-specific human entity (that is, mostly generic references), sexual identity and the word itself, as well as an entity which is not a (set of) person(s).

The noun phrases in examples (1) to (3) evoke a category to present properties of its members and/or a relationship between the subject of the sentence and those members.

(1) I'm not against queers or anything. That isn't it. [Crush2006, narrative]
(2) "In this town, all people know is that lesbians are ugly butches and gay men are drag queens." [SkyAHills, lesbian acquaintance to narrator]
(3) After a long and almost fruitless search, I discover that a lot of black lesbians pour their hearts out online. Black gay boys do not. [MyILife, narrative]

As exemplified above, the label may be featured as a plural noun or as a premodifier of an expression for people. The noun phrase may also contain quantifiers or adjectives other than SILs thus specifying a sub-set of the members of the category signified by the SIL. Thus, sexual identity labels can function to reference a class of people defined by (solely or among other characteristics) their sexual identity.

In general, a SIL in a noun phrase includes the referent of the noun phrase in the (sub)category it designates. Whereas in the examples above the reference is generic, specific entities are labelled in the following.

(4) And then there's Kyle, the old gay guy who shoes the horses, [Crush2009, narrative]
(5) They were both gorgeous, and, I dunno, the fact they played a gay couple in it just seemed to pique my interest even more. [MeAtYou_, narrative]
(6) I shouldn't have come to a gay beach. That's "queer" of me (pun intended). Here I am, terrified of more people finding out about me. I was thrown out of school and my house for texts from another girl and what do I do? I come to a gay beach for the first time in my life. I'm just the most brilliant kid on the block, a typical genie-ass! [DownToTB, narrative]

In (4) the referent of the noun phrase containing *gay* is the same as the referent of the personal name – a specific human known personally to the character-narrator within the text world. The noun phrase *a gay couple* in (5) refers to two characters on a TV show, a fictional narrative within the text world of the novel. In (6), meanwhile, the categorising property *gay* labels an entity which is not a person nor human. However, as the narrator of DownToTB thinks that she may be recognized as same-sex attracted by coming to this beach, it stands to reason that the beach is same-sex identified due to its human frequenters being same-sex attracted. That is, the local *gay* community is metonymically referred to. Though they feature indefinite articles, the noun phrases *a gay couple* in (5) and *a gay beach* in (5) refer to specific entities (the characters portrayed by the *gorgeous* actors and the beach as a community space) which are assigned the categorising property 'gay'.

Whereas in the examples above the referent of the noun phrase is labelled by means of the SIL within that phrase, in the next two examples the referent labelled is the subject within a copulative construction which features the SIL as the complement.

(7) "Mom…Dad…" Melanie took a fortifying breath. "I'm a lesbian. And Devin and I are in love." [WhoIAm]

(8) Ms. Sawyer is our coach. She's openly gay and has a partner [LfaDG, narrative]

(7) exemplifies the SIL as a nominal complement, which functions to include the referent of the subject of the clause within the category it signifies. In (8)

the SIL is an (adverbially modified) predicative adjective assigning the property of being *openly gay* to the subject in the construction. Whereas the categorical identification in (7) is of the speaker herself deictically referenced by means of the first-person pronoun, in (8) the identification occurs within the narrative and the referent is a person other than the narrator – Ms. Sawyer, anaphorically referred to by means of the third-person pronoun. Further variations of these relationships will be discussed in the last sub-section (see Table 9 to Table 11 and surrounding discussion). The adverb in (8) is just one way in which the property assignment in a copulative construction may be modified – others are discussed in the next two sub-sections.

The next example features a gerund construction referring to sexual identity itself.

(9) He was so good to us. Never got married. Didn't talk much about <u>being gay</u>; people didn't talk about it then. But everybody knew. [OrpheaP, direct speech: narrator's aunt about her uncle to narrator]

The nominal *being gay* is reminiscent of the assignment of a sexual identity to a person by means of copular BE. Indeed, a person may be indirectly included as a member of a sexual identity category in this construction, as is the person to whom the pronoun *he* refers in the example. However, as the pronoun *it* indicates, the entity referred to by means of *being gay* is not a person but an abstract entity that may otherwise be construed as *homosexuality*.

Finally, the entity referred to may be the SIL itself. The meta-linguistic nature of the SIL's use may, but does not have to, be indicated by scare quotes around the SIL and/or WORD occurring in the co-text, even within the same noun phrase.

(10) I decided to look up the definition of the word 'lesbian' in mum's dictionary, just to satisfy my own curiosity, and it just said, 'a woman who is sexually attracted to other women'. [365Days, narrative]

(11) Homosexual. The way she says the word feels like a fist in my mouth, like it's something hurtful, something disgusting. She never talked about even the abuse like this. [Scars2010, narrative comment on mother's preceding speech act]

A meaning element may be explicitly expressed alongside the meta-linguistic use of a SIL, in the case of a definition such as (10) allegedly the main categorizing one. Likewise, character relationships to the label may be explicated, for instance the narrator in (11) judges *homosexual* to be a taboo and insult given the way her mother uses it.

4.3.2 Modifications and permutations

This sub-section exemplifies various linguistic means by which the functions of identification and/or meaning construction of the above described constructions can be enhanced, extended, attenuated, or otherwise achieved.

First, though, the next two examples feature the negation of, respectively, an identity assignment (copulative construction) and a characteristic of the class of people defined by the specified sexual identity (generic reference by means of a noun phrase).

(12) I wasn't gay. I was straight. And you know what? I'd just damn well proved it. [MeAtYou_, narrative]
(13) "Lesbians don't choose to be lesbians," she says between her teeth. [MyILife, direct speech: narrator's sister to her]

Negated assertions can be called counterfactuals as the "negator *not* is a space-builder that prompts us to imagine the positive counterpart of a situation" (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 235; see also pp. 74–75 above). As regards the meaning elements of SILs, *not* marks those which the speaker or narrator is aware of having been at some point seen as factual by someone. That is, the positive counterpart is the meaning element that is rejected – lesbian identity as a choice in (13). In (12), the character-narrator denies the identity assignment of *gay* to her – a counterfactual assertion of identity, which she reinforces with the factual assertion of a *straight* identity; conversely, in the sub-world constructed by the negator she is *gay*, not *straight*. The past tense does not indicate that either identity is regarded as a past state – this grammatical feature is due to the tense of narration of the novel. This shows how in text-based analysis the co-text is crucial in disambiguating the functions of linguistic phenomena.

The co-text is also crucial in determining whether in a specific case a construction in which a SIL occurs asserts an assignment of the label to a specific person or interrogates it. In particular, the force of an interrogative may be to request information on the labelled entity's sexual identity. But often the force and/or effect is portrayed as different or nuanced by the

context presented. For instance, the tag question in (14) may be portrayed as rhetorical, or in the words of Holmes (1982), it may function "as a request for overt 'on record' agreement from the addressee" (p. 58) to the speaker's "account of the facts" (p. 57). Hence, the assignment of the identity to the addresse in (14) may be factual or interrogative depending on context.

(14) "So you really are a dyke, huh?" [GIveRunAW, direct speech: acquaintance to narrator]
(15) "Are you a dyke or what?" [OrpheaP, direct speech: acquaintance to narrator]

Example (15) is portrayed as challenging the addressee to state her sexual identity and its effect on the addressee (presented subsequently in the narrative) shows that it allows little room for her to deny the assignment of a same-sex label to her even though its basic force is interrogative and an opening for replying with an identification with a different label is provided by *what*. That is, the context of these utterances is what indicates if the inclusion of the addressee in the identity category 'dyke' – the copulative's function – is interrogated.

Relatedly, by means of *if*-clauses, utterances can construe certain conditions that accompany a specified identity which may be interrogated in its application to a specific person.

(16) Twiggy: I'm sorry if I sound like an old fuddy-duddy here, BR, but I just don't understand how you can be gay if you've never been with a woman before! [MeAtYou_, chat: online acquaintance to narrator]

(17) You figured that hey, if Jen's gay, then she'll obviously adore your lesbian friends. Well, you were wrong. What a surprise. [Pink2009, direct speech: acquaintance to narrator about mutual friend]

This exemplifies the two main variants of this construction – in (17) the SIL occurs within the *if*-clause, in (16) in the clause to which the *if*-clause is subordinated. In either case, a sub-world is constructed in which the condition and the identity assignment (or its negation) hold. Again, the co-text is needed to disambiguate whether the speaker portrays the identity as (counter)factual – the *if*-clause itself leaves the applicability of the identity category indeterminate. The closeness of these phenomena is illustrated by the following example.

(18) "I don't know if that word fits," I say. "Do you think we're lesbians, Battle?" [Empress_W, addressee is narrator's girlfriend]

Here the distinction between the signifying expression and the signified category blurs – the first part of the utterance indicates that what is questioned is the choice of label.

The same applies to the constructions *coming out as SIL* and subject_CALL_object_SIL, which in themselves foreground the choice of label. These constructions are typically accompanied by or embedded in a character's judgment of the identification with the label.

(19) She put you above her college ambitions, even came out as a lesbian, of all things. [WhoIAm, direct speech: father of narrator's girlfriend about girlfriend to narrator]

(20) "Better get used to it. The best thing you can do is call yourself a dyke. A lezzie, a lesbo, a queer. All the hateful words, use them in fun. Claim them.

Then they can't be used against you." [Keep_YaS, direct speech: narrator's girlfriend to her]

(21) "Are you pissed at me because I'm right? Or because I called you a queer?" [PYouLoveM, direct speech: best friend to narrator]

As illustrated by (19), *coming out as SIL* specifies the label/identity chosen by the person labelled. The subject_CALL_object_SIL construction functions to explicate the relationship between the source of the assignment (the grammatical subject) and the entity included as a member of a sexual identity category (the grammatical object), as well as specifying the label chosen by the source. The reflexive pronoun as object, as in (20), indicates that source and target of the assignment are identical, thereby highlighting that the person labelled is exercising control over how they is identified. On the other hand, in (21) the source of the assignment differs from the person labelled (the addressee), who does not have a choice in being included in the category evoked by the SIL.

The classic construction which has the same function of addressee labelling is the vocative use of the SIL.

(22) "You're still cute, queer," he says. [MyILife, sister's boyfriend to narrator who has come out]

(23) "You're the one who is going to die of AIDS, you gay sicko," she yelled back. [GIveRunAW, narrator's sister to her]

(24) 'What the hell are youse screaming at, you bunch of lezzers?' barks Ryan, Kar's brother. [Flick2011]

The use of the second person pronoun (as in (23) and (24)) reinforces the vocative's inherent reference to the addressee. Addressing a person by means

of a label assumes that they are a member of the evoked category. That is because, only if this is the case can they be felicitously addressed by means of that expression. Thus, the mechanism by which this construction achieves identity assignment is circular. Furthermore, addressing someone by means of a SIL reduces that person to their sexuality. This effect of labelling is also instantiated by references to a specific (set of) person(s) by means of noun phrases which contain SILs within a clause, and particularly evident if no other attributes are assigned to the referent of the noun phrase (see (48) and cf. (4)).

Similar to *if*-clauses, which construe conditions, the conjunction *so* can link two propositions construing one as a consequence of the other (see pp. 71–72 on the cognitive linguistic principles in combining clauses generally).

(25) I think Angelina Jolie is smoking hot, so am I a lesbian for saying so? Or am I really bisexual, like Amanda said? Brad Pitt is just as hot as Angelina Jolie, so maybe I want to do it with guys and girls. If those two ever volunteer, I'll take them up on it. [SkyAHills, narrative]

Comparisons, as in the preceding example between referents of opposite sex and in the following one between the classes of female and male same-sex identified people, enhance or evoke a meaning element of difference, in these cases between the sexes as basis for the categorisation of sexual orientation and for the attitude towards their members, respectively.

(26) Men were usually much more comfortable with the idea of lesbians than gay men, right? [WhoIAm, narrative]

The following examples imply scalar rather than binary comparisons concerning the degree of fitting the category assigned by the copulative construction.

(27) I don't want to fight with her. Besides, part of my brain is still saying maybe she really could like me that way; maybe it's possible; maybe she's not all that straight after all. [Inferno09, narrative]

(28) She never once introduced me to her friends. Why? What was the chance it'd get back to Southglenn? Wasn't she proud of me? Was that it? I wasn't gay enough? [Keep_YaS, narrative]

(29) "I cannot believe that … Tessa and Amanda?" \\"She looks so lesbian, with that weird hair. We should've known." [SkyAHills, direct speech by two mothers whose gossip is overheard by the narrator]

Whereas in (29) the subject of the copulative construction allegedly exhibits the properties evoked by the category to the extreme,[30] in (27) and (28) the negation of *all that* and *enough* are part of questioning that they all or sufficiently apply. Moreover, this phenomenon constructs "degrees of membership" (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 7) of sexual identity categories.

The main means of attenuating the identificatory relationship between the subject and the SIL in a copulative construction, however, is modality (see also section 2.3.2, pp. 72–74). This is expressed, for instance, by "modal or sentence adverbs" like *maybe*, by "lexical verbs of knowledge" like *think*, and "modal auxiliary verbs" as which *can* may function (Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, p. 110). A copulative construction may feature more than one of these and may

[30] Radden & Dirven (2007, p. 273) include LOOK among possible copular verbs.

in addition feature negation; thus, a wide range of commitment or otherwise to an identity assignment may be expressed.

First, I consider epistemic modality.

(30) I held myself still. "I think . . . I might be gay." [KissingK]
(31) I guess I am queer or bi or whatever, but there's no way he could know that. [Inferno09, narrative (*he* refers to a friend's boyfriend)]
(32) By four I'm surer than ever that I'm not a lesbian; there's no way I'd feel so embarrassed and uncomfortable and awkward if I were. [Flick2011, narrative]

Whereas (30) to (32) express various degrees of the speaker's/narrator's confidence in the assignment of identity to herself, in the next example the speaker qualifies her assignment of identity to a specific character other than herself.

(33) "I think she's a lesbian." [MyILife, direct speech: narrator about her sister]
(34) Jen stared at Sam, horrified. 'You knew?' she said. 'That I was … am … gay?' [Pink2009]

In the latter example the speaker attributes a certain perception of her identity to another character. These are relationships which are further explored in the next sub-sections.

Whereas above cognition is evoked by the modal expressions, the modality in the next two examples as well as (37) below highlight emotion.

(35) I just couldn't be… I wouldn't allow myself to be gay. [TQWithin, narrative]
(36) "But I want to be a lesbiAN just like you," [HelloG, direct speech: narrator's sister to narrator; see Appendix 4.2.3, in particular sentences 40 and 41, on the internal capitalization of *lesbian* in this novel]

(35) is an example of deontic modality in that the narrator remembers how she obliged herself not to same-sex identify. (Palmer's definition of deontic modality encourages an interpretation of this case as internalization by the narrator of an external force – supposedly her social environment's attitude – that does not permit same-sex identity.) In (36), the speaker desires to be included in a certain sexual identity category; that is, this is an example of boulomaic modality.

Furthermore, (36) exemplifies a form of indirect identity assignment. That is, *like* includes the following referent in the category evoked by the label. However, rather than being assigned the schematic properties of a category member, the referent included by means of this construction provides the features that the source of the assignment regards as crucial. A category inclusion may also be achieved by means of a copulative construction which omits the SIL. For instance, in the following example, the label is anaphorically refered to:

(37) I mean, H.F., if you like girls, there's nothing wrong with that, but you can't expect me to be a...a lesbian <u>just because that's what you are</u>. [FindingHF, direct speech: love interest of narrator to narrator]

The focus of the utterance is the sense of obligation the speaker rejects, namely to include herself in the same category as the addressee. Likewise, *can't* features below in a rejection of another person's influence on one's sexual identity.

(38) He can't stop me from loving you and he can't make me not be a lesbian [WhoIAm, direct speech: narrator's girlfriend to narrator talking about girlfriend's brother]

The construction *make someone SIL* with a person (as above) or state as agent is also a phenomenon which will be explored in the analyses of token-cluster passages. It construes the notion of someone or something being able to affect a person's sexual identity.

4.3.3 Attributed propositions, hypothetical and reported discourse instances

In investigating how the relationship of the characters to SILs is portrayed in concordance lines and token-cluster passages, it is crucial to take into account various forms of distance between the narrator or speaker in the situation in which the SIL occurs and the identity assignment (or other proposition) they present. Whereas the majority of this sub-section is concerned with alleged or counterfactual acts of assignments, the last couple of examples present discourse that reports SILs in the same construction as they are narrated to have occurred (see also pp. 56–59 above).

The following examples show how the narrator may be portrayed as thinking through scenarios in which she or another character is included in the category evoked by a specified label. That is, a situation is imagined in which the SIL is used in the world the characters live in but it is presented as

not actually having occurred in the main text world – a sub-world is constructed.

(39) How had I gotten away with it? I mean, no one had called me a dyke in the hall afterward, even as a joke. [HelloG, narrative]
(40) Why not make an announcement over the PA? "Attention. We've just received official confirmation that Holland Jaeger is a dyke." No. I wanted to do this my way. [Keep_YaS, narrative]
(41) If I tell her that Carmen's a lesbian, I will save the two of them from years of misery. [MyILife, narrative, hypothetical addressee is Carmen's mother]

In (40) the narrator rejects the possibility of broadcasting the inclusion of herself in the specified sexual identity category. In (39) the negation of the subject of the construction subject_CALL_object_SIL renders the speech act of appellation counterfactual. The *if*-clause in (41) constructs the speech act of outing someone to someone else as a potential reality. However, as in (39) and (40), it is the speech act that is portrayed as hypothetical not the identity assignment. This can be shown by testing for constancy under negation (see, for instance, Birner, 2013, pp. 149–150) – *If I don't tell her that Carmen's a lesbian* still proposes a same-sex identity for the character Carmen.

Conversely, the proposition of an identity assignment may be attributed to someone else. However, even if the narrator or speaker potentially has evidence that a character was included by others in a specific identity category, there might not be any suggestion that a specific construction which applies a SIL to a person has been used in any text-world communication.

(42) Word had been getting around that I was gay, and while I'd never been especially popular, I'd never had other kids throw Coke cans at my head or

whisper nasty things about me in the locker room, either. [Start_FH, narrative]

(43) "I heard you're pregnant and I heard you're a lesbian." [SkyAHills, direct speech: brother to narrator]

The portrayal of the identity relationship is to be attributed to the speaker/narrator (in the analysis), while they attribute the proposition to other characters (in the text world) – a distinct discourse space is evoked. In the examples above these propositions are assertions (that same-sex identity applies to the character-narrator) which circulate as rumours. I categorize rumours as factual – in that they are regarded as accounts of the facts by those who reproduce them, that is, within the distanced discourse space. (In (43) the proposition is doubly-distanced as hearing the rumour is narrated in direct speech by the brother of the novel's narrator.) In contrast, if the proposition is subordinated to the conjecture of potential thoughts of others, the identity assignment is categorized as only having potential reality status.

(44) I didn't want everyone to think I was a dyke, that's all. Because I'm not, I'm really not. [HelloG, direct speech: narrator to her boyfriend]

(45) And there's the hidden stuff, really mean crap—like the way they evicted Michelle Allen from the volleyball team because they thought she was a dyke. [HelloG, direct speech: narrator to her boyfriend]

In (44) the copulative assigning identity to the speaker is subordinated to boulomaic and epistemic modality expressing her attitude towards her peer group perceiving her sexual identity in a certain way. She similarly judges the assessment of another character's sexual identity in (45).

Reports of an instance of discourse, similarly to the attributions above, can have the function of distancing oneself from and/or invoking authority for the proposition. Meanwhile, reports may serve to acquaint the current addressee with a scenario – the current addressee may just be the reader, as is the case in the counterfactual scenarios (39) to (41) above.

(46) Melanie's parents looked at each other and then her father said, "Melanie has just told us that she's a lesbian, Jase." [WhoIAm]
(47) Once someone wrote on my locker Sophie Keller is a dyke. [OoOrder, narrative].

In contrast to the other examples in this sub-section, these uses of a SIL are portrayed as actually having taken place within the text world. This is either evident from the concordance line of the token itself (as in (47)) or from at least one preceding concordance line ((7) for (46)).

4.3.4 Manual annotation of the usage of sexual identity labels

In this sub-section, I describe the annotation scheme for usage features of SILs. Discourse presentation layer, entity characterized by the token, and reality status of an identity assignment are coded for to enable comparing the range of relationships in which the labels are portrayed, in particular, to the cisgender female character-narrators. In the following paragraph I briefly outline the overall procedure before I present each of the three categorizations in detail.

The categories for the discourse presentation layers annotate whether an utterance communicates within the text world at that point in narrated time and whether any of the forms of distancing, described in the previous sub-section, apply. The second categorization is initially concerned with whether the entity characterized by the label is human and then whether it is a specific (set of) person(s). If the entity labelled is human, the sex of the referent(s) is coded for. If the entity labelled is furthermore a specific (set of) person(s), the relationship between the source of the assignment and that (set of) person(s) is specified in the annotation as well as the reality status of the identity assignment. Thus, the instances of female self-identification can be identified and differentiated according to reality status and discourse presentation layer.

The first six possible combinations of codes describe the distance of the occurrence to the narrator in terms of discourse presentation. If the portrayal of the identity relationship in the concordance line is to be attributed to the narrator, the token is coded Narrat. If the proposition is attributed to others or occurs in a hypothetical situation, it is furthermore coded as attrHypo – otherwise as direct. The other four combinations of codes cover communications within the text world. As regards reports of discourse instances, Report_Narrat is used for tokens used solely for the benefit of the reader and/or the character-narrator herself, whereas Report_CharInt indicates that one character reports to another/others. In any instance of

CharInt the narrator (momentarily) yields the deictic centre to a character. I do not distinguish between the thoughts of the narrator as character and the narrator as narrator in this categorization. The codes can be summarized as follows.

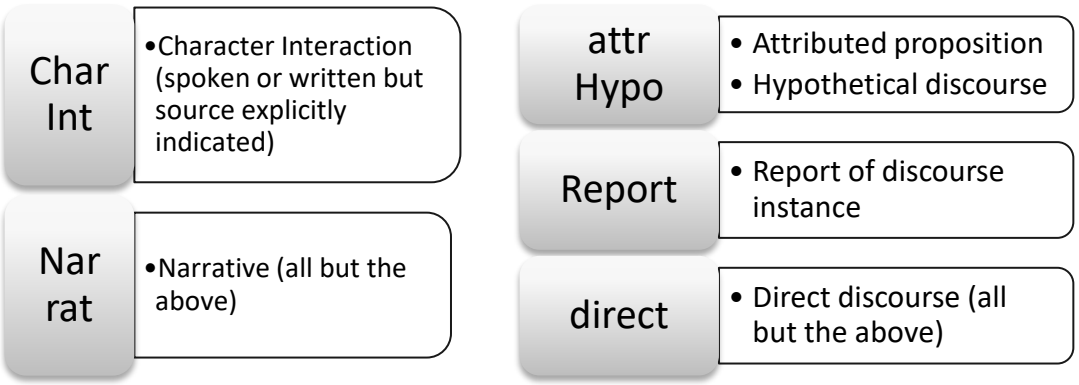

Figure 11 Discourse presentation layer annotation

The following table exemplifies each of the six possible combinations of these codes. The first column gives the Title Code of the novel from which the example is taken, as in the examples in the previous sub-sections; if an example is used which has already been cited in those, it is cross-referenced as well.

Novel	Example	Discourse Pres.
PYouLoveM	I was gay.	Narrat_direct
MeAtYou_ (16)	Twiggy: […] I just don't understand how you can be gay if you've never been with a woman before!	CharInt_direct
Keep_YaS	"She's just so obvious. Look at me, I'm gay. I'm special," she mocked.	CharInt_attrHypo
OoOrder	"She said you were...that you are...gay."	Report_CharInt
Keep_YaS	Someone had spray-painted down the length of her locker: DIE DYKE.	Report_Narrat
Keep_YaS (28)	She never once introduced me to her friends. Why? […] I wasn't gay enough?	Narrat_attrHypo

Table 6 Discourse presentation layer annotation

To explicate, *CharInt* typically covers direct speech but also computer-mediated communication, such as the chat line (16). On the other hand, the line coded *Report_Narrat* above exemplifies the narrator reading something the source of which is not explicitly indicated, which usually functions to acquaint the reader with or reflect upon a use of a SIL or a proposition made containing one. Included in the occurrences coded *attrHypo* are instances of a label used in wondering about the opinion of another character, as in (28). The direct speech from Keep_YaS above, meanwhile, encapsulates a mock utterance, hence the annotation as *CharInt_attrHypo*.

In the second set of codes, the entity for which the token specifies the sexual identity category is categorized. The procedure for coding each concordance line is best shown by the following figure.

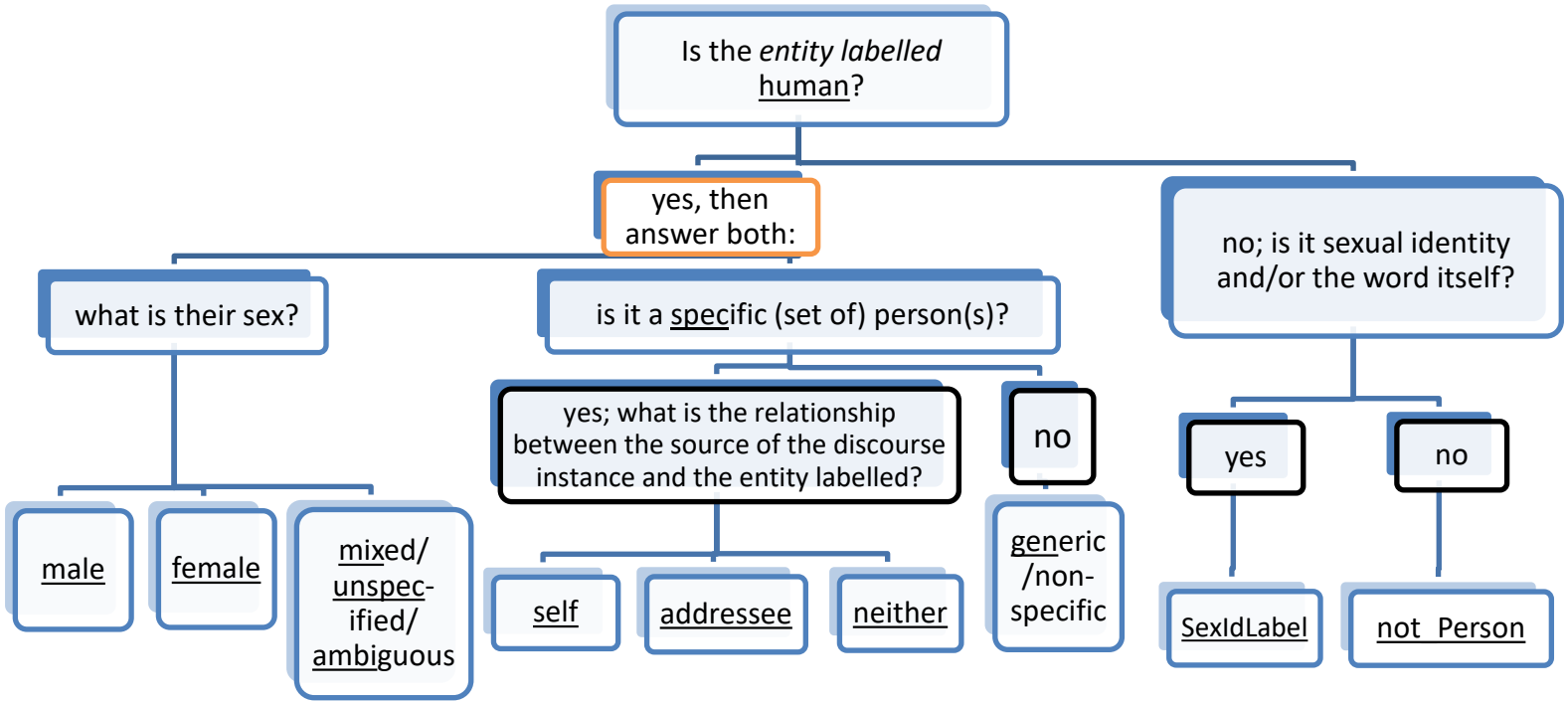

Figure 12 Procedure for manually annotating which kind of entity is labelled

That is, neither the sex of the referent nor the relationship between the user of the label and the labelled is coded for non-human entities. In the following paragraph, I illustrate the annotation of occurrences of a SIL which label a non-human entity (Table 8) or refer to the label/identity itself (Table 7). Then, I explicate the distinction for specific people between self-, addressee-, and third-party-identification (Table 9 to Table 11) using only examples in which the entity labelled is female. Following this, I explain the annotation of the sex of the referent and exemplify this, focusing first on specific and then on generic referents (Table 12).

The annotation *SexIdLabel* covers the entity continuum from label (the word itself as in examples (10) and (11)) to concept or category (the sexual orientation the label designates). It also covers reference to sexual identity by means of the gerund construction discussed above (example (9)). The indirect inclusion of a person in the gerund construction is not annotated, as indirect assignments would require another level of annotation and complicate quantification.

Novel	Example	Disc. Pres.	Entity Labelled
OrpheaP (9)	"He [d]idn't talk much about being gay"	CharInt_direct	SexIdLabel
Empress_W	"Seriously though, what's wrong with being lesbians?"	CharInt_direct	SexIdLabel
HelloG	What was the best, the truest word—dyke, lez, lesbiAN?	Narrat_direct	SexIdLabel

Table 7 Annotation of references to the label and/or sexual identity itself

If it is not sexual identity or the word which is referred to, *Not_Person* is used for a non-human entity labelled. Usually the category assignment is achieved by attributive use of a (set of) label(s). However, other constructions including copulative are also found in this category (for instance, four tokens in sentence 78 of the TCP reproduced in A4.3.7). (The last example above and the first below contain three tokens each which receive the same codes.)

Novel	Example	Disc. Pres.	Entity Labelled
Keep_YaS	The "Lesbian Bisexual Gay" title jumped off the top line.	Report _Narrat	Not_Person
DownToTB (6)	I come to a gay beach for the first time in my life.	Narrat _direct	Not_Person
SkyAHills	How do those moms know what lesbian hair is?	Narrat _direct	Not_Person
SkyAHills	"She's mine! Get your stinking bisexual hands off her!"	CharInt _direct	Human_Spec female addressee

Table 8 Annotation of non-human entities labelled

Often the labelled non-human entities are things associated with same-sex identified people like *gay beach* in (6) and *lesbian hair* in the interrogative above. In the directive above *your stinking bisexual hands* formally refers to an entity that is part of but not a person, yet the force of the directive assigns the properties of her hands to the addressee (pars-pro-toto) – as the latter is the interpretively more relevant relationship, I code this special case of metonymic assignments (integral body parts for persons) as human entities.

For copulative constructions which include a specific (set of) person(s) in the category evoked by the label I codify the relationship between the subject of the copulative construction (to which the properties evoked by the label are assigned) and the source of the assignment.

Novel	Example	Disc. Pres.	Entity Labelled
WhoIAm (7)	"I'm a lesbian. And Devin and I are in love."	CharInt _direct	Human_Spec female self
Crush2009	"Is it because we're queer?"	CharInt _direct	Human_Spec female self
GIveRunAW (14)	"So you really are a dyke, huh?"	CharInt _direct	Human_Spec female addressee
SkyAHills	Have they ever seen Portia de Rossi? She's got better hair than they do, and she's a lesbian.	Narrat _direct	Human_Spec female neither
Crush2009	Well, of course they're lesbians, because she surely doesn't mean "business partner," not judging by the kiss Larissa lays on her, dipping her like a ballroom dancer.	Narrat _direct	Human_Spec female neither
A365Days	There was a programme on the telly tonight and two women in it were gay!!!	Narrat _direct	Human_Spec female neither

Table 9 Annotation of the relationship between source of discourse instance and entity labelled in direct discourse

The first example features the SIL in direct speech (*CharInt*) whose source is identical with the subject of the copulative construction – the singular first-person pronoun refers to the speaker. Hence, this is a straightforward self-identification. The next example is identically annotated, though the plural

first-person pronoun refers to another person as well as the speaker. This double assignment cannot be coded without adding another level or code, hence, given the focus on self-assignment in the research question, only *self* is used. In (14) the speaker is again the source of the discourse instance and assignment but the subject of the assignment is the addressee; further examples of the *addressee* annotation are (15) and the vocative constructions in (22) to (24). In the final three examples in Table 9 Annotation of the relationship between source of discourse instance and entity labelled in direct discourse the text-world source of the copulative construction using a SIL is the character-narrator and all three assign the label to neither themself nor an addressee (annotation code *neither*). It does not matter for this annotation that in the first of these the (set of) person(s) labelled is also known in the real world of the reader, in the second they are characters and in the third they are characters fictional even within the text world of the novel.

Whereas in the above examples the deictic pronouns straightforwardly indicate the applicable relationship category (first person for self, second person for addressee and third person for neither), with copulative constructions in hypothetical discourse instances the linguistic expression used for the entity labelled may be at odds with the text-world deixis of source of assignment and referent.

Novel	Example	Disc. Pres.	Entity Labelled
Keep_YaS (40)	Why not make an announcement over the PA? "Attention. We've just received official confirmation that Holland Jaeger is a dyke." No. I wanted to do this my way.	Narrat _attrHypo	Human_Spec female self
Keep_YaS	"She's just so obvious. Look at me, I'm gay. I'm special," she mocked	CharInt _attrHypo	Human_Spec female neither

Table 10 Annotation of the relationship between source of discourse and entity labelled in hypothetical discourse instances

In the latter example the referent of the first-person pronoun, which is the subject of the copulative construction, is not the source of the assignment – the source is the speaker who is putting words into another character's mouth. That other character is the entity labelled and, as the third-person pronoun in the first utterance of the example shows, that person is not one of the addressees of the comment. Hence this occurrence is coded *neither*. Conversely, in (40) the subject of the copulative construction is expressed as a name, which is the name of the character-narrator, who is imagining the situation in which the label is applied to her name hence her social identity (*self* code).

For reports, the deixis of the situation reported (that is, of the distinct discourse space evoked in reporting) is coded. This disregards the situation in which the reporting takes place and who is involved in the latter. Meanwhile,

the *Narrat* part of the discourse presentation annotation indicates when it is the narrator in the narratorial discourse situation who does the reporting.

Novel	Example	Disc. Pres.	Entity Labelled
WhoIAm (46)	"Melanie has just told us that she's a lesbian, Jase."	Report _CharInt	Human_Spec female self
OoOrder (47)	Once someone wrote on my locker Sophie Keller is a dyke.	Report _Narrat	Human_Spec female addressee
OoOrder	"She said you were...that you are...gay."	Report _CharInt	Human_Spec female neither

Table 11 Annotation of the relationship between source of discourse and entity labelled in reports of discourse instances

Most importantly, an occurrence is annotated as *self* when a self-identification is reported, as in (46) – the subject of the copulative construction refers to the source of the original discourse instance (7). The code *addressee* is used for (47) as the act of writing addresses the locker's owner, who may or may not be the character-narrator (see Table 6 for the latter case). Conversely, *neither* is coded for the last example in Table 11, though the subject of the copulative construction is a second-person pronoun, as the assignment is originally executed behind the current addressee's back (indicated by the need to report it to her).

For annotating the sex of human referents three categories are used – *female*, *male*, and mixed/unspecified/ambiguous (*Mix*/*Unspec*/*Ambi*). Firstly, for specific person(s) the characters' sex determines the applicable code. Names and pronouns in the co-text provide the necessary clues to apply *male* or *female*

in (4) and (8), among others. By corpus definition, if the character-narrator is the referent, it is (cisgender) *female* (examples include (12), (22), (23) and (30)). Most annotations of the sex/gender of a (set of) person(s) labelled are hence straightforward (as no trans* characters are labelled by the terms investigated in LBQ1YA, see pp. 88–89). The following example presents a couple of instances in which more complex analysis and consideration of (text-)world knowledge is needed for the annotation. The crux is that the formally third-person reference *two queers* refers to the two speakers.

(48) I laugh. "Who'da thought that ol' macho, Civil War-lovin' Johnny Martin would end up makin' two queers in one year?" \\Bo grins. "We ought to get him a belt with that stamped on it: TWO QUEERS IN ONE YEAR." [FindingHF]

Both occurrences of *two queers* are coded *Mix/Unspec/Ambi* as the referents are a male and a female person, that is, a mixed group. This follows from the fact that the narrator (*I*) and her male best friend *Bo* are talking about their suspicion that *Johnny Martin* fathered both of them. Futhermore, the deictic code for both occurrences is *self* as in both cases the source of the assignment is also one of the referents labelled. As with the plural first person pronoun in Table 9, only the self-identification is coded while the other person is disregarded in the annotation of the relationship of source of discourse instance and target of assignment. For non-specific references to humans the mechanics of determining the applicable sex-code are different.

When *Human_Gen* is applicable to an occurrence of the sex-specific labels LESBIAN and DYKE, *female* is the sex-code used. Conversely, with *Human_Gen*-coded QUEER, STRAIGHT and GAY any of the three sex-codes may be applicable.

Novel	Example	Disc. Pres.	Entity Labelled
Crush2006 (1)	I'm not against queers or anything. That isn't it.	Narrat _direct	Human_Gen Mix/Unspec/Ambi
WhoIAm (26)	Men were usually much more comfortable with the idea of lesbians than gay men, right?	Narrat _direct	Human_Gen female male
MyILife	"If you're bisexual, are you half heterosexual? No way." […]. "You're a homo."	CharInt _direct	Human_Gen Mix/Unspec/Ambi
MeAtYou_ (16)	Twiggy: […] I just don't understand how you can be gay if you've never been with a woman before!	CharInt _direct	Human_Spec female addressee

Table 12 Annotation of humans for sex of referent labelled and generic-specific distinction

To explicate, *gay men* are male entities as the head noun specifies the sex of the class of people referred, whereas *queers* in (1) is not further specified so that it refers to a class that includes both male and female persons. Reading generic *you* in the example from MyILife in the table means that the corresponding concordance lines are coded *Human_Gen* and *Mix/Unspec/Ambi*. On the other hand, the use of the sex-specific term *woman* in the *if*-clause in (16) means that the *you* in the conditional sub-world is by default constructed female. Moreover, I have coded this line *Human_Spec* and *addressee* as the entity labelled may be identified as the addressee, which is supported by the

conversation being about the applicability of the label to her (due to her crush on another girl she chats with), and thus this relationship (labelling dynamic) is coded. Coding the entity labelled as a specific person does not change the sex-code as the addressee is the character-narrator, who is female.

Finally, the reality status of an identity assignment to a (set of) specific person(s) is annotated using the following four-part categorization.

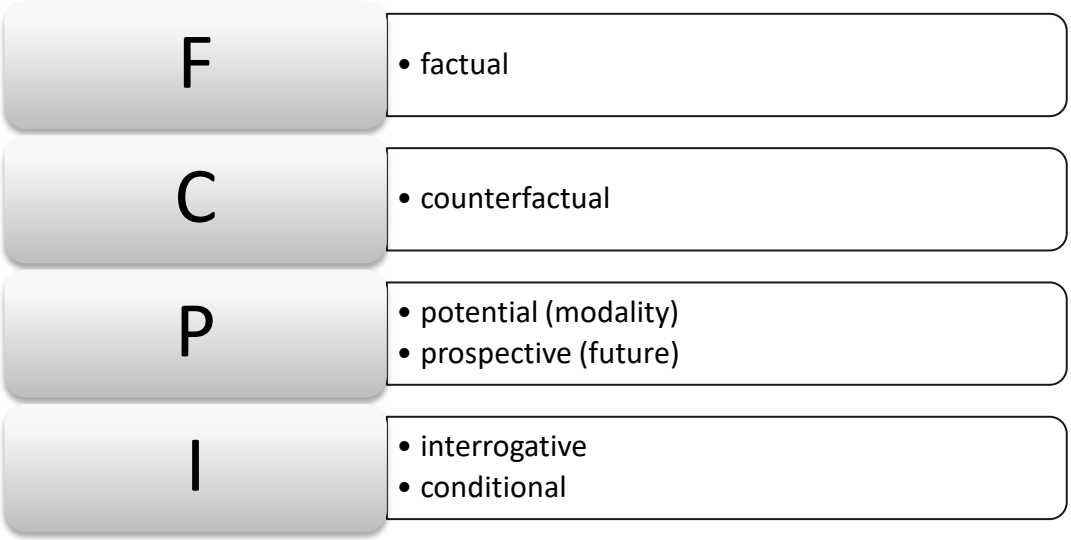

Figure 13 Annotation of the reality status of the identification of a (set of) specific person(s)

How complex the annotation of this feature can be may be evident from the discussions in the previous sub-sections. However, the coding of most examples below is straightforward. The default code is *factual*. Simple negation indicates a *counterfactual*. I provide guidelines for the distinctions of *interrogative/conditional* and *potential/prospective* following the table.

Novel	Example	Disc. Pres.	Entity Labelled	Assignment's Reality Status
PYouLoveM	I was gay.	Narrat_direct	Human_Spec female self	factual
MeAtYou_(12)	I wasn't gay.	Narrat_direct	Human_Spec female self	counter-factual
MyILife (22)	"You're still cute, queer,"	CharInt_direct	Human_Spec female addressee	factual
HelloG (45)	"like the way they evicted Michelle Allen from the volleyball team because they thought she was a dyke."	CharInt_attr Hypo	Human_Spec female neither	potential/ prospective
SkyAHills (25)	I think Angelina Jolie is smoking hot, so am I a lesbian for saying so? Or am I really bisexual, like Amanda said?	Narrat_direct _attr Hypo	Human_Spec female self	interrogative /conditional
MyILife	"There's a rumor that Andie is a lesbian," I say. "Do you think it's true?"	CharInt_attr Hypo	Human_Spec female neither	factual
Scars2010	All I'm saying is, [m]ake sure you aren't becoming a homosexual because of the abuse.	CharInt_direct	Human_Spec female addressee	potential/ prospective
MyILife	I'll call myself a maybe-perhaps-a-little-bit bisexual.	Narrat_direct	Human_Spec female self	potential/ prospective
MyILife	I won't judge you. It's not like it matters if you're a lesbian.	CharInt_direct	Human_Spec female addressee	interrogative /conditional

Table 13 Annotation of the reality status of the identification of a (set of) specific person(s)

When an identity assignment is subordinated to a verb of cognition, such as *think*, framing it as the view of others, as in (45), *potential/prospective* is indicated even without further modal expressions. The exception to this rule are cases of *know*, *realize* and other verbs of cognition that do not change the reality status of their subordinated identity assignment if they are negated – *potential/prospective* is not indicated in these cases. Questions are only coded *interrogative/conditional* if they interrogate the assignment of the label, as in (25). Likewise, labels in *if*-clauses are only coded *interrogative/conditional* if they specify a condition which determines whether the label applies, as in (16) (not (17), which questions whether a certain sexual identity means liking people of that identity). Also coded *interrogative/conditional* are occurrences which leave it open whether the label applies, such as the last example above. A final rule is that if *interrogative/conditional* applies as well as *potential/prospective*, then *interrogative/conditional* is coded. This is because I regard *interrogative/conditional* as more distanced.

Once all occurrences of a lemma are coded, the usage pattern of that lemma as regards the annotated features can be presented in various ways. These include graphs based on figures for any (set of) code(s) in combination with any other (set of) code(s). For instance, female self-identification (*female* in combination with *self*) is differentiated by the six combinations in Table 6 Discourse presentation layer annotation (see Figure 20). Another option is to filter for

a combination of codes and apply that filter to the concordance plots (see above and A3.2). Generating visuals showing the differentiation, if any, of the labels annotated, moreover, allows comparison between the usage patterns of the labels. Also, such questions can be answered as whether GAY or LESBIAN is used more often in the corpus to label female characters.

4.4 Summary of the Research Design

This chapter has centred around the definition of the research questions in sub-section 4.2.3. Leading up to this, the path towards which data set is investigated with which tools and methods has been detailed. Following it, the analytical framework has been developed based on the concordancing of the search strings including the definition of which uses of these are included in which analyses, and of token-cluster passages.

The first main section has been dedicated to the data collection. The identification of YA novels featuring FSSA has shown that quantitatively a wealth of texts is available, especially from the 21st century. This enabled, as well as necessitated, narrowing the investigation in this thesis to realist novels, purchaseable as e-books in 2014 and set post-1993, with first-person narrators experiencing FSSA as teenagers. The two million words in this specialized corpus are unevenly distributed over 34 novels stripped off materials external to the narrative and with their chapter divisions tagged.

Detailed information on the novels in the corpus is found on the CD-ROM in the Excel Table file – this is the basis of the statistics presented above. The corpus analysed, LBQ1YA, makes up about a quarter of female-focused Anglophone LGBTIQ YA and like this literature as a whole is predominantly white American.

The pilot analyses have shown that for the semantic domain of sexuality and copyrighted narratives available automatic annotation is not adequate. Moreover, investigation-specific manual categorization of tokens in the concordance has been indicated as to be preferred to keyword or collocation analysis given the low total token count and uneven distribution of tokens. In interpreting the quantitative patterns I take recourse to the concordance lines in order to adequately represent how the categories are filled by the data. In section 4.2.4, I did this for the polysemy annotation, noting for instance that meta-linguistic instances abound in the liminal category. It is methodologically significant that overall the uses of STRAIGHT are mainly literal and that only by excluding non-sexual senses can the use of this SIL in a corpus be accurately compared to that of others. Besides, the few instances of STRAIGHT coded liminal are mainly ambiguous between other metaphorical extensions and the use of it as a SIL.

In 4.2, I furthermore developed the procedures to identify text passages in which SILs and related terms occur extraordinarily densely in fictional

naratives. Analysing these category labels in these co-texts allows for a close look at their functioning in situations involving discursive structures and labelling practices surrounding SILs presented to the readers of the novels. I use the quantitative patterns observed to assess how widely manifest what I observe in the extracts is across the corpus. The TCPs to be analysed in chapters 6 and 7 are selected at the end of the next chapter focusing on the main deictic centre of the texts, the negotiation of conceptualizations of sexuality and meaning elements of SILs, and meta-linguistic use of the labels.

The final main section of this chapter has described how language is used in the corpus to suggest different relationships to SILs drawing on cognitive linguistics and cognitive/corpus stylistics, in particular on the phenomena discussed in sections 2.3 and 2.2.3. The linguistic constructions described are operative in how the cognitive, semantic, and/or social structures of contemporary labelling/categorization of (same-sex) sexuality are (re)produced in LBQ1YA. This analytical framework is applied both to text passages in which these structures are particularly prominent and the SIL-tokens of GAY, LESBIAN, DYKE, QUEER and BI(SEXUAL), that is, not-just-other-sex denoting labels which occur in at least ten of the novels investigated (this excludes the three variant lemmas of LESBIAN). Thus, hierarchies in these structures, such as normativities, can be traced in LBQ1YA. Furthermore, I

answer which portrayals readers interested in such narratives are most likely to encounter.

Chapter 5: Usage Patterns

This chapter has two main sections, which present the corpus-assisted analyses of the usage patterns of sexual identity labels (SILs) and introduce the extracts analysed in the other two analysis chapters. As a whole, this chapter provides a corpus methodological answer to the empirical research questions:

1. a) What are contemporaneously widely recognized SILs used for in the LBQ1YA corpus?

   b) Which range of relationships is portrayed for GAY, LESBIAN, DYKE, QUEER, BISEXUAL, STRAIGHT, HETEROSEXUAL and HOMOSEXUAL, respectively?

In 5.1, I discuss preferences for certain labels in the corpus as a whole, as regards the novels individually, and differentiated by the usage features annotated (see 4.3.4). The concordance plots of SILs and related terms scaled to show the density of their usage across the narratives (see 4.2.4) make it possible to identify the extent and occasions of token-clustering in the novels, in 5.2. The usage patterns which emerge show which discursive structures are (re)produced in the novels comprising the corpus, indicating, for instance, which conceptualizations of (same-sex) sexuality tend to be hegemonic and

which erased. The focus is on the range of possibilities presented as available to which extent (if at all) to the female character-narrators of the novels, who, by corpus definition (see 4.1.2), experience same-sex attraction or question whether an attraction to another female is sexual. Section 5.3 concludes the overall analyses of the occurrences of SILs in the corpus, summarizing the results presented in this chapter.

5.1 Preferences for Labels

The detailed frequencies of each word form and each label relative to the others are presented in section 5.1.1 for the whole corpus. In section 5.1.2 I outline to which extent each novel contains the various labels. Section 5.1.3 presents how the labels annotated for usage features (see 4.3.4) vary in which kind of entities they are used to designate. To which extent these labels are used in female self-identification is the focus of section 5.1.4. The final analysis shows, for instance, that in the narratorial discourse situation female-specific LESBIAN is used by more character-narrators in self-identification than GAY, but that both these SILs are featured in novels in which no other SIL (annotated for usage features) occurs in narratorial self-identification (see A3.2, in particular, Figure 27 and Figure 26).

Throughout this section, I am concerned with the occurrences of the forms searched for used in their sexual sense of categorising sexual orientation; that is, excepted from the quantitative results are those tokens of the search strings outside the domain of sexuality (DoS) as well as those liminal between sexual and other sense(s) and/or between SIL-use and other use within the DoS, plus SILs not searched for (for the annotation scheme used in filtering see Table 3 in section 4.2.4). Hence, the charts presented in this section display the results for only the core set of SILs and their derivative forms of concurrent meaning. Several measures are reported on and those tendencies focused on which contribute to the overall picture observed in the corpus of the structuring of labelling. That is, the various parameters of quantifying the usage of SILs in the LBQ narratives investigated are used to show the relative extent of representation of the labels in certain functions. Therefore, in interpreting the figures I draw simultaneously on the various layers and facets annotated which are relevant to each pattern indicating the reproduction of socio-cognitive structures. Furthermore, I draw on the concordance lines in order to accurately represent the differences between the usages of the labels. The figures and tables generated from the annotation codes make it possible to see the overall patterns and then interpret their make-up based on the population of the categories by the actual text. These description of these usage patterns contribute to answering the main research question:

How are the relationships of characters to SILs portrayed in LBQ1YA, and, in particular, how do the portrayed relationships differ between labels as regards self-identification by the novels' female character-narrators?

The analyses presented in this section together indicate that GAY and LESBIAN are the labels most engaged with by the character-narrators. This reflects their discursive prominence in contemporary Anglophone culture and is manifest especially in that the character-narrator's pre-occupation with how others think of or refer to her predominantly features these labels. The other labels are absent in many novels, or, put differently, the novels vary in which SILs occur at all and/or to which extent as well as in which relation to the character-narrator. This means that which possibilities are portrayed as open or closed to readers who feel like the character-narrators depends on which text(s) they encounter. The fact that the corpus is comprised of contemporary novels for young adults is likely to be the main reason for the relative infrequency in the corpus of the traditionally medical and formal labels HOMOSEXUAL and HETEROSEXUAL. But the relative infrequency of labels which denote, or are more likely to be interpreted as denoting, non-sex-exclusive attraction – BISEXUAL, QUEER, DYKE – indicates discursive erasure.

5.1.1 Relative frequencies of SILs and their word forms

In LBQ1YA 1400 tokens of the labels searched for, that is signs investigated in this thesis, occur in total. The pie chart below displays the proportional frequency of the labels out of this total.

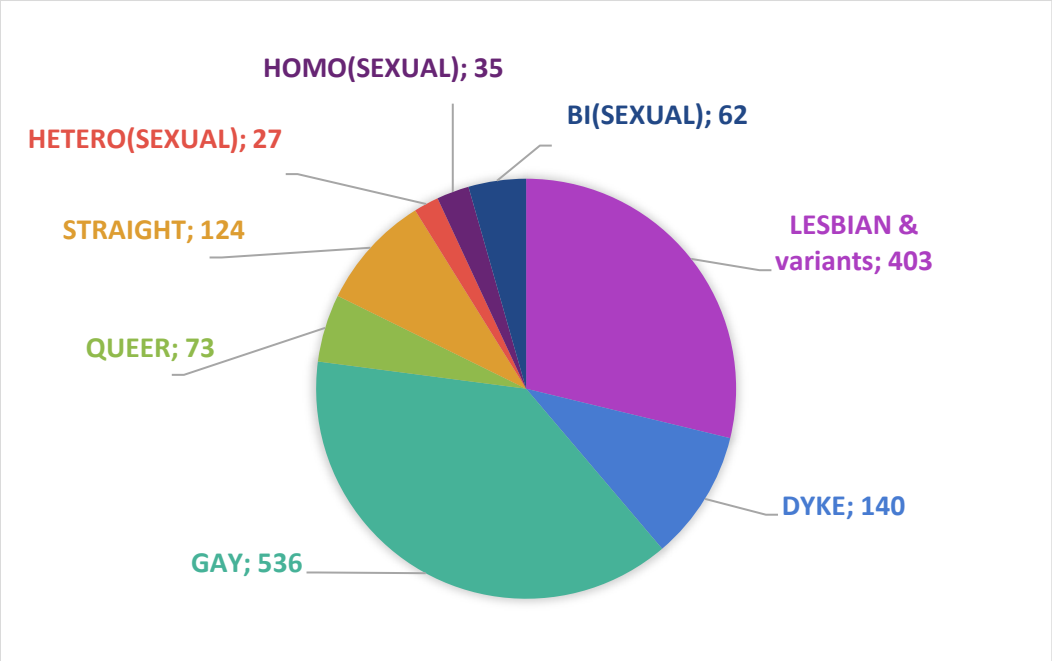

Figure 14 Frequencies of the eight labels searched for in the corpus

About two thirds of all tokens in the corpus are forms of either GAY or LESBIAN. GAY is the more frequent of these two labels (with 38.3% of all tokens). Even including its variants, LESBIAN only amounts to 28.8%. However, instances of GAY in the corpus may refer to male as well as female entities and the two sex-specific labels are the most frequent apart from GAY (this will be explored in the following sub-sections). DYKE contributes exactly 10%, that is 140 tokens, to the overall count of 1400.

Each of the remaining five labels contributes less than ten percent to the overall number of tokens of investigated SILs – of these, other-sex denoting STRAIGHT is the most frequent (at 8.9%). Together the two other-sex denoting SILs contribute 10.8% of all SILs in the corpus, whereas only 4.4% of all SIL-tokens are forms of BI(SEXUAL). Same-sex denoting GAY, LESBIAN and HOMO(SEXUAL) together comprise 69.6% of all SIL-tokens. Thus, these relative frequencies show the same hierarchy as Baker found in general corpora of English for these terms grouped by which sexual orientation category they denote (see Baker, 2008, p. 147, discussed in 3.2.2). In the general corpora investigated by Baker, HOMOSEXUAL is about as frequent as LESBIAN, though. The fact that Figure 14 shows LESBIAN as about ten times more frequent than HOMO(SEXUAL) (which contributes only 2.5% of all tokens) seems to be a feature of the specificity as well as the genre of the corpus investigated in this thesis. Similarly, in the LBQ YA narratives investigated here, colloquial STRAIGHT is more than four times as frequent as HETERO(SEXUAL) (at 1.9%) and two times more frequent than BI(SEXUAL), for which the abbreviated forms were not investigated or found by Baker or Motschenbacher. HETEROSEXUAL was more frequent alone than the either-sex denoting label in the corpora they investigated (see ibid. and Motschenbacher, 2018, p. 152). That is, although the particular labels show different relative frequencies, the pattern indicating a marked status for same-sex orientation/identity and an erased one for either-sex orientation/identity persists in LBQ1YA. The interpretation of the figures

as indicating the "default status" (ibid.) of other-sex orientation is supported by the fact that the other-sex denoting labels are rarely used outside the immediate context of the use of same-sex, and sometimes additionally either-sex, denoting ones, that is, when heterosexuality is not taken for granted. Only once does BI(SEXUAL) co-occur with an other-sex denoting label without co-occuring with at least one same-sex denoting label, illustrating by singular exception the dominant discursive status of homosexuality vis-à-vis bisexuality.

As described above, LBQ1YA displays some conformities to general English as regards SIL-usage and some deviations. Turn-of-the-millennium realist novels featuring questioning or same-sex attracted female character-narrators exhibit lexical preference for labels favoured by the 1970s sexual identity movements over the labels which rose to prominence in turn-of-the-century medical discourse – HOMOSEXUAL and HETEROSEXUAL – as well as over BISEXUAL. In addition, the colloquial register of the genre is reflected not only in that the more colloquial labels for same- and other-sex orientation are more frequent than HOMO(SEXUAL) and HETERO(SEXUAL) but also in that over half of tokens of these labels as well as of BI(SEXUAL) are of their abbreviated forms, not their formal forms containing *sexual*.

The following figure provides the absolute frequencies of the word forms of HETERO(SEXUAL), HOMO(SEXUAL), and BI(SEXUAL) for the corpus investigated

in this thesis. 68 out of 124 of the tokens of these labels are of abbreviated forms. The colloquial forms are more frequent for each of the three labels, but not for the singular/adjectival forms of BI(SEXUAL) nor for the plural forms of HOMO(SEXUAL) and HETERO(SEXUAL) seen separately. The plural forms of the latter two are very rare (one token) or do not occur at all (zero tokens) in the corpus – abbreviated or not.

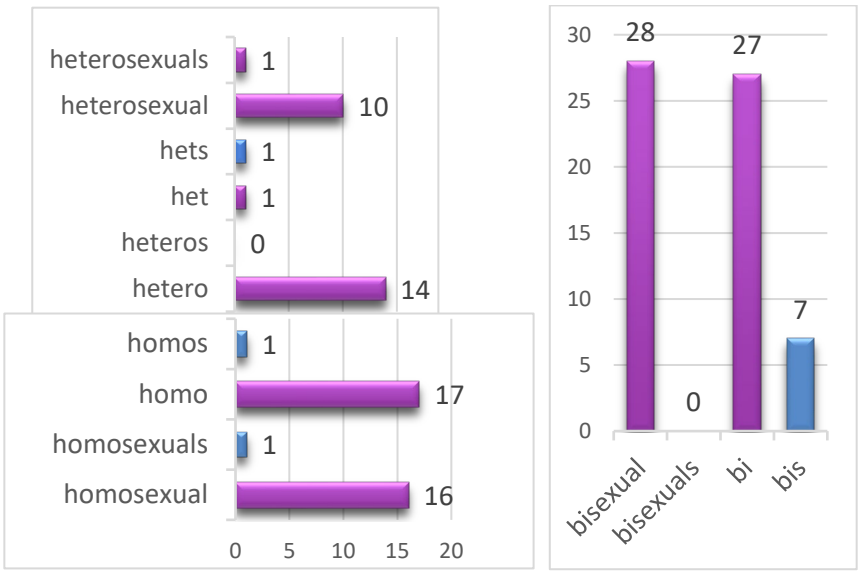

Figure 15 Frequencies of the forms of HETERO(SEXUAL), HOMO(SEXUAL), and BI(SEXUAL)

Whereas the preference for the abbreviated forms indicates something about the literary genre and the culture it portrays, the absences of individual word forms indicates a lack of engagement with these forms in the narratives which comprise the corpus. Crucially, the less novels contain a particular form, the less likely a young adult is to encounter a portrayal of a relationship to them, that is, a potential aid in negotiating their (dis)use, and the more likely a particular view of sexuality is discursively erased. In fact, for the plural forms

in the figure above there is at most one of the 34 novels in the corpus in which it occurs, as all seven tokens of *bis* occur in the same novel (DownToTB). Furthermore, the only other plural noun phrases in which BI(SEXUAL) categorizes a group of people occur in that novel as well. Hence, except for in that novel, bisexuality is not seen as a stable identity to the extent that those who have this orientation in common are referred to by means of a plural, that is, construed as an established category. This indicates that the bisexual movement has not imprinted on discursive structures as reproduced in the corpus in the way that the gay and lesbian movements have (the token count of the plural forms of GAY and of LESBIAN is 29 and 64 respectively, see Figure 16). For HOMO(SEXUAL) and HETERO(SEXUAL) there also has not been such a consolidation (whereas GAY and LESBIAN are associated with a collective which positively evaluates its sexual/social identity). Besides, probably partly due to their low token counts, they do not show differentiation in usage pattern and therefore are not focused on from here on.

For the five more common labels the following figure details the word form frequencies. This points towards differentiation within them as to the tendency to reference collectives and be construed as a fully entrenched category (as the previous figure does for BI(SEXUAL), HOMO(SEXUAL), and HETERO(SEXUAL)).

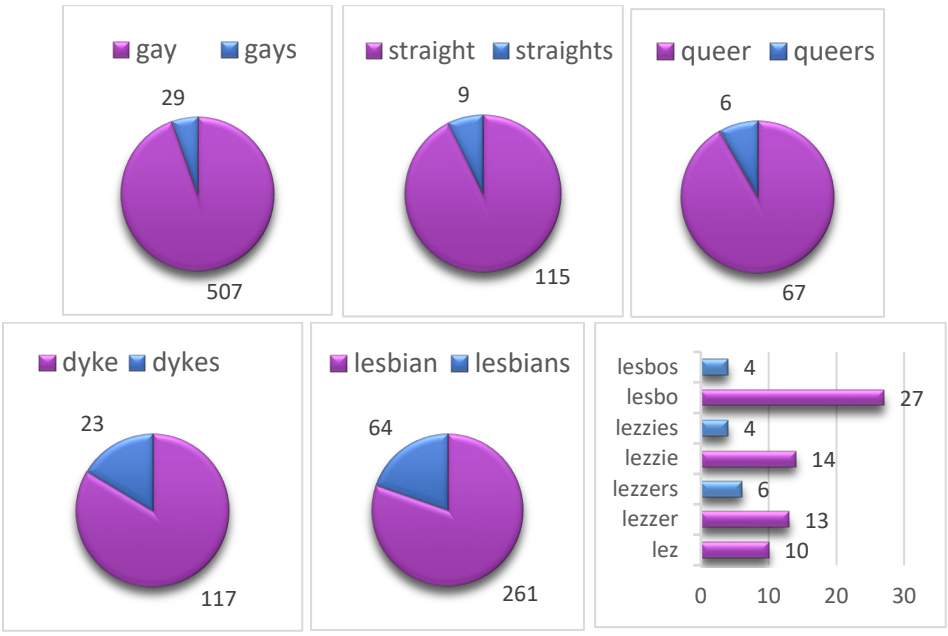

Figure 16 Frequencies of the forms of GAY, STRAIGHT, QUEER, DYKE, LESBIAN, and its variants

Across all labels the singular/adjectival forms are more frequent than the plural. The tendency, though, is not as pronounced in the female-specific labels. Baker's (2008, p. 147) figures likewise show *gays* as less frequent than *lesbians*. However, for both labels the plural forms are relatively more frequent in the general corpora than in the corpus investigated in this thesis (Baker has a 1 out of 10 ratio for GAY, this study 1/20 and 1/5 for LESBIAN where Baker has 1/3). This may reflect the more personal nature of the narratives in my corpus (compared to many of the genres in general corpora) meaning that same-sex identified people are more likely to be referred to as individuals than as collectives. Interestingly, though, the singular/adjectival-plural form proportions in the labels not investigated by Baker – STRAIGHT, QUEER, and DYKE – align in LBQ1YA with those of GAY and of LESBIAN along the female-specific or not-sex-specific distinction. It appears that the use of female-

specific labels correlates with construing same-sex attracted women as a consolidated social group othered simultaneously as women and as same-sex orientated. This is a trend, as the comparison to Baker's figures and Motschenbacher's R1 collocates for LESBIAN indicate, which is hegemonic in contemporary Anglophone culture and actually less strongly reproduced in LBQ1YA. However, the analyses of text passages (in the following two chapters) show that the usage of *a lesbian* is also linked to regarding implications of SILs as female-specific. Thus, the nominal leaning of the sex-specific labels maps onto female same-sex sexuality being seen as an entrenched category encapsulating a bundle of features, whereas the adjectival leaning of non-sex-specific labels maps onto conceptualizing same-sex sexuality as a categorising property superordinate to the sex/gender of the desiring subject. Hence, LESBIAN and DYKE primarily connect to the category 'same-sex identified female humans' in schematic knowledge, while QUEER and GAY connect to the higher-level category 'same-sex identified people' (and STRAIGHT to 'other-sex identified people') – subordinate categorization according to the sex/gender of the identified person/people needs to be specified otherwise (see also discussion of Figure 18 below).

5.1.2 Absence and quantitative dominance in the novels

In this sub-section I analyse how the usage of SILs differs or not in terms of frequency between novels. The table on the following two pages in landscape

orientation gives normalized frequencies per thousand word tokens. The cross-tabulation of labels and novels for absolute frequencies is given in Appendix 2. Crudely speaking, the labels are not well dispersed across the corpus and this is especially true for those which are not frequent overall. If a label does not occur in a novel at all, the cell in the cross-tabulation is highlighted in orange. Low to high usage is indicated by scalar colouring from white to blue. The novels are listed in ascending length according to the number of characters in each file, that is, corresponding to the ordering in the corpus software and, for instance, the plots in Appendix B.

Three of the 34 novels in the corpus do not contain any of the investigated SILs but the majority of novels reflect their prominence in the discursive practices of contemporary culture. How the overall frequency of SILs in each novel correlates with the portrayal of the character-narrator's relationship to SILs is suggested after the analysis of the text passages. However, it seems reasonable to state that in those novels which do not contain any SILs but in which FSSA plays a major role in the narrative (as is the case for all novels in LBQ1YA, see corpus definition in 4.1.2) the use of traditional SILs is portrayed as not necessarily pertinent to the experience of the questioning or same-sex attracted female character-narrators.

Novel/File	Tokens in File	N. Freq. SILs	LESBIAN	L vari-ants	DYKE	GAY	QUEER	STRAI-GHT	HETERO -SEXUAL	He abbr.	HOMO-SEXUAL	Ho abbr.	BISEX-UAL	Bi abbr.
A_enemy13	14,740	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Crush2006	17,787	1.69	0.51	0.06	0.11	0.22	0.67	0.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
TQWithin	23,250	0.99	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.60	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00
OrpheaP	38,917	0.39	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.21	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
LfaDGirl	42,860	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
BetweenYM	41,608	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
AboutAG	45,846	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Empress_W	47,446	0.57	0.23	0.00	0.11	0.04	0.02	0.04	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.00
CGCGirl	48,434	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
KissingK	49,027	0.65	0.14	0.06	0.08	0.35	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02
FindingHF	51,949	0.79	0.06	0.00	0.21	0.25	0.15	0.06	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
WhoIAm	50,906	0.86	0.33	0.02	0.20	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.00	0.00
OoOrder	52,199	0.27	0.02	0.00	0.15	0.06	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Scars2010	55,190	0.25	0.07	0.02	0.00	0.11	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00
Inferno09	55,299	0.47	0.02	0.00	0.05	0.02	0.20	0.16	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02
MyILife	55,960	2.70	1.43	0.07	0.20	0.55	0.02	0.04	0.09	0.07	0.02	0.04	0.11	0.07

Novel/File	Tokens in File	N. Freq. SILs	LESBIAN	L vari-ants	DYKE	GAY	QUEER	STRAI-GHT	HETERO -SEXUAL	He abbr.	HOMO-SEXUAL	Ho abbr.	BISEX-UAL	Bi abbr.
QaU_Devon	57,374	0.84	0.07	0.05	0.00	0.64	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Start_FH	57,789	0.36	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.17	0.05	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02
Sparks_D	58,755	0.43	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.36	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02
Flick2011	61,040	0.57	0.15	0.34	0.03	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.00
BandGOut	58,529	0.17	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00
SkyAHills	62,285	0.83	0.45	0.03	0.22	0.03	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.02
SugarRush	61,946	0.45	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.32	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
R_ALoveS	64,222	0.67	0.12	0.16	0.11	0.22	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03
Keep_YaS	63,433	1.31	0.20	0.05	0.13	0.65	0.11	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.05
Pink2009	64,485	1.16	0.51	0.00	0.00	0.39	0.02	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.05	0.00	0.00
MeAtYou_	72,074	0.80	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.68	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00
365Days	73,010	0.44	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.26	0.01	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
PYouLoveM	80,337	0.68	0.05	0.00	0.06	0.34	0.14	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
A365Days	83,456	0.83	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.64	0.00	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
HelloG	84,619	1.11	0.35	0.02	0.35	0.15	0.01	0.08	0.01	0.11	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
DownToTB	89,539	1.95	0.34	0.22	0.06	0.57	0.03	0.36	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.10	0.02	0.21
GIveRunAW	88,465	0.50	0.12	0.03	0.09	0.14	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.05	0.01
Torn2010	133,030	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.17	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.00

Table 14 Normalized frequencies of sexual identity labels in each novel

Another way in which the novels can be exceptional is in deviating from the overall trends in the relative frequencies of labels. Regarding the most frequent labels, the table shows that about a third of the novels prefer LESBIAN and/or a variant thereof to GAY. Of these Flick2011 is most noticeable as it contains no tokens of GAY at all. In that novel and three more (SkyAHills, HelloG, and Empress_W) the prominence of LESBIAN is accompanied by that of DYKE, that is, the sex-specific labels are both more frequent than GAY. Crush2006 and TQWithin show exceptional engagement with QUEER, OoOrder with DYKE, and Inferno09, OrpheaP, and FindingHF with both. DownToTB, which has been mentioned as featuring all plural tokens of BI(SEXUAL) in the corpus, is exceptional in this comparison not only as regards this label but also in its portrayal of STRAIGHT (it disfavours QUEER and DYKE, which may be due to its use of pejorative terms current in the Cuban American culture to which the character-narrator belongs). These deviations may indicate which conceptualizations of sexual identity are portrayed most prominently, sex-specific ones as discussed for those labels above, or negative ones as may be the case with those prominently featuring QUEER and/or DYKE. For those featuring QUEER and/or DYKE, however, another explanation is that fluid sexuality may be less erased as in other novels.

In contrast to the 24 novels out of 34 in which at least one of the five most frequent labels in the corpus overall is absent, there are two novels with at

least one token of each SIL or a variant thereof. These are the two novels with the highest frequency of SILs in absolute and normalized terms – DownToTB and MyILife. Furthermore, SIL-tokens are well dispersed as well as clustering in the plots of these novels (see Appendices 3.1 and B, and section 5.2.1). It seems possible to hypothesize that SILs, and the question which ones are appropriate to use, play an exceptionally prominent role in these narratives. This will be confirmed by the analysis of token-cluster passages from these novels. However, this portrayal is not limited to these two novels.

5.1.3 Entities labelled or designated by GAY, LESBIAN, DYKE, QUEER and BI(SEXUAL)

In the charts presented in the previous two sub-sections GAY can be seen to be the label with the highest number of tokens in the corpus and the widest spread across the corpus texts. The female specific labels DYKE, LESBIAN and its variants are only as frequent in the corpus if taken together. However, although the corpus texts exclusively feature female first-person narrators experiencing same-sex attraction and/or questioning their sexuality, some also feature same-sex attracted male characters. The manual annotation of the sex of a human referent as well as other features (see sub-section 4.3.4) for the five most frequent labels not denoting an exclusively other-sex orientation allows me to present figures for the application of these labels solely to female characters. In particular, the next sub-section differentiates female self-

identifications by discourse presentation layer and character-narrator. In this sub-section, I present a differentiated picture of the usage patterns of GAY, LESBIAN (without variants), DYKE, QUEER and BI(SEXUAL) as regards which entities they label or designate.

The last of these is the only established label denoting either-sex orientation and is hence of particular interest in investigating a corpus whose texts have been selected specifically to include novels whose character-narrators are not certain that they are exclusively attracted to one sex. Whereas for BI(SEXUAL) no female-specific equivalent is recognized, QUEER and sex-specific DYKE both have a history associated with pejorative use and GAY and sex-specific LESBIAN are both associated with the rights movements of the 1970s. (The variants of LESBIAN may not share this association; therefore, they are not included in the usage pattern analyses so as not to dilute the following distinction.) Hence, for the discussion of the corpus results below, the focus is on how the latter two contrast with the former two and how the female-specific contrast with their counterparts.

Before looking at the application to female characters, the most general usage aspect (that is, layer of functions of SILs) which has been annotated is considered. This concerns whether the label refers to

- a specific (set of) person(s) – Human_Spec (for examples and guidelines on categorization see, in particular, Table 9 and following explication),

- a non-specific human entity, that is mostly generic references – Human_Gen (see Table 12 and 4.3.1),
- the sexual identity (including the label as a word and the category it denotes) – SexIdLabel (see Table 7), or
- an entity which is not a (set of) person(s) – Not_Person (see Table 8).

Confirming the previous results, GAY has the highest number of tokens in each of these four categories. Even compared to LESBIAN (without variants) in each category the other three labels have less than two thirds of instances. However, for all five lemmas, the most frequent entity labelled is a specific (set of) person(s), as may be expected for personal narratives.

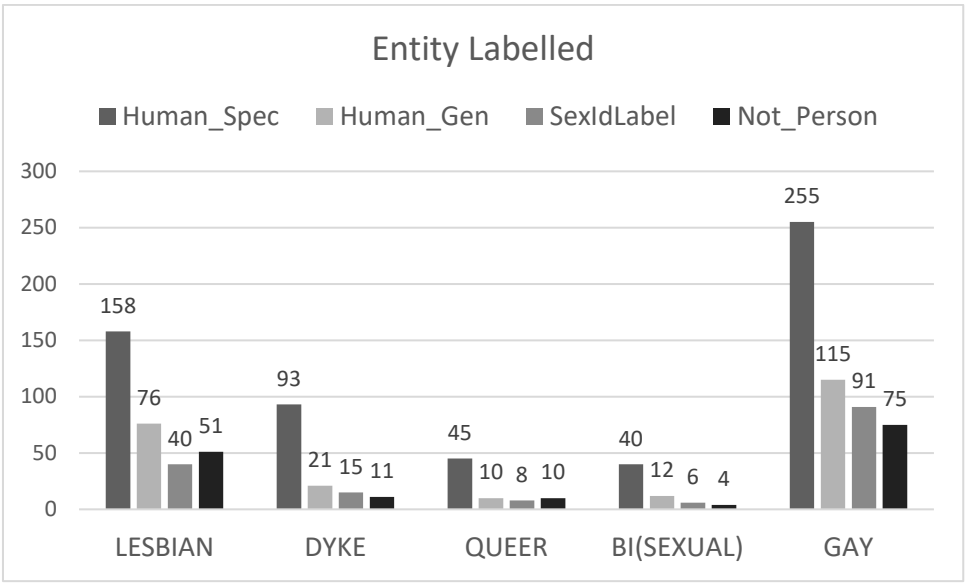

Figure 17 The respective number of instances of each kind of entity labelled by means of same-sex and either-sex denoting labels

In referring to social groups, things associated with them (e.g. places) and the sexual identity (word/concept itself), the labels which denote, or are more likely to be interpreted as denoting, non-sex-exclusive orientation – BISEXUAL,

QUEER, DYKE – are less frequent, not only absolutely but also relatively to the extent to which they are used labelling specific persons. For GAY and LESBIAN generic human referents are about half as frequent as specific human ones, whereas for the other three none of the categories are more than a third as frequent. In absolute numbers, DYKE has the highest count among the less prominent labels for a non-human or non-specific human referents category, with 21 tokens in generic reference. In contrast, LESBIAN's least populated category is SexIdLabel with 40 tokens. This established sex-specific label has 11 more instances in Not_Person, whereas for GAY SexIdLabel is more frequent by 16 than Not_Person. The concordance of the populations of these categories reveals that LESBIAN is used to refer to such entities as sexual acts (including imagined ones in such phrases as *lesbian action dream*), more so than GAY. GAY appears particularly prominent in discussing same-sex identity as an orientation or concept, illustrated by the phrase *being gay*, as one compares how the categories for these functions of these five labels are filled by the data. In addition to aspects already remarked upon, in three out of the ten instances of BI(SEXUAL) referring to a non-human entity (including sexual identity) it is a tag-on identity group recalling Baker's observations on its co-texts in the BNC. Similarly QUEER is used tagged onto LGBT or replacing it to designate social spaces for non-heterosexuals in six out of the eighteen instances of referring to a non-human entity. To conclude, GAY and (to a lesser extent) LESBIAN are the main labels used for social categories designating other than other-sex

orientation in LBQ1YA – the B and the Q are not given much discursive import.

The following figure shows the instances in which a (set of) human(s) – specific or generic – is referred to, differentiated by the sex of the referent. The categories annotated for are male, female, and non-sex-specifically (including mixed groups and entities for which the sex is not specified or ambiguous; see 4.3.4 for how this parameter was coded for, especially around example (48), p. 223, and Table 12, p. 224).

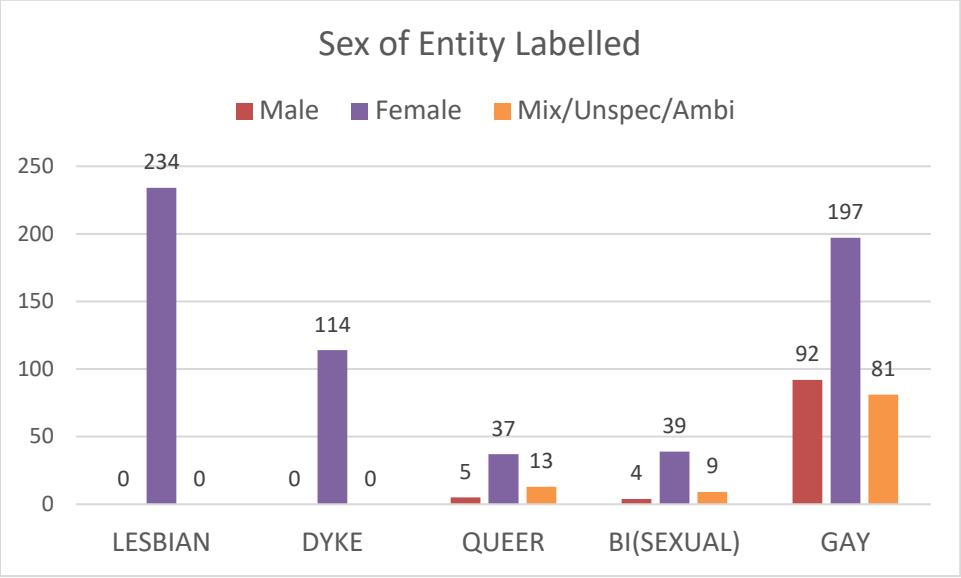

Figure 18 The sex of the human entities labelled by means of same-sex and either-sex denoting labels

Unsurprisingly, all tokens of DYKE and LESBIAN refer to female entities, that is, they are used sex-specific as is conventional. LESBIAN has more applications to female entities than GAY in the corpus. This is only true though for the figures which include the 76 tokens of LESBIAN referring to humans generically (which reference females by default) as there are only 11 tokens of generic reference

to female humans using GAY (that is, female sex is hardly ever specified when GAY is used in generic reference). Thus, GAY refers to a (set of) specific female person(s) in 186 cases, LESBIAN in 158 cases. Put diffently, about a third of references to female entities using LESBIAN are generic, whereas only about six percent of references to female entities using GAY are generic. This continues the complicated pattern of GAY and LESBIAN emerging in different ways as more prominent than the other, but specifically shows that the sex-specific label is more likely when referring to the social group of same-sex identified female humans – it is seven times more frequent in this usage. Besides, GAY is more frequently used non-sex-specifically for humans than QUEER and BI(SEXUAL), and by far the most frequent of these labels for male entities – specific and generic.

For identity assignments to a specific (set of) female person(s), the chart below breaks down the relationship between the source of the discourse instance and the target of the identity assignment, not including counterfactual assignments. Generally, the five labels show differing usage patterns as regards the identification of self, addressee or neither (see the discussion of the examples in Table 9 to Table 11 for the explication of the annotation scheme in this regard).

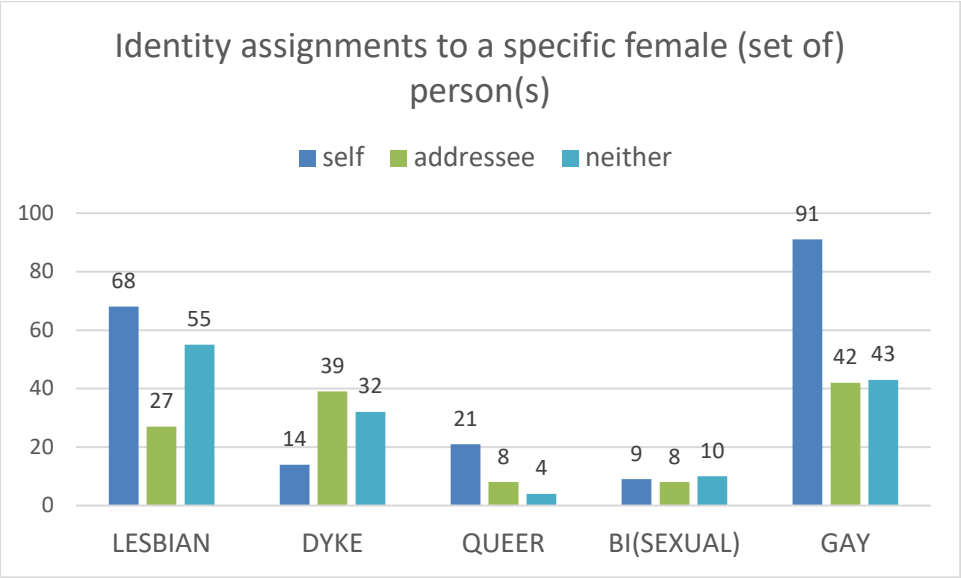

Figure 19 Self- or other-identifications of a specific female (set of) person(s) by means of same-sex and either-sex denoting labels

DYKE peaks at addressee labelling, that is, in comparing the extent to which the categories of this usage facet are filled by LBQ1YA, it appears as most frequently used at a (set of) female person(s), whereas LESBIAN is least frequent in this function. The converse is true for these sex-specific labels as regards self-identification. This is indicative of DYKE as an insult – in 37 of the 39 instances of addressee-identification the assignment is factual, that is, the target has no choice in being labelled. In contrast, QUEER has been in the process of being reclaimed for self-identification since the 1990s and the Young Adult novels under investigation evidence this as a nascent tendency – by far most cases of application to a (set of) specific female person(s) are by the source of the discourse instance herself but QUEER is used very little overall, reflecting post-1969 (out-group) dispreference for the term. The similarly infrequent BI(SEXUAL) does not show this – it seems to be disfavoured

for designating one's own as well as others' identity. BI(SEXUAL) has the most level distribution as regards this usage feature. Overall, the distinct distributions show how the extent to which each of these same-sex and either-sex denoting labels is used to refer to selves, addressees and third parties reflects the practices of labelling as disciplining, countering, and widely accepted out-group reference in post-Stonewall society.

From Figure 19 we can also see that GAY has the highest number of cases of female self-identification in the corpus. (A basic example is *I was gay* (quoted in 4.3.4 from PYouLoveM, which is past tense in the speaker-now). Examples with distancing subordination and/or in a discourse presentational sub-layer are (34), (30), and (35).) However, the two novels by Payne in diary format (see Appendix A) provide a tipping point away from LESBIAN being more frequent. That is, there are three instances of self-identification by a female person (on any discourse presentation layer but not counterfactually) with LESBIAN in these novels and 31 with GAY so that were these not in the corpus there would be 65 instances of LESBIAN and only 60 of GAY. Yet, these novels are not less likely than any other in the corpus to be read by LBQ YAs and thus contribute to the discursive structures (re)produced in this body of literature. This indicates again, though, how important it is to look at how the overall patterns are differentiated in the novels.

5.1.4 Female self-identification with GAY, LESBIAN, DYKE, QUEER and BI(SEXUAL)

To further investigate the portrayal of the female character-narrators of these novels encountering these SILs, I take into account the presence of discourse presentation features and other textual cues, such as modality, which distance the narrator from the instances of female self-identification that occur in the novels. Identifications occurring in direct speech and writing presentation (character interaction, see section 4.3.4 for annotation scheme and 2.2.3 for import) have a distinct deictic centre – the self. This includes that the persona the character-narrator construes in character interaction may be distinct from that which she portrays to herself in narrative, to which only the reader bears witness (narratorial discourse situation). This also applies to reports in the narrative of self-identifications in character interaction, because, though the narratorial deictic centre is not fully displaced in reporting someone else or oneself, the self who is reported to have construed herself in a certain relationship at the time of the reported character interaction, might at the point of reporting distance herself from that portrayal. In reports of self-identification the identified self may be an earlier self of the reporting character(-narrator) or a different character altogether, whereas in the case of discourse presented as hypothetical and/or its proposition attributed (attrHypo) the identified self is the speaker/writer in character interaction and

the character-narrator in narrative. AttrHypo and Reports in character interaction add to the distance already construed by CharInt.

As regards BI(SEXUAL), the reality status (see 4.3.4, especially Table 13) of the self-identification is a crucial facet in looking at the extent to which this label is portrayed as a valid identity for the character-narrators and/or encountered by them as a self-validating one. The only factual instance occurs in a report within character interaction (Report_CharInt), that is, it is maximally distanced in terms of discourse presentation layer. Eight instances of female self-identification with this either-sex denoting SIL are potential, prospective, interrogative or conditional. Of these, five occur in narrative without distancing (Narrat_direct), and one each in Narrat_attrHypo, CharInt_direct, and Report_Narrat. The report in narrative is in fact the character-narrator (of Empress_W) reporting her own identification with *bisexual* in her field notes (see Appendix A) but she modalizes her identification (*i said i thought i was bisexual*) and also reports that it was not taken to be stable (*he said, "by and by, you'll be gay!"*). Three instances of female self-identification with BI(SEXUAL) are counterfactual and occur in not-further-distanced character interaction (CharInt_direct) and narrative (Narrat_direct). Thus, this label is portrayed as not available to the character-narrators in an unqualified, unmodalized or factual manner.

The figure below breaks down the female self-identifications in the corpus by discourse presentation layer (see above and particularly the explications around Figure 11 and Table 6, pp. 214–215) irrespective of reality status. I do take reality status into account, again, by means of colour-coding in filtered concordance plots (see Table 17 in A3.2) when I look at just the narratorial discourse situation (Narrat_direct and Narrat_attrHypo) of each novel separately.

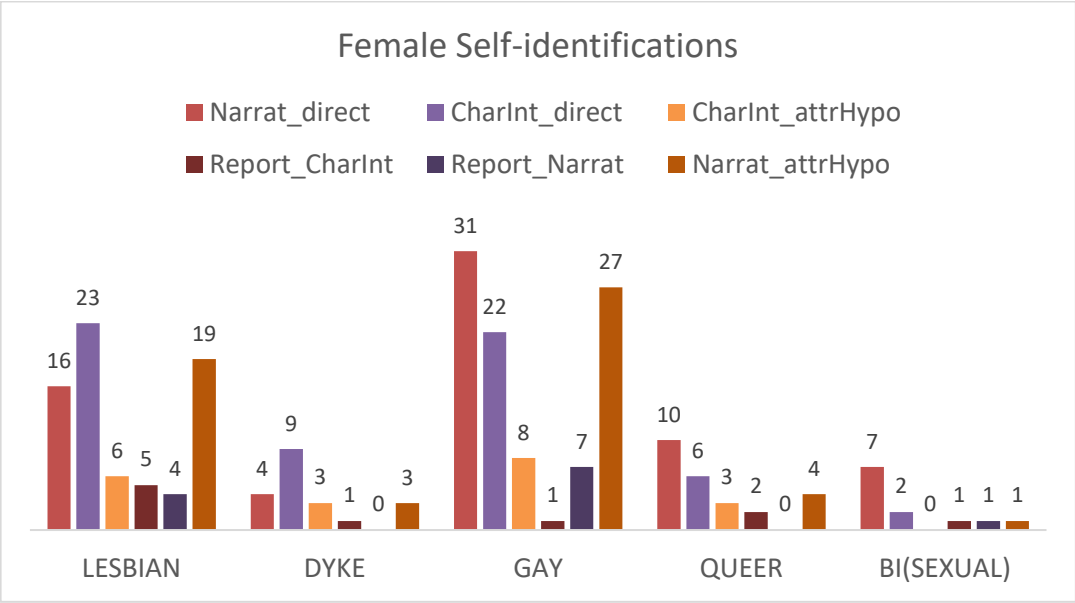

Figure 20 Female self-identifications by means of same-sex and either-sex denoting labels by discourse presentation layer

GAY and LESBIAN have their second highest column in hypothetical discourse instances and attributed propositions in narrative; in contrast, for DYKE and QUEER as well as BI(SEXUAL) there is little difference between the population of that category and that of the other categories representing distancing from the self-identification in narrative or character interaction. This reflects narratorial

preoccupation with being viewed as GAY or LESBIAN and coming out as GAY or LESBIAN. In other words, character-narrators are portrayed more often as believing their social environment may apply one of these labels to them and as contemplating using one of these labels to self-identify to their social environment than is the case for the other three labels (which have Narrat_attrHypo tokens in single figures). This shared tendency of GAY and LESBIAN is similar to their tendency for generic reference seen in Figure 17 and both tendencies may be interpreted as a reflection of these labels' prominence in contemporary society.

In LBQ1YA, sex-specificity in labelling female selves tends towards interaction with other characters in two ways. Concerning "direct" discourse instances, LESBIAN and DYKE together have 20 tokens in narrative and 32 in character interaction whereas GAY and QUEER together have 41 in narrative and 28 in character interaction. Including Narrat_Hypo but not Report _Narrat, that is, looking at the narratorial discourse situation, there are 72 tokens of GAY or QUEER in the corpus and thirty fewer of LESBIAN or DYKE. All three Char_Int categories together, that is, direct speech or writing presentation (with or without further distancing), contain 42 tokens of GAY and QUEER and five more tokens of the sex-specific labels. This pattern in usage adds to the picture which shows the sexual identity of female persons as a social identity to be portrayed as female-specific by presenting female

characters identifying more often with a sex-specific label in interaction with their social environment. This structure seems to interact with LESBIAN's discursive status as an established out-group designator in that this label is hypothetically or attributatively used in narrative more often than in undistanced narrative (only by three tokens but none of the others have this frequency relation between the population of the discourse presentation layers); in other words, even in imagining being labelled or applying a label to themselves the female character-narrators are portrayed to rather use a sex-specific label which is associated with a socially recognized and broadly accepted group. This varies by novel, however, as illustrated by Payne's portrayal of Clemmie, which favors GAY in Narrat_attrHypo – see Figure 37 and Figure 38 – to the extent that GAY has more tokens overall in that layer than LESBIAN in Figure 20.

In the remainder of this (sub-)section I complement earlier analyses of the labels' prominence per novel by looking at the reality status of non-reported self-identifications in the narrative, that is, the character-narrator designating herself to no other character, although in attrHypo cases considering doing so or imagining others thinking about her in a certain relationship to a specified label. Twenty-four novels contain narratorial self-identification (including counterfactual instances) with one or more of the annotated SILs in narrative. I have used filtered concordance plots for visualizing which labels are

assigned to the character-narrator with which reality status by herself (see Appendix 3.2). This has enabled me to see overall patterns of to which extent which labels are factually identified with, considered or rejected for herself by the character-narrator. I aligned the plots for all labels occurring in narratorial self-identification in a novel with each other for that novel, showing that in some narratorial discourse situations labels are taken up, considered or rejected by some narrators not singly but in conjunction with each other. Only one novel contains an instance of a plural form in narratorial self-identification so if the discussion does not include that novel, the singular/adjectival form is used for conciseness.

There are five novels in which only *gay* is used in narratorial self-identification (Figure 26, p. 488). They show a wide range of the extent to which the narrator identifies with a same-sex label while using only *gay* for themselves to themselves. In MeAtYou_ the narrator, at separate points in the plot, interrogates whether she is *gay*, denies it, and considers it possible. In the other four a single relationship to the single same-sex label (*gay*) is presented in the narratorial discourse situation – only factual self-identification (attributed/hypothetical and not) occurs in QaU_Devon and StartFH, and only attributed/hypothetical questioning in LfaDGirl as well as only counterfactual self-identification in Torn2010.

There are seven novels with only sex-specific narratorial self-identification. Four of these only feature *lesbian(s)* (R_ALoveS, Pink2009, Flick2011, and GIveRunAW; Figure 27, p. 489) and three both *lesbian* and *dyke* (WhoIAm, FindingHF, and HelloG; Figure 28, p. 489). In the latter three novels the self-identification with both *lesbian* and *dyke* by the character-narrator is factual (attributed/hypothetical and not) in all instances. The four other novels show a similar range of the extent to which the narrator identifies with a same-sex label as those which only feature *gay* in narratorial self-identification. But none features a counterfactual instance – all seven show their character-narrator contemplating same-sex identity and exclusively using sex-specific labels in the narratorial discourse situation.

Hence, there are four novels each which contain only *gay* or *lesbian(s)* in narratorial self-identification. Neither *dyke*, nor *queer* or *bi(sexual)*, occur as the only annotated SIL in narratorial self-identification. This means that *gay* and *lesbian(s)* are the only labels, out of the five most frequent labels in the corpus not denoting an exclusively other-sex orientation, with this privileged status, further underlining their prominence in these texts.

Furthermore, there are eleven novels out of the 34 in the corpus which feature *gay* and/or *lesbian(s)* in factual narratorial self-identification without later (in the plot, not necessarily the story) contradicting or questioning the identification with this label; however, some of them feature narratorial self-

identification with one or more of the other labels annotated for usage features (see A3.2). This includes the narrative in *365Days* and its sequel *Another 365Days,* which are fictional diaries narrating two consecutive years (Figure 37 and Figure 38, p. 492). The diary writer, that is the character-narrator, prefers *gay* to designate herself but also uses *lesbian* in both years, whereas she only uses *queer* once, early on in the first novel and questioningly.

In this paragraph I present the seven novels featuring narratorial self-identification with *bi(sexual)* (Figure 29 to Figure 33, pp. 490–491). As discussed above, none of these is factual and none of the novels feature only the either-sex denoting label in this undistanced discourse situation. There are three novels – MyILife, SkyAHills and Empress_W – with *bi(sexual)* besides *lesbian* (as the only other annotated SIL) in narratorial self-identification, highlighting that there is no established label denoting either-sex identity and female sex. In the latter two novels, the narrator uses *lesbian* and *bi(sexual)* at one point simultaneously in questioning her identity (for SkyAHills this is quoted as (25) on p. 205). Similarly, a joint questioning occurs in Sparks_D but with *bi* and *gay* (preceded by a factual self-identification with *lesbian*). Conversely, BandGOut features a joint rejection of *lesbian* and *bisexual* (followed by the possibility of self-identification with *gay*). In contrast, Inferno09 features neither *lesbian* nor *gay* in narratorial self-identification but neither is any identification with the other three labels (*dyke*, *queer*, *bi)* presented as factual.

Keep_YaS presents factual self-identification with the sex-specific labels *lesbian* and *dyke* but its character-narrator furthermore questions whether *gay* applies to herself and rejects a *bi* identity for herself after considering it possible. This is the novel with the most diverse display of narratorial self-identification – it features four labels. Looking at the seven novels featuring narratorial self-identification with *bi(sexual)*, we can conclude that the questioning or same-sex attracted female character-narrators in these contemporary realist Young Adult novels are portrayed as wondering about the application of *bi(sexual)* to themselves in conjunction with wondering about the application to themselves of at least one informal same-sex denoting SIL or of *queer* (Inferno09). Hence, a *bisexual* identity is only presented to be considered by LBQ YA first-person narrators in the corpus if they also (and mainly at the same time) consider another non-heterosexual identity for themselves. Other-sex denoting labels do not occur in the co-text of these joint usages in the narratorial discourse situation.

There are three novels, TQWithin, Crush2009 and PYouLoveM (Figure 34 to Figure 36, pp. 491–492), which do not contain narratorial self-identification with *bi(sexual)* but manifest odd patterns in comparison to the other plots in A3.2. They indicate how different these first-person narratives of females experiencing same-sex attraction can be as regards the relationship of their narrators to the annotated SILs. TQWithin's narrator rejects a *queer* identity at

first but in moving towards accepting a same-sex identity for herself also changes to using *gay* for self-identification. This reflects the positive association of the latter in comparison to the former. The character-narrator of TQWithin does not reflect on non-monosexuality and never mentions attraction to boys (nor is she portrayed to experience such attraction; see also section 6.4 below). In contrast, the narrator of Crush2009 prefers *queer* to *lesbian* for self-identification and has experienced attraction to and relations with at least one male person (portrayed in the first TCP identified from that novel), which would support that in this novel a more fluid conceptualization of sexuality is dominant (as mentioned in the analysis of Table 14, p. 246). PYouLoveM's narrator prefers *gay* but also uses *dyke* and considers *queer* (this is explored in section 6.4.4). The portrayal of these character-narrators' relationships to QUEER, like the previous analyses, indicate its ambivalent discursive status at the turn of the millenium between viewing same-sex identity negatively or alternatively.

The analyses in this sub-section have confirmed the dominance of GAY and LESBIAN in the corpus by looking at female self-identification by discourse presentation layer and, in the narratorial discourse situation, by reality status and co-occurrence of not-just-other-sex denoting SILs. Eleven novels feature LESBIAN in (non-reportative) narratorial self-identification without featuring GAY, whereas seven novels feature GAY but not LESBIAN. Five feature both and

one neither (but the other three annotated SILs do feature in the latter). Hence, in contrast to the wider spread across novels in the corpus of GAY as a SIL in general, more narrators identify as LESBIAN to themselves. The other labels are far less frequent and only one novel favours them over both GAY and LESBIAN as regards narratorial self-identification. This exception is Inferno09, in which a joint modalized assignment of *queer*, *bi* and *whatever* by the character-narrator to herself occurs but no instances of LESBIAN or GAY in narratorial self-identification. Generally though, BI(SEXUAL) is even less favoured than QUEER and DYKE, the former being favoured over LESBIAN in Crush2006 and the latter being used factually alongside LESBIAN by female narrators for themselves.

5.2 Token-Cluster Passages: Patterns and Occasions of Clustering, and Selection for Qualitative Analyses

This section moves on to the patterning of the occasions when SILs and related terms are used based on investigating the text passages linked to token-clusters in the concordance plots. The details on which tokens are included in this analysis and the plot display settings used were given in 4.2.4 above. In short, in this section I describe the usage patterns of the tokens of the search terms within or liminal with the DoS, that is, of the 1434 DoS-tokens in LBQ1YA.

Broadly speaking, occasions of their usage are the character-narrator reflecting upon her experience of sexuality and/or narrating an event in which a (set of) SIL(s) is used – coming out is a particularly frequent occasion in LBQ1YA. Meanwhile, most scaled plots (see PDF file on the CD-ROM, that is Appendix B) display surges – a phrase I use metaphorically and non-technically to describe the more or less aprupt increases and decreases of SIL-token-frequency over the course of a novel's plot.

This and the other patterns in the corpus of the dispersion of DoS-tokens are presented using exemplary plots in section 5.2.1. Section 5.2.2 lists the occasions of SIL-usage identified from passages which contain more than six tokens. The final sub-section describes the principles applied to narrow the number of TCPs closely analysed from 37 to a manageable 15 and the division of these into the two qualitative analysis chapters.

5.2.1 Token-clustering in the plots

In this sub-section I consider the plots scaled relative to the length of each novel, displaying tokens of SILs and related terms. The focus is on what these plots reveal about the extent to which terms for people's or a person's sexual identity tend to cluster in the novels in the corpus. The patterns described are not categories into which every novel in the corpus falls exclusively. The 31 plots which display instances of the search terms within or liminal with the DoS (see Appendix B) present a picture of hybrids and odd ones out as well as

exemplars of points on a continuum. The description below is meant to summarize the overall picture and elucidate the basis of the identification of token-cluster passages (TCPs, see section 4.2.5 for definition). Therein, the plots reproduced for illustration are split vertically, and pasted onto several horizontal rows, in order to fit breadth-wise into the running text.

In some of the novels in the corpus, the tokens are rather well dispersed, apart from close co-occurrence of two, three or four tokens. Exemplary of this pattern is Start_FH:

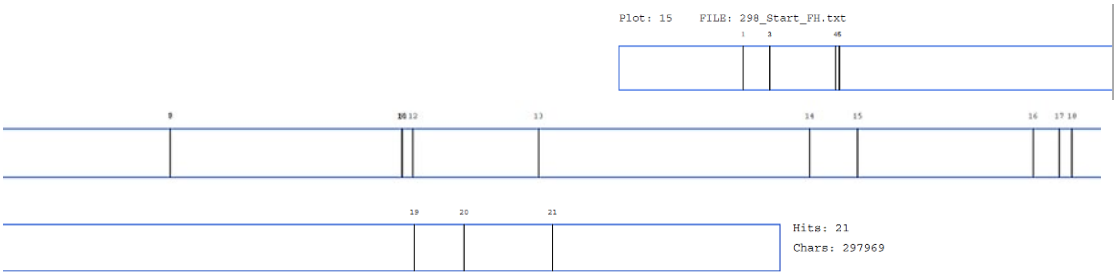

Figure 21 Scaled plot of Start_FH displaying tokens of SILs and related terms

In such novels, SILs occasionally feature in the narrative. However, at no point does the character-narrator dwell on them to occasion their use beyond four tokens or narrate an occasion on which more than four tokens are used. In these novels, the character-narrator appears to have a neutral relationship to SILs – these labels are not a subject of major contention.

Occasions on which more than four tokens are used do happen in some other novels in the corpus which otherwise show dispersion. These feature one or more local accumulations of five or more tokens that when one

investigates the text are revealed to correspond to passages in the narrative. Illustrative of this pattern is QaU_Devon in which tokens 14 to 20 (i.e. a cluster of 7) and 38 to 42 (i.e. a cluster of 5) are concentrated in a passage each.

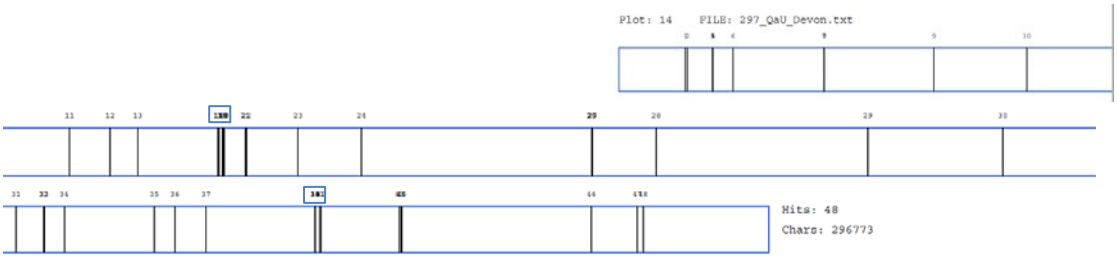

Figure 22 Scaled plot of QaU_Devon displaying tokens of SILs and related terms; token-clusters marked by boxes around the numbering

Terms which can refer to a person's or people's sexual identity are a constant presence, in the sense of regular occurrence, for the narrators of the novels which show dispersion. This is quite low-level in some novels, but, for instance, Keep_YaS (Plot 22 in Appendix B) shows dispersion and has a normalized frequency above the average of the corpus. As the analysis in the previous section showed, in contrast to Start_FH, which contains only factual self-identification and with only one label, Keep_YaS engages with four different labels in narratorial self-identification alone and portrays different relationships to them. These patterns may indicate the extent to which the novels feature conflict with sexual identity.

In the majority of narratives in the corpus, however, the dispersion pattern of DoS-tokens is characterized by their rising and ebbing over the course of the plot. This can involve very dense concentrations of tokens in a short

stretch of plot as well as no tokens for a (relatively) long stretch. This pattern is illustrated below by GIveRunAW and MyILife. There are no DoS-tokens in the first third of the plot of GIveRunAW, hence I have shortened the display there so that it fits onto three rows (cf. the full plot in Appendix B, the penultimate one).

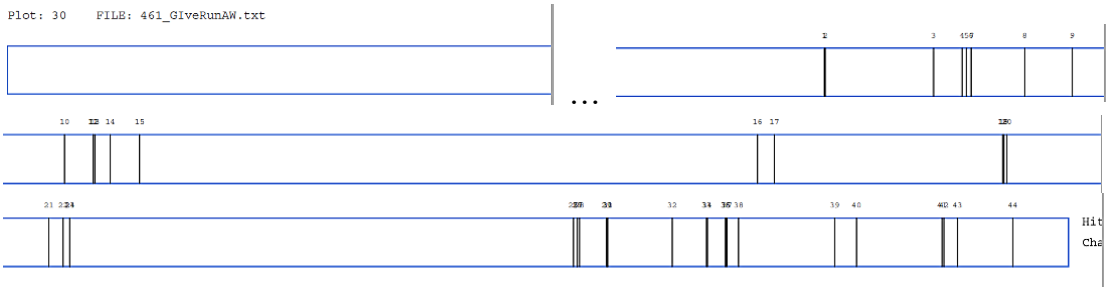

Figure 23 Scaled plot of GIveRunAW displaying tokens of SILs and related terms (44 hits, 461300 characters in file)

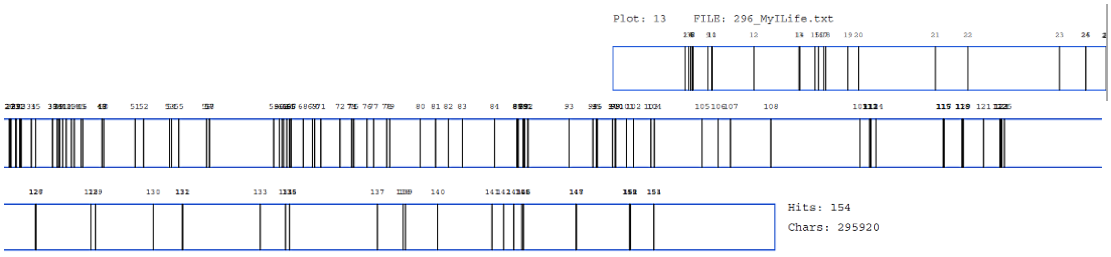

Figure 24 Scaled plot of MyILife displaying tokens of SILs and related terms

This pattern means that in most novels SILs are dwelled on at certain times but not all the time, nor at regular intervals. Of those two novels represented above, the former has a normalized frequency of tokens below the average of the corpus and the latter has the highest normalized frequency in the corpus. In that novel the presence of terms which can refer to a person's or people's sexual identity is rather constant in the sense that the stretches of narrative without any occurrence are rather short compared to those in other novels in

the corpus. Therefore, within this pattern how often the use of SILs rises and ebbs and how quickly these surges follow one another varies greatly. Put differently, the narratives of the novels within this pattern occasion SIL-usage at various points according to their individual stories and plots. This is further investigated in the next sub-section.

Many of the lines in the plots in Figure 23 and 24 represent more than one token. Furthermore, dense concentrations of tokens are often preceded and/or followed by more tokens – rather than being demarcated as token-cluster passages by surrounding narrative with no tokens. Hence, there are many stretches of text to be investigated for token-cluster passages in these two plots, as well as the many others exhibiting the last, predominant pattern. In order to manage the identification within this project, I set the threshold at seven, that is, more than six in a passage as described in the methodology (see section 4.2.5). Including the novels with local accumulations above six tokens, there are 20 novels which feature clusters in the plot, 18 of which contain TCPs.

To summarize this sub-section, novels in which the tokens of the search terms within or liminal with the domain of sexuality do not cluster are the exception in LBQ1YA (see also Appendix B). The number of occurrences within a token-cluster differs widely – from co-occurrence of a few tokens to more than two dozen in a surge. As surges I describe concentrations

surrounded by text without or with fewer (less densely packed) occurrences. In some novels in the corpus there are only local accumulations, tightly-packed token-clusters surrounded by no tokens.

5.2.2 Passages identified

The corpus features 37 TCPs containing from seven to 25 tokens. In total 382 of the 1434 DoS-tokens are present in these passages. Between one and eight TCPs are contributed by 18 novels. The table in Appendix 4.1 lists the TCPs identified and their features such as where they are found in the plot display (Appendix B), the number of DoS-tokens of each SIL they contain and a brief description of the scene narrated focusing on the key element as to sexual identity and/or labels. I summarize the main occasions of clustering below.

Most commonly an occasion for the clustering of SILs and related terms is associated with the notion of coming out. It applies to these occasions especially, but also to other circumstances, topics and events described below, that their characterizing element is not exclusive to passages which make the seven or more tokens threshold for TCPs. As regards the table in the Appendix, they are alternative ways of describing the key element for some TCPs and feature not only in those TCPs which indicate this as the key element in the table's descriptions but also as secondary elements in other TCPs.

Apart from coming out, the following occasion extraordinarily dense usage of SILs (and related terms) in comprehensive passages:

- consideration of SILs as words and/or the discussion of the nature of sexual identity;
- sexuality (often accompanied by gender) emerges as a political and/or social issue;
- the discussion of attitudes to LGBT people and/or the display of such attitudes;
- character interactions and narrative passages which concern sexual relationships, actual or potential ones.

In sum, these terms are used to deal with discursive relations, in other words social and linguistic ones, which are implicated in the experiences of the character-narrators in LBQ1YA.

Coming out is featured in various ways in the narratives where DoS-tokens cluster:

- a character comes out to others or the character-narrator to herself (that is, within the representation of her thoughts she is seen to acknowledge her sexual identity as other than heterosexual);
- a character is outed against their will or without their permission by circumstance or another character (the outed character's sexual identity

may be presented, by the novel as a whole, as different from what they are outed as in a TCP);

- a character refuses to come out either in interaction with one or more other characters or in the representation of the narrator's thoughts.

This indicates that extraordinarily dense use of SILs correlates with potential conflict surrounding sexual identity and labelling as well as the prominent role that coming out has in the social relations a young adult experiences. The conflict and the coming out is also often internal, though, reflecting the impact of the discursive practices of contemporary society on young people's minds. Two identified passages contain flashbacks associated with coming out (or refusing to). This harkens back to the conceptualization of a unified sexual self observed as reproduced in contemporary society.

In conclusion, SILs in the investigated corpus of fictional first-person narratives featuring female same-sex attraction or questioning of sexual identity published for young adults are not randomly dispersed over their plots but indicate the discursive structures of the society represented within them in that most of them portray their character-narrators as using SILs in negotiating the links between their social identity and their sexual (or romantic) experiences.

5.2.3 Criterion for selection and division into sets

In this section, I describe the criterion employed in order to limit the number of TCPs to one that can be analysed closely within the scope of this thesis and at the same time select those TCPs which provide the richest data for answering the research question(s). The fifteen selected passages are extracts from eleven novels, which are balanced over three sets introduced below and analysed in the following two chapters.

For close analysis in my thesis I select those TCPs which, in the narratorial discourse situation and/or in character interaction, feature non-incidental reflection on sexual identity in the sense of one or more of the following:

1. the character-narrator's own sexual identity
2. (an aspect of) the conceptualization of sexual identity / orientation categories
3. (a) sexual identity label(s) as (a) linguistic expression(s)

The TCPs hence analysed closely feature SILs in both speech and thought as well as used by the narrator and by characters she encounters so that the selected data is not one-sided in these respects. On the other hand, this criterion tends to exclude TCPs in which the meaning of SILs is not a matter for discussion and their applicability to a certain person is not questioned. A few such TCPs do make the selection, though, due to one or more of the

aspects of the criterion which are not mutually exclusive with these features. Inclusion of the first sense, but only for the character-narrator's own sexual identity focuses the analysis on female characters who are by corpus definition specified to be experiencing same-sex attraction or questioning whether an attraction to another female is sexual. Furthermore, the TCP analysis thus complements the plot analysis of the narratorial discourse situation. TCPs which feature the character-narrator's sexual identity, for example in that she comes out to someone, but do not include in-depth examination of this subject are not regarded as featuring non-incidental reflection.

Seven novels contribute one TCP each to the analysis in the next two chapters following the selection according to the principles just described. This comprises the only TCP in six novels each and the last TCP from PYouLoveM (see Appendix 4.1). From MyILife (5 TCPs), Pink2009 (3 TCPs), and HelloG (4 TCPs) two passages each are selected by employing the above criterion. Four out of the eight TCPs in DownToTB meet it – to prevent that the TCP analysis is dominated by this one novel contributing more than any other, I only include the two TCPs out of the four that show a higher density of SILs (i.e. the lower T/W ratio in the Table A4.1). Thus, I closely analyse fifteen passages.

The analyses of these fifteen TCPs are divided into three sets. The difference between the first two sets rests in whether the narrator changes her judgement of her own sexual identity. In the TCPs in the third set various aspects of the use of labels for sexual identity are contested – this is not the case in the extracts investigated in the first two sets. The first two sets, comprising eight passages, are analysed in Chapter 6 and the third set, comprising seven passages, in Chapter 7. The following three paragraphs provide a preview, as regards the contribution to the overall inquiry, of the analysis of each set and each of its passages.

The first set covers four extracts which thematise the causes and/or consequences of one's sexual identity being same-sex or other-sex. The narrative of the first TCP analysed is mainly concerned with asserting that same-sex sexual identity is not a "choice" and therefore "gay people" should be accepted (QaU_Devon). The second and third passage are from one novel and in both TCPs the narrator expounds that same-sex identity is antithetical to sexual reproduction (HelloG). The fourth passage – subject of the final analysis of section 6.2 – has as a recurrent theme that sexual attraction, activity and relationships between females are different from those between females and males – they are distinctly same-sex (KissingK). In addition, the third and fourth passage have in common that the narrator has to explain a label denoting same-sex sexual identity to her younger sister.

The four extracts in the second set are from four different novels. Each of the four character-narrators takes a step in the passage in admitting and accepting her same-sex sexual identity. A form of both ADMIT and ACCEPT occurs in each of the passages. In section 6.4.1, I discuss a passage in which having been called a *dyke* occasions the character-narrator to identify as such due to her same-sex attraction (WhoIAm). Similarly, in the passage analysed next, the narrator comes out to herself following an incident which has confirmed to her that she is attracted to females (365Days). In the passage analysed in section 6.4.3, a counsellor helps the narrator to accept the possibility that she may be gay (TQWithin). Finally, I investigate a passage whose narrator has already made peace with being gay but moves towards fully accepting her same-sex identity by admitting that the label *queer* also applies to her (PYouLoveM).

The third set features the passages in which same-sex attraction is portrayed in various complicated relationships with sexual identity categories and/or labels. The seven passages are extracts from four novels. Section 7.2.1 investigates a passage in which a character defines his sexual identity in terms of male-male attraction and in contradistinction to the effeminate expression of same-sex identity, which alienates the character-narrator (Pink2009). A later passage from the same novel is discussed in the following sub-section; the character-narrator explains that she is unable to figure out from the attractions

she feels how to define her sexual identity. The next couple of passages feature a narrator who is sure of her love for females but consistently rejects labelling herself while others apply labels to her (DownToTB). In contrast, the passages discussed in sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2 are from a novel which portrays a character-narrator who uses same-sex denoting identity labels for herself for other reasons than having felt same-sex attraction; exploring same-sex identity leads to her broadening her understanding of sexual orientation categories and her own sexuality (MyILife). Though in the first TCP an acquaintance challenges the way the character-narrator applies labels to everyone, the character-narrator still categorizes her sister based on her other-sex relationship in the second TCP analysed. Section 7.3.3 presents the final passage selected for close analysis; the character-narrator in this extract engages in same-sex activity and laments that the ambiguity of *gay* (between its two contemporary meanings) complicates navigating same-sex friendships and attractions (SugarRush).

5.3 Chapter Conclusion: Discussion and Summary of Corpus Results

This chapter has presented the results of the quantitative analyses of LBQ1YA, a sub-division of LGBTIQ YA fiction. This section discusses what these analyses reveal about SIL-usage patterns that can only be shown using corpus analytical methods on fictional narratives featuring LBQ character-

narrators. That is, I complement corpus research on SILs by looking at YA novels and research on LGBTIQ YA literature by investigating patterns in SIL-usage in a corpus focused on LBQ characters. Meanwhile, the portrayed relationships of the LBQ character-narrators' to SILs are the key subject of this research.

From the usage pattern analyses presented above it is evident that the structuring of these in the corpus form a complex picture of variation between labels, between novels and between distributions of SILs across plots. However, there are several overall trends that have been observed such as the dominance of GAY and LESBIAN. Moreover, the otherwise great range of combinations of relationships to the investigated SILs portrayed in the corpus renders what is absent even more poignant. I see contemporary fiction as providing models for dealing with the discursive structures and labelling practices manifest in the social environment of its readers and hence which possibilities are explored in LBQ YA as crucial. Furthermore, the corpus analysis of the functions of SILs indicates socio-cognitive structures, including the currency of conceptualizations of sexual identity.

As the corpus-assisted analyses have shown, some character-narrators consider several labels and apply them, equally factually or not, to themselves, while others stick to one. DYKE and QUEER are usually used along with LESBIAN and/or GAY in a novel; they seem to still hang on to their

historically pejorative use – DYKE especially is used at people in the corpus and QUEER has not been widely reclaimed for proud self-identification. For both, reverse affirmation of identification is not established throughout the corpus and a reading of them as denoting non-exclusive same-sex attraction is also not indicated (except possibly in Crush2009 for QUEER). However, in ten novels one or both of them equals or surpasses GAY and/or LESBIAN in frequency (see either Table 14 above or Table 16 in A2). Hence, how the labels associated with the rights movements of the 1970s constrast with the pejoratively associated and the female-specific with the non-sex-specific is complex. The antonymic terms HOMOSEXUAL and HETEROSEXUAL are not prominent in any novel in the way DYKE and QUEER are, in some novels even displacing GAY and/or LESBIAN. They have been seen to be relegated to the sidelines of LBQ YA novels along with their formality and the medical (in particular pathological) conceptualization of sexuality historically associated with them.

BISEXUAL is portrayed to an even lesser extent as a stable identity for self-, or even other-, identification meaning that either-sex orientation is discursively erased in the corpus. This may be seen in two ways, however, either as indicative of bisexuality as being sidelined in favour of even more fluid/indeterminate conceptualizations of sexuality which eschew sexual identity labels or as meaning that the characters are portrayed as exclusively-

same-sex attracted (with either-sex orientation as something of a phase or fancy). Given the documented relative infrequency of characters portrayed as firmly bisexual in LGBTIQ YA, the latter seems likely for most but not all novels in my corpus as well.

The analysis of GAY in this corpus of female stories, on the other hand, reveals reference to specific same-sex attracted male persons in the majority of novels indicating that the gender segregation in LGBTIQ YA is weakening. However, the use of sex-specific labels, which surpasses in quantity the use of GAY for female persons, has been seen above to consolidate social identity based on simultaneous womanhood and same-sex sexuality. Furthermore, about a third of the novels exhibit an emphasis on sex-specificity, especially through the prominence of LESBIAN, and, even of those which do not, all but a few reproduce 1970s gay rights conceptualization of sexual identity. This is manifest in, among other things, the fact that BISEXUAL is not as frequent as STRAIGHT in this corpus of LBQ narratives.

This is problematic as the corpus analysis, in particular the identified token-cluster passages in section 5.2.2, has also indicated that their social identity into which their sexual identity enters is a site of struggle for the female adolescent character(-narrator)s. Acknowledging their same-sex identity may pave the way to becoming a member of a community and forming an open same-sex relationship but may also bring conflict with

various groupings due to their attitudes including stereotyping. In conjunction, both my analysis and previous analyses of LGBTIQ YA have shown *coming out* to be a prominent element in these novels. On the other hand, the dispersion plots of the labels for sexual identity show much text (whole novels as well as stretches of narrative) in which SILs do not feature (see Appendix B); this means that these characters are portrayed as narrating a lot of their experience without SILs entering the narrative. In parliamentary debates on the subject (see Baker, 2004, p. 93, or 2005, p. 44), same-sex sexual acts are referred to using SIL-forms as a matter of course but in my corpus this is rare. What tends to occasion the use of SILs are points in the narrative when the private life and sexual desires of the character-narrator, or other characters, bear, or are considered to bear, on their (more) public life, social relations including sexual/romantic relationships among their peers and the character(-narrator)s' role within the family. Some such occasions are explored in the next two chapters by analysing passages from eleven novels in which SIL-tokens cluster at times in the narratives.

Meanwhile, the frequency with which SIL-tokens occur in LBQ1YA varies greatly by novel. Character-narrators encounter SILs as used by others, report SILs used, or use SILs in their narratives at a few points in the entire novel, in every chapter or somewhere in between. Independent of the overall number

of SIL-tokens some narratives portray regular encounters but in most novels SILs surge in usage and then disappear again from the narrative.

In contrast to the construction of specifically female same-sex identity by means of the use of LESBIAN in LBQ1YA, bisexuality is not constructed as an intelligible social identity, nor one which is inflected as particularly female, in all but one novel in the corpus. This is seen in the close analyses in the following two chapters as well as the patterns described in this. For instance, whereas LESBIAN is relatively frequent, designating a social class and labelling a specific person as belonging to that class, especially using the indefinite nominal form *a lesbian*, bisexual as a class term for females and generic references to bisexual females, in particular, are scarce. In fact, in the concordance of the search terms there are no indefinite noun phrases specifying both femaleness and bisexuality applied to a specific person except for one – *a confused gringa bisexual* – by a misogynist, homophobic, biphobic and transphobic character (DownToTB). Thus, for the female character-narrators 'bisexual' is a marginalized identity in LBQ1YA. No in-group is (re)presented which would validate it as a social identity and hence the label is not used to prescribe in-group norms; in other words, BI(SEXUAL) is not associated with a certain lifestyle – binormativity is not manifest in the corpus. In conjunction, no models for being a bi(sexual) girl/woman are provided in the corpus and hardly any exploration of negotiating being labelled BI(SEXUAL)

in social relations – again in contrast to LESBIAN and the other sex-specific label annotated (as well as GAY and QUEER).

Chapter 6: Analyses of Selected Token-Cluster Passages: Part One

6.1 Introduction to Analyses of Token-Cluster Passages

6.1.1 Aim of the close analyses of extracts

As for the whole thesis, the question to be answered in the analyses of token-cluster passages (TCPs) is:

> How are the relationships of characters to sexual identity labels (SILs) portrayed in LBQ1YA, and, in particular, how do the portrayed relationships differ between labels as regards self-identification by the novels' female character-narrators?

The results can be particularly rich as regards the female character-narrators, because for these characters it is possible to analyse not only the communicative interaction between characters presented in the novel (speech, text messages, etc.) but also the narratorial discourse situation – the character-narrators' thoughts, the way they present their experience, and their narrative comments on their own and other characters' interaction.

The textual evidence is interpreted by means of the analytical framework presented in sections 2.2, 2.3 and 4.3(.1-.3). Assembling the selected TCPs in

this chapter and the next provides comparative indications facilitating the analysis of alternative linguistic choices between texts. My Q/CDA approach to the structures manifest in these texts means, among other things, that I highlight conceptual and contextual links which a reader may not be aware of but which may subconsciously affect them. In other words, lexico-grammatical constructions, including lexical absences on certain functions, and inferred socio-cognitive structures, including default inferences, are investigated in order to describe marginalized/silenced and normative discursive structures in the passages in which SILs and related terms cluster from LBQ1YA (see 2.4.2, 4.2 and 5.2). In this way the qualitative analyses are part of the cognitively informed Queer Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) approach developed in this thesis.

The scenes presented in the TCPs may provide models which prepare readers for dealing with encounters of SILs in their own social environment. For an LBQ YA reader, in particular, the character-narrator provides a potential point of identification. As in the previous chapter, the range of relationships portrayed is seen as crucial – what variations are presented and which gaps (lexical and/or discursive) appear in the range. The close-text analysis is not exhaustive but systematic and focused by the overall inquiry. The next paragraph details the subsidiary questions for this analysis which contribute to answering the overall question.

For characters to whom at least one SIL is applied, either by themselves or others, I ask to what extent the character identifies with each label applied to them. This includes observing whether and, if so, why this changes over the course of the passage. How a character relates to a SIL is in part due to what they perceive the label to mean. Meaning in this sense comprises to whom or what a label is applied evoking categorising properties, meaning elements perceived by a character to be held in their social environment (in part or generally) or by specific persons, meaning elements they do not question, and what or who they cognize should (or should not) be referred to by means of a particular label. Thus, these elements can be meanings specific to a label but also include how sexuality is conceptualized – as binary social identity, polar orientation categories, or as not structured by stable patterns of attraction to both or either male or female persons.

6.1.2 Structure of the analyses

The first of the sets of selected TCPs differentiated in 5.2.3 is analysed in section 6.2, the second in 6.4, and the third in 7.2 and 7.3. The analyses of each set are followed by a summary of the manifestations of the theme of the set (sections 6.3, 6.5 and 7.4). Each analytical sub-section ends with collating the meaning elements that have emerged and summarizing the characters' relationship to each label used in the passage. Each starts with introducing the narrative as far as necessary for understanding the analysis. All extracts

analysed are reproduced in full in the appendices including added sentence numbering (Appendix 4.2 for passages analysed in this chapter, 4.3 for those in the next). Text from the passages is quoted and/or paraphrased in the analytical sub-section as needed for retracing the analysis.

The analysis presented in the main body of each sub-section comprises especially the following. The meaning/schematic elements evoked in the immediate co-text of SIL-tokens as well as elsewhere in the passage are explicated in conjunction with the relationship/distance in which the character(-narrator)s are portrayed to them. Recurring lexico-grammatical constructions which contribute to a widespread trend in the discursive construction of sexuality are mentioned in passing apart from one discussion – either at first occurrence or where the construction and its significance are most evident. I moreover focus on phenomena which further elucidate the trends found in the quantitative analysis, for example, the attributed identity assignments and/or hypothetical uses of GAY and LESBIAN, and the interpretation of the infrequency of BI(SEXUAL) – whether it is due to alternative or binary conceptualizations of sexuality or both.

The final section of the next chapter (7.5) discusses those aspects of the conceptualization of sexuality which appear as the main subjects of discursive construction in the selected TCPs. These are, roughly speaking,

- the application of further significance to same-sex attraction by evoking social categorization via labelling;
- the conceptualization of sexual attraction as exclusive to one sex in most characters' language use via the absence of BI(SEXUAL) and construing same-sex identity as a necessary direct consequence of same-sex attraction; and
- the disinclination against not labelling in contemporary Anglophone society.

Linked to these are the perceptions of same-sex identity presented in the passages as well as the (dis)connections between identity (labels) and attraction (and/or relations) in which the characters are portrayed. The character relationships and elements linked to the various labels are differentiated by label in the concluding chapter of this thesis, where the corpus results on their differential usage patterns are also drawn on (section 8.2). In the selected TCPs over a tenth of the tokens analysed quantitatively occur (168 DoS-tokens); thus this proportion of tokens is closely analysed in their passage-wide co-text.

In these qualitative chapters, as in the rest of the thesis, I use single quotation marks around the signifieds of linguistic expressions (schemata or elements in conceptualizations) and mark meta-linguistic references to the signifiers (linguistic expressions) by means of italics and small capitals (word

forms and lemmas, respectively). This applies not just to SILs but also to other terms. Meanwhile, from here on, the novels are referred to by means of their title and/or author's last name as is conventional in literary studies. Many of the e-books, however, are not paginated. The analysis of the text in each TCP references the sentence numbering in the respective appendix. Furthermore, the character-narrator's name often serves as indication of the text referred to. The table of corpus texts in Appendix A can be used to check the correspondence of character-narrator's name, novel's title, Title Code and author.

6.2 Sexual Identity – One or the Other

The three novels from which TCPs are analysed in this section are set in North America – the Canadian one of these is present with two passages. In the four TCPs, the character-narrators do not assert their sexual identity but are (or have been) triggered to contemplate a (set of) cause(s) or consequence(s) thereof.

In *Quite an Undertaking: Devon's Story* (Clanton, 2009), the character-narrator (Devon) has already accepted a 'gay' social identity, though not publicly come out, at the point of the event narrated in the TCP. In *Hello, Groin* (Goobie, 2006) and *Kissing Kate* (Myracle, 2003/2007), the character-narrators

(Dylan and Lissa, respectively) only later in the story make peace with being seen as same-sex attracted and the possibility of same-sex identity for themselves (see example (30) in 4.3 for a modalized self-identification by the character-narrator in character interaction in the latter novel; she makes none in the narratorial discourse situation).

In conjunction, Devon, as well as experiencing acute same-sex attraction in the novel, is presented as having recognized FSSA in herself since her early teen years. On exchanging earrings she bought with her current love interest for those associated with her grandmother, she contrasts the post-Stonewall concept of unchosen identity with the attitude her grandparents held while alive. For Dylan sexual attraction surfaces with her best friend (Joc), who flaunts her sexual relationship with a guy, whereas Dylan is not sufficiently aroused by her boyfriend (Cam) to engage in sexual intercourse. In the scene preceding the first TCP analysed from *Hello, Groin* she perceives Cam to question her friendship with Joc as he suggests the girls who Dylan sees as heteronormative bullies as better friends. In the second TCP from that novel, Dylan is again seen as experiencing anxiety due to perceiving herself at odds with the social identity she is trying to maintain. In this later passage Dylan has to explain same-sex relations to her little sister when she asks about a gay character on TV. Similarly, the reflections in the fourth TCP are triggered by the character-narrator's little sister being called a *lesbo* by a female friend in

pretend-play involving sexual relations. Lissa has lost her best friend following a sexual incident with her – whereas Kate denies being attracted sexually to girls, Lissa is not sure but put off by the meanings lesbian relations have to her peers.

For Lissa, like for Devon, a positive attitude towards (F)SSA and same-sex relationships is associated with GAY. In contrast, Dylan and Lissa associate negative views with sex-specific labels. Overall, these TCPs discursively link sexual relations (activity and partnerships) as well as attraction with sexual identity.

6.2.1 Not a "choice" in *Quite an Undertaking: Devon's Story*

All three novels in this section are written in the past tense though the story-now equals the speaker-now, that is, the perspective of the first-person narrator is that of the character. The novel from which an extract is analysed in this sub-section (14.1 in the table of identified TCPs, Appendix 4.1) is narrated by a sixteen-year-old who lives in Grasse River, a town located in the state of New York near the border with Canada. The narrative opens at the wake for her grandmother. The daughter of the funeral home's owners, Rebecca, helps Devon cope with her grief. Rebecca is also in Devon's French class at school. Falling in love with Rebecca, Devon must figure out whether Rebecca is same-sex attracted and whether she is with another girl, as Devon suspects. Devon is certain of her own sexual identity being same-sex. In the

token-cluster passage from this novel (reproduced in A4.2.1, p. 501), *gay* is used seven times. No other sexual identity label occurs in the extract and there is no direct speech – the narrator exclusively uses *gay*. Moreover, as mentioned in the previous chapter, only *gay* is used in narratorial self-identification in this novel (i.e. by Devon) and all instances of it in the narratorial discourse situation are factual (Figure 26, the plot displayed in A3.2, which is drawn upon in the discussion in 5.1.4, shows this).

In the first twelve sentences of the passage, Devon puts away earrings that her grandmother had given her and puts on those she bought the previous day with Rebecca. This leads to her reflecting on attitudes towards her sexual identity.

> [13] There was no way I could have told Grandma that I was gay. [14] She had been old-fashioned, but maybe she knew now. [15] Maybe she looked down from heaven and was okay with me.

Devon asserts that she would not have been able to come out to her grandmother while she was alive on account of the attitudes of her generation, which her grandmother agreed with (14). The hypothetical speech act which Devon cites in sentence 13 identifies Devon as *gay* and this proposition is integrated into the main text world as she previously identifies as such. The subordination of the self-identification means that Devon is not portrayed to reflect here on her same-sex attraction or identity but on her grandmother's attitude to her as a same-sex attracted/identified person. This

is highlighted by Devon's use of the first-person pronoun in 15, whereby she equates her same-sex sexuality with herself as a person indicating a conceptualization of same-sex attraction as an all-encompassing identity.

Devon hopes that her deceased grandparents (16) now know not only about her "being gay" (17) but also share her attitude towards same-sex sexuality on account of their heavenly omniscience. The phrase *being gay* indexes a post-Stonewall conceptualization of same-sex sexual orientation as positive and unchanging – an identity that one can proudly identify with. In contrast, using the noun *homosexuality* due to its associations with engaging in same-sex sexual acts and pathology (see 3.1 and 3.2.4), would have construed Devon's sexuality as chosen and negatively evaluated behaviour. Thus, this lexical choice underlines that, in 17, Devon rejects the notions of a choice or decision having been involved in her (or anyone's) same-sex identity.

> [17] Maybe they'd both know that being gay wasn't a choice or something I randomly decided to be. [18] Maybe they would understand that I wasn't some evil horrible person, and that it was something I figured out about myself in eighth grade. [19] My crush on Marcy Berger didn't last long, but the deep attraction I had for her back then woke up something inside me.

Devon maintains this view of same-sex sexuality by narrating how she realized her own, in which "it" is described as something that was always there – simply "woke up" and got recognized by her consciousness due to her first same-sex crush. Furthermore, alongside conceptualizing sexual orientation as not a matter of choice, Devon rejects being "some evil horrible

person" (18). Thus, a negative view of a person who engages in same-sex sexuality out of choice is juxtaposed to accepting a same-sex identified person.

In the final five sentences of the passage, Devon reveals that she has found support and hope on the internet.[31]

> [20] When Missy wasn't around, I secretly searched the Internet for anything gay-related and discovered a whole world of gay people. [21] They called it "the gay community" on a few websites. [22] I didn't know if Grasse River had a "gay community," but I hoped someday I'd find one somewhere if it existed. [23] Those websites were right. [24] I wasn't gay because I chose to be. [25] I just was.

Sentence 23 ascribes the notion that being gay is not a choice (reiterated in 24) to "those websites" which also speak of "the gay community". Devon adopts this phrase in 22 and also refers to it as "a whole world of gay people" (20). Furthermore, Devon also indirectly identifies as *gay* in 24–25. The predicative adjective is elided in the copulative construction of 25, which is enabled by its occurrence in one in 24. Conversely, 25 clarifies that the negation in the copulative construction of 24 does not modify the identity assignment but the causal relation expressed by the subordinating conjunction and the notion of choice expressed in the subordinated clause. Devon's alignment with the gay identity movement is also maintained in her exclusive use of *gay*, even resulting in the idiosyncratic noun phrase "anything gay-related" (20). This implies that Devon has searched for *gay* online, not for *homosexuality* or *sexual*

[31] Devon shares a room at home with her sister, Missy, who is four years older and at university most days.

orientation (that is, more conservative search terms). Moreover, the various adjectival uses of *gay* portray which community Devon hopes to belong to – she sees herself as a member of the social group specified by this SIL.

In sum, Devon identifies as *gay*; this is also her preferred SIL and way of referring to same-sex sexuality. She has identified thus since her first same-sex crush in eighth grade and, as narrator, does throughout the novel. Devon subscribes to the conceptualization of sexual orientation as identity, in particular, that same-sex identity is not a choice, is constant, and defines a community/people. This view is linked for her to accepting a *gay* person such as herself. Furthermore, that Devon uses *gay* and does not specify female sex in the premodified nominals (and uses no other SIL) is part of this passage's non-sex-specific construal of same-sex identity and the social category Devon sees herself as belonging to. This becomes clearer as those passages which use sex-specific SILs are analysed.

6.2.2 The heteronormative family and "coming out as a lesbian" in *Hello, Groin*

The novel from which two token-cluster passages are analysed in this section is narrated by sixteen-year-old Dylan. In contrast to the novel discussed above, *Hello, Groin* only contains sex-specific SILs in narratorial self-identifications, all of which are factual but attributed and/or hypothetical instances of LESBIAN and DYKE (Figure 28). Its character-narrator attends

Diefenbaker Collegiate ("the Dief" for short). This, among other things, implicitly sets the novel by Canadian author Beth Goobie in Canada as Diefenbaker was its 13th Prime Minister. Dylan has a boyfriend, Cam, but is not physically attracted to him. On the other hand, she is very attracted sexually to her best friend, Joc (short for Jocelyn). Joc's boyfriend is usually referred to by his nickname Dikker. The extract discussed in this sub-section (28.1 in Table A4.1), like the one in the previous sub-section, only features the narratorial discourse situation. Unlike Devon, Dylan has not accepted a same-sex identity for herself, though she admits that her body is attracted to girls (see, for example, sentence 11 in the extract reproduced in A4.2.2, on pp. 501–503). This does not change over the course of the TCPs analysed.

The passage examined in this sub-section is the first 47 sentences in chapter five. Fourteen SIL-tokens occur (from various labels), eight of these in the first paragraph.

> [1] The main question here, I suppose, would be, What was the big deal? [2] Most people didn't go into a major funk over sexual orientation anymore – a lot of lesbians and gays were out these days. [3] TV sitcoms were full of gay characters, and the Internet had loads of chat sites for teenagers who wanted to talk about the issue. [4] There were even five girls who were officially out at the Dief, and as far as I could see they weren't given a rough time – as long as they stayed away from the senior girls volleyball team, that is. [5] If they had been guys, it would have been different, but most straight guys who got uptight about gays thought lesbianism was sexy. [6] So as the Dief's five official lesbians, they got some stares and the odd dimwit comment, but they weren't harassed or shunned in any obvious way. [7] They all had friends – homo and hetero, though admittedly none from the phone patrol.

In this paragraph, Dylan describes the attitudes towards same-sex identified people in her social environment and the labels are used mainly for that purpose. Dylan also uses the noun phrases "sexual orientation", "the issue" and "lesbianism", though. Thus, Dylan positions herself at a greater distance to the subject matter along the evaluative axis (see 2.2.3), compared to Devon, who aligns with gay identity rhetoric. Furthermore, Dylan uses GAY not just sex-inclusively as in sentence 3 (like Devon), but also male-specifically (in its uncommon plural nominal form *gays*) co-occurring with "lesbians" (2) and "lesbianism" (5). In the latter sentence Dylan contends that boys attracted to girls ("straight guys") tend to be bothered by same-sex identified males ("gays") but not by female same-sex sexuality ("lesbianism"). While Dylan asserts that generally those girls out at her school are not "harassed" or "shunned" (6; and see also 4),[32] the opinion of "lesbianism" she attributes to male heterosexuals is not entirely positive for same-sex identified females – considering their sexuality "sexy" (6) sexualizes female same-sex orientation for male pleasure. Finally, besides mentioning negative attitude displays towards "the Dief's five official lesbians" (6), Dylan is portrayed to consider it a noteworthy point in favour of same-sex identified female persons not having "a rough time" (4) at her school that they have friends of both sub-categories "homo and hetero" (7). In sum, the SILs in this first paragraph from

[32] A group of girls at Dylan's school do harass and shun those they consider *dykes*; Dylan calls them the "phone patrol" (7) because they police their peers by spreading rumours via their phone network; they are major players on the "senior girls volleyball team" (4).

the TCP, which are all instantiated as plural noun phrases, function to distinguish between female and male same-sex identified people and/or same and other-sex identified people. These categories are portrayed as experienced by the character-narrator as relevant to what it means to have a same-sex sexual orientation in her social environment. In contrast to Devon, Dylan's linguistic choices indicate that she does not see herself as belonging to a same-sex identified community – she tends towards (post-Stonewall) out-group ways of referring to same-sex sexuality.

Although Dylan does not expect that "coming out as a lesbian" (24) would make her a social outcast in general, she has several reasons to not accept a same-sex identity for herself. She reveals these in the following paragraphs of the passage by detailing the aspects of her life which she considers incompatible with a lesbian life. The first of these is that an aura of heterosexuality surrounds the people that "feel real" to Dylan, whereas other people including the lesbians at school do not (8–19). The two SIL-tokens which occur in this section both denote other-sex sexuality.

> [17] And the people I was close to were my family, who reeked heterosexuality, and Cam, who reeked the same very straight vibes, and Joc, who was dating a guy whose vibes were so massively hetero, they were almost solid.

In the last relative clause, a comparative scale is construed on which 'massive' and 'solid' move together. Thus, the qualification of the *hetero* property assigned to the guy's vibes specifies 'mass' and 'homogeneity', the former

driving the latter. Hence, a "massively" other-sex aura leaves ("almost") no room for a same-sex presence. As this aura surrounds Joc's boyfriend, Dylan regards Joc's relationship with him as a reason for not coming out (see 37–47), disregarding signs that Joc is "really attracted" to her and expecting a negative "reaction" (42) from Joc to confessing her sexual attraction to her (see 39). Meanwhile, Dylan's own boyfriend is another person who feels real to her and "reek[s] the same very straight vibes" as her family (17). Like *hetero*, *straight* assigns an other-sex property to a guy's "vibes" and is qualified implying a scale on which the person's aura is at the heterosexual extreme. The linguistic choices in sentence 17, including REEK instead of a less negative term for 'emit', portray the character-narrator as being surrounded by an atmosphere of heteronormativity which stifles her so that she does not intend to act on her same-sex attraction.

The next paragraph in the TCP explains how Dylan's family emits "heterosexuality" (17). Dylan prefaces this with another negative assertion regarding the obstacles to her coming out: "It wasn't that I thought my family would reject me if I told them I was lesbian. I knew their love was deeper than that" (20–21). The reason that Dylan does not perform the speech act of self-identification with *lesbian* is the heteronormative assumptions constantly underlying life in her family, in particular "the understanding that someday the love we felt for each other would be carried on into the next generation.

Coming out as a lesbian meant that wouldn't happen" (23–24). In 25–32, Dylan further explains why identification as a lesbian means to her that there would be no "next-generation Dylans" (31) – she characterizes reproductive options that are not "the husband-and-wife thing" as "impersonal" (26) and lacking in certainty about the progeny's nature. She states

> [34] I wanted to have children, a husband and a happy home. [35] If I was hetero, I figured it was pretty much guaranteed. [36] If I was hetero, I would be happy.

That is, she believes that an other-sex identity is a guarantee for happiness with children and a husband. Both the assignments of *hetero* (35 and 36) and that of *lesbian* (20) to herself are construed in sub-worlds by means of conditional clauses. They cannot both be true at the same time – Dylan cannot be both exclusively same- and other-sex identified. As the TCP does not portray Dylan as identifying as same-sex (apart from physical attraction), neither identificatory relation is integrated (unambiguously) into the main text world.

The first token-cluster passage in *Hello, Groin* portrays its narrator in an in-between state – she would like to live a heterosexual life but her physical attraction is to girls, which is why she does not identify as either same- or other-sex. 'Hetero' identity is to her what she knows from her family and she wants to have the same "happy home" (34) as a parent. Her *straight* boyfriend would be an ideal partner in this – one where she can feel certain about the

father of her children. In contrast, for her, the "hormones" she has in "common" with out-lesbians (11) belong to "a virtual reality game" (19) not in her real life, where there is no room for same-sex sexuality. Relatedly, when she talks about the perceptions of "lesbians and gays" in contemporary society in the first paragraph of the extract discussed above, she does not imagine being perceived that way herself. Besides, she points out that at least some people view female same-sex sexuality different to male same-sex sexuality. Furthermore, Dylan imagines acting on her same-sex attraction as "coming out as a lesbian", that is, she imagines becoming part of a specifically female same-sex attracted social category, in contrast to Devon. This distinction is discussed in conjunction with the use of the indefinite article with the SIL as a noun (*a lesbian*) in section 7.2.2 because the character-narrator in the TCP analysed there is portrayed in a complicated relationship with her local lesbian community (see also discussions in the previous chapter, especially in 5.3).

6.2.3 "Gay and lesbian couples don't make babies" in *Hello, Groin*

The second extract from Goobie's novel features Dylan's younger brother and sister. Danny attends the same school as Dylan, whereas Keelie is only five years old. At the time of the event narrated in the passage analysed in this sub-section (28.3 in Table A4.1) Dylan is trying to keep her same-sex attraction hidden from her social environment at school. A threat to this is the book

Foxfire, which was an assigned reading in Dylan's English class and which her classmates consider being about a group of "dykes" (Goobie, *passim*). For other reasons Dylan included this novel in a display she did for the library – in particular because she placed this title in the groin of a girl silhouette, the school principal censored it. In this context explaining same-sex sexuality to her little sister, with her brother listening in, becomes another potential threat to Dylan (see sentences 98–120 in A4.2.3, pp. 503–506). However, she feels obliged to do so when one day after dinner Keelie asks Danny about a character on TV, who according to Dylan's narrative is "a gay architect who lived next door to the main character" (8), and Danny's explanation does not meet her approval.

Danny at first says, "He's a faggot" (11), which Keelie doesn't understand so he reiterates, "A fag, Keelie, [t]hat means he likes guys" (13–14). Danny's use of the male-specific sexual identity label *faggot* and its short form *fag* to identify the character on TV differs from Dylan's reference to him in her narrative (8) in several ways. FAG(GOT) is a pejorative term, which, like DYKE, tends towards nominal usages. Unlike Dylan's characterization of the character in the narratorial discourse situation, using *gay* as an adjective pre-modifying a nominal job descriptor, Danny's characterization mentions no property explicitly apart from the same-sex sexuality. Furthermore, Dylan mentions an asexual relationship with a specific other character on the show

in a relative clause; this contrasts with Danny's reduction of the character to his sexuality by designating him by means of a noun phrase solely consisting of a (male-specific) SIL (with an indefinite article i.e. as an instance of the category 'same-sex identified male humans').

In addition, Danny states that the category label means that the character "likes" (an ambiguous term) a certain class of people using a colloquial expression for male in the indefinite plural (generic reference, in 14). Dylan's own explanation to Keelie of same-sex identification contrast with this:

> [29] "'Fag' isn't the right word, Keelie," I said, thinking my way slowly into what I wanted to say. [30] "It's 'gay.' [31] And what 'gay' means is...," I took a deep breath. [32] "Well, it's what Danny said. [33] It's when a guy falls in love with a guy, or a girl falls in love with a girl. [34] The word for two guys who are in love with each other is 'gay,' and the word for two girls is..."
>
> [35] Pausing, I took another deep breath. [36] "Well," I added reluctantly, "it's 'lesbian.'"

Dylan tells Keelie that *gay* and *lesbian* are the appropriate words to use. Moreover, she uses *love* instead of *like* to construe same-sex attraction and does not refer to males generically – the references she uses are individuative, though non-specific and indefinite as befits definitions. Overall, Dylan is here presented, in contrast to her brother, as regarding same-sex attracted people as individuals who fall in love and form romantic relationships with individuals. As well as that she identifies one by more than his sexuality and recommends using SILs more widely regarded as inoffensive to those identified.

As in the first TCP, Dylan uses *gay* both inclusively and male-specifically in this passage (see in particular 33, 34 and 36 cited above, as well as 54 and 55 cited below). In contrast to the previous TCP, though, in this one the SILs *gay* and *lesbian* are used in eight out of the total 12 occurrences as the words referring to themselves (30, 31, 34, 36, 41, 42, and 90). Two of the tokens of *lesbian* as the word itself occur alongside the word's mispronunciation as "lesbean" (38 and 40). The pronunciation lesson is part of the conversation which follows Dylan's initial explanation cited above and is initiated by Keelie's eagerness to understand. Dylan's hesitation (see 22, 35–36, and 71) and embarrassment (see 37 and 44) show her anxiety around the subject, whereas Danny continues to watch the TV show (21) and gives "unhelpful" (66), mostly non-verbal comments (39, 50–51, 66, and 78). Meanwhile, Keelie wants to learn everything about the subject, even about sexual actions (see 58, 61–62, 64–65, 67, 70, 80). Dylan eventually terminates their conversation by sending Keelie to her bath with their mother (85–89).

As regards the conceptualization of same-sex sexuality, the main feature of their conversation is that Keelie tries to fit love relations between females into the heteronormative family frame she is familiar with (see 45, 49, and 61–62) and Dylan tries to reciprocate this, which ends in a "mishmash" (92) revealed when Keelie tells her mother about what Dylan told her.

> [52] "Well," I said helplessly. [53] I knew Mom and Dad had given Keelie the basic facts on baby production. [54] Obviously they hadn't gotten around to cluing her in on the gay scene yet. [55] "Gay and lesbian

> couples don't make babies," I said carefully. [56] "They just live together and love each other."
>
> […] [90] "Dylan just told me about lesbiAN and gay. [91] It means there's a mommy and a mommy, or a daddy and a daddy, and there's no penis and vagina, they do whatever they want."

The premodifiers in 54 and 55 assign same-sex properties to nouns which in context refer to sexual relations (acts and relationships) as well as collectively to those involved in them. Put differently, both these noun phrases function to characterize same-sex identified people and their sexuality as requiring a different approach in sex education besides the usual "basic facts on baby production" (53). Dylan's negative assertion that same-sex "couples don't make babies" (55) in particular answers to Keelie's knowledge of sexual relations having been limited to penile penetration of a vagina for the purposes of reproduction and she therefore does not understand how there can be "a mommy and a mommy" (47). Nonetheless, it also echoes Dylan's narratorial statements in the first passage about not having children if she came out as a lesbian. That Dylan sees same-sex sexuality as deficient in this respect is reinforced by the "just" in 56. On the other hand, her education of Keelie as regards sexual relations beyond other-sex genital interaction ends up sounding rather like same-sex couples are at an advantage – their sex life is not limited by having a "penis and vagina, they do whatever they want" (91). Dylan again uses this phrase when she has accepted her same-sex identity feeling liberated to do whatever she wants (sexually) at the end of chapter 24.

As Dylan tries to hide her same-sex sexuality from everyone and this passage mainly presents character interaction, it does not reveal much about any possible identification of hers with a sexual identity label. However, the split nature of her relationship to same-sex sexuality seen in the previous passage is portrayed in this one by her unease around the subject and her desire to educate her little sister to understand and view same-sex sexuality favourably (evident in calling her brother on his off-hand explanation and pejorative reference). For Dylan, GAY and LESBIAN are the words that should be used to refer to same-sex relations and persons in such relationships; the latter for females and the former for males or both. Though the lack of the biological means of reproduction is a negative aspect of same-sex sexual relations to her, otherwise anything desired is possible. The lengthy discussion of sexual activity (49–96) could be seen to sexualize same-sex relations but this is initiated by Dylan's five-year-old sister and Dylan's initial explanation defines GAY and LESBIAN in terms of love relationships between two persons without mentioning sexual activity. To conclude, this passage is an example of how the public and the private can interlace in the discursive structures and labelling practices surrounding SILs – the social categorization of sexual orientation is relevant in the explanation of same-sex sexual activity and the discussion is non-specific but the character-narrator is portrayed as painfully aware of its application to herself.

6.2.4 "So how do you know if you're a lesbian?" in *Kissing Kate*

The character-narrator of the novel from which the TCP is analysed in this sub-section is sixteen-year-old Lissa, who lives in the city of Atlanta, Georgia. Her parents died in a car crash, so she and her ten-year-old sister, Beth, live with their uncle Jerry. Beth makes a new friend, Vanessa, at the start of the novel. Vanessa is the same age as Beth but draws her into pastimes and concerns which are rather associated with young adulthood than childhood. The novel's central event is only narrated in retrospect – at a party Lissa and Kate, with whom Lissa had been best friends since they were twelve, kissed in a secluded area. Their sexual activity was interrupted by the approach of a couple of boys – Kate re-joined the party and started a sexual relationship with one of the boys, whereas Lissa left and has since tried unsuccessfully to talk to Kate about what happened. The party took place a month prior to the main narrative (main story-now and speaker-now) including the chapter analysed here (7.1 in Table A4.1). However, the passage (chapter 12) also includes a flashback to a conversation between Kate and Lissa when they were still best friends.

One day after school, Lissa overhears a conversation between Beth and Vanessa while on the way to her room (see sentences 17, 27, and 49 of the extract reproduced in A4.2.4, pp. 507–510). They are mimicking an other-sex

couple on TV (18–23). But when Beth almost kisses Vanessa (24), Vanessa breaks out of the roleplay.

> [25] "Ew!" Vanessa cried. [26] "Not really, you lesbo!"
>
> [27] I set my jaw and strode through the room. [28] I was trying to like Vanessa, but it was hard. [29] Besides, I hated that word, lesbo. [30] Last year, or even last month, I'd have gotten up on a soapbox if I'd heard Vanessa say that, telling her how wrong it was to make fun of being gay, blah, blah, blah. [31] Now the last thing I wanted to do was make a big deal over it, and my face burned as if I were the one who'd done something.
>
> [32] But I didn't think being gay was wrong. [33] Did I?

Even though they have been pretending to be a heterosexual couple, Vanessa vocatively labels Beth "lesbo" (26) for trying to engage in a sexual act with her. Unlike Dylan, Lissa does not step forward, though, like Dylan, she does not approve of what she hears. In the last part of the chapter, however, Lissa does have to explain the pejoratively used label to her younger sister and feels uncomfortable during it due to perceiving that Vanessa would also apply that label to her (similar to Dylan). In contrast, the paragraphs following 26 stay in the narratorial discourse situation at first. In these the interchange between addressee, third-party, non-specific and reference to sexual identity as well as self-identification portrays how levels of acceptance of same-sex sexuality may differ depending on the extent to which the referent is othered, that is, at a safe distance to the self.

The two paragraphs following sentence 33 are similar to the paragraph on perceptions of same-sex identified persons at the start of chapter five in *Hello,*

Groin (discussed on pp. 299–301 above). Like Dylan, Lissa mentions same-sex identified females she is acquainted with (third-party reference) and characterizes how such persons would be treated at her school (addressee labelling). The sexualisation of same-sex identified females by males is one element of the latter in *Kissing Kate* as well (48). In contrast to Dylan's, Lissa's assessment is that the reaction to girls attracted to each other in her peer group would be overwhelmingly negative and they would be shunned (in particular, 45).

> [34] One of Jerry's frequent customers was gay. [35] Her name was Heather, and I knew she was gay because she told me and Jerry about the commitment ceremony she'd had with her partner last New Year's Eve. [36] Her partner's name was Katrina. [37] Heather acted like it was perfectly normal that she loved another woman, and I'd felt all proud of myself for treating it that way, too. [38] And no, I didn't think there was anything wrong with a woman loving another woman, or a man loving another man. [39] Deep down, I knew I didn't. [40] But it was one thing for someone else to be gay. [41] It was something else entirely if that person was me.
>
> [42] Maybe it was better once you were an adult, although even then I was sure you'd run into people who didn't understand. [43] But in high school? [44] God. [45] If the kids I knew found out two girls were into each other, they'd treat them like pariahs. [46] Not all the kids, but enough. [47] And guys like Travis Wyrick would go nuts, tossing out insults and calling them "dykes." [48] Or making jokes about forming a sex triangle, if the girls were pretty.

Lissa's assessment is hypothetical, whereas Dylan's is based on the treatment of out-lesbians at her school. Lissa's narratorial portrayal of her social environment includes hypothesizing an iterative use of a SIL, "dykes" (47). From this embedding we can see that Lissa regards *dyke*, like *lesbo*, as part of a

negative attitude towards same-sex identity – she uses GAY in conjunction with copular BE when not referring to someone else's (actual or hypothetical) use of a SIL. In 34 Lissa assigns "gay" to an acquaintance in a simple sentence; in the following sentence she reiterates that assignment in a subordinated clause to make an assertion about the basis of her knowledge (an instance of evidential modality in Palmer's terms); that basis is that, according to what the acquaintance has told Lissa, she is in a committed same-sex relationship (35–37). Thus, Lissa uses GAY in third-party reference as well as in the phrase *being gay* (30 and 32) and talks about non-specific individuals experiencing mutual same-sex attraction, in 38 and 45, similarly to Dylan (see above). With these out-group references Lissa expresses tolerance and sympathy at maltreatment of people with same-sex sexuality. However, her not thinking that same-sex relations (38) or "being gay" (32) are *wrong* stops at her own identity (40–41). In 41 the copulative construction in the *if*-clause identifies the first-person referent (*me*) with "that person" which refers back to (40), in which a sub-world was built in which there is a (non-specific) person who is *gay*. Again similarly to Dylan, Lissa embeds the identification of herself in an *if*-clause – it is a possibility but one which for certain reasons the narrator does not want to be true for herself. She states that at the end of remembering a conversation with Kate (103), to which I now turn in the analysis.

Before it became a possibility to Lissa that she is gay because they engaged in sexual activity with each other, "the two of [them] did talk about being gay" (54). Apart from an interjection by Lissa that "gay couples have problems, too" (65), the thrust of the conversation is that female same-sex relationships are advantageous because of closeness (60) due to various aspects of the sameness of sex. For instance, Kate and Lissa contrast stereotypical girl and guy pastimes such as "chick flicks" and Western films (69–76 as well as 62). Furthermore, the sameness in genitals in their opinion would foster understanding when engaging in sexual activity (76–94). Moreover, this discussion of the "physical part" (79) of "dating a girl" (69) leads Kate to making an assertion as regards her sexual identity.

> [95] Her tone changed. [96] "But see, that's how I know I'm not gay. [97] I'm not attracted to girls like I am to guys. [98] I'm just not."
>
> [99] "Well, yeah," I had said. [100] I'd felt confused, as if I'd been scolded for something I hadn't done. [101] "Same here."
>
> [102] I thought of that now, and I closed my eyes. [103] A whisper in my mind quickened my pulse: Please, God, don't let it be me.

For Kate social identity as *not gay* precludes sexual relations with females – in order to maintain this identity she shuns Lissa's later attempts at continuing to act on their mutual sexual attraction to each other. In the conversation Lissa remembers in the TCP, Kate claims that the kind of attraction she knows from having "boyfriend after boyfriend" (64) is absent in her relations with girls. Logically, though, the relevant identity in 96–98 is not 'gay' but 'bisexual'. In the positive sub-world to 97 Kate is *attracted to girls like* she is *to guys*, that is, to

both sexes. In her denial Kate relies on either-sex attraction never being brought up between them – she suppresses bisexuality so that she can ignore same-sex attraction. Lissa is presented as agreeing with Kate in the remembered character interaction but as narrator, both at the time of the remembered conversation and at the time of the main story, she is not as sure as Kate of her sexual identity being other-sex. Overall, the flashback conceptualizes sexual identity as based in physical attraction and the sexes as distinct, and hence sexual identity as binary (see also 123 below).

Following Vanessa's departure and dinner, Lissa is doing her homework in the kitchen when Beth approaches her.

> [107] "What's a lesbo?"
>
> [108] I put down my pencil. [109] "Vanessa shouldn't have called you that."
>
> [110] "Is it a bad word?"
>
> [111] "No. [112] Well, sort of."
>
> [113] "Why? [114] What does it mean?"
>
> [115] "It's short for lesbian. [116] Do you know what a lesbian is?"
>
> [117] She nodded, then shook her head.
>
> [118] "A lesbian's a woman who loves other women." [119] I picked up my pencil and bent over my work.
>
> [120] Beth shifted her weight to her other foot. [121] "What do you mean, loves other women?"
>
> [122] "What do you mean, what do I mean? [123] If you're a lesbian, then you love women instead of men. [124] You're attracted to them, you want to be with them. [125] But you're not a lesbian, Beth, so don't worry about it."

> [126] "Is it the same as being gay?"
>
> [127] "I said don't worry about it." [128] I could hear how sharp my voice was. [129] "Now leave me alone. [130] I've got to finish this."
>
> [131] Beth watched me for a couple of seconds, then turned and went into the den. [132] Two minutes later she came back. [133] "So how do you know if you're a lesbian?"
>
> [134] "Jesus, Beth. [135] How am I supposed to know? [136] You wake up with a big, red L stamped on your forehead. [137] You crop your hair and stop shaving your legs."

Lissa's final suggestions as to how you know whether you are a lesbian (137) contrast with Kate's suggestions earlier as Lissa suggests that you drop stereotypical femininity. However, like her suggestion of a visible mark representing the first letter of the SIL, this is not meant seriously – she seems to rather say this to shock Beth as, when it does, Lissa takes the opportunity to flee up the stairs to escape from further questions (138). In explaining what Vanessa has called Beth in 26 (namely, *lesbo*, cited by Beth in 107), Lissa tells her that Vanessa was wrong to identify her as one (109), but does not give a reason why she is certain that her sister is "not a lesbian" (125). Lissa's description in this character interaction slightly differs from her reflections in the narratorial discourse situation earlier, which were also triggered by Vanessa's addressee-labelling. Most notably, in conjunction with LESBIAN, she uses the indefinite generic plural for reference to the sex-categories of humans (like Danny with FAG(GOT) in *Hello, Groin*), and she does not answer her sister's question whether it is "the same as being gay" (126). In addition, her characterization of *lesbian* identity in 123–124 evokes female-identified

lesbianism such as proposed by lesbian feminists in the 1970s, in particular the mention of "men" as the other (123). Thus, whereas here she describes same-sex identity as exclusively gynephilic in various ways, in conjunction with GAY she also mentioned "a man loving another man" (38). Moreover, she links LESBIAN with "worry about it" (125) and GAY with "treating it [as] perfectly normal" (37). This indicates that Lissa prefers GAY to LESBIAN and especially its short form *lesbo*.

In this token-cluster passage the character-narrator of *Kissing Kate* is portrayed as unwilling to same-sex identify. A ground upon which a same-sex identity would be assigned to her is her one-off engagement in same-sex sexual activity. Other grounds constructed in the passage are physical attraction and, especially for Lissa, a love relationship with someone of the same sex. Particularly surrounding the uses of LESBIAN (and in the other sex-specific discussion) in the passage, sexual identity is conceptualized as attraction/love to a class of people defined by sex/gender. In contrast, GAY is associated with a positive attitude towards same-sex identity and *lesbo* and DYKE with name-calling. BI(SEXUAL) is absent from this TCP, although it would, in terms of logic, enhance rather than retract from the coherence of this text.

6.3 Summary of First Set of Analyses

The four extracts analysed above portray their character-narrators as distanced in different ways and degrees to groups whose membership is defined primarily by (female) same-sex attraction/relations. Devon feels herself as belonging to the social group defined by 'gay' sexual identity even though she has encountered this community only online – it is imagined discursively. Dylan and Lissa, on the other hand, know same-sex identified females but reject a same-sex identity for themselves despite experiencing attraction to and sexual activity with a female friend.

Self-identifications with any SIL in these passages are indirectly expressed or subordinated in the sentence structure, which mainly portrays them as non-factual and/or not the focus of the assertion. GAY and LESBIAN identity are characterized using references to the word itself, the concept it evokes and same-sex identity. These SILs and terms denoting the classes of male and female humans are also employed as indefinite noun phrases emphasizing distinctions between attraction to one or the other sex. Same-sex identity is seen as negative and/or positive due to various meaning elements including the inability of same-sex couples to reproduce sexually and the conceptualization of sexual identity as not a choice, respectively. Meanwhile, coming out – public or private acknowledgement of not exclusively-other-sex identity – is portrayed as a matter of determination. In contrast, in the second

set of TCPs (analysed in the next section), each of the four character-narrators is portrayed in the narratorial discourse situation as (fully and/or for the first time) accepting same-sex identity for themselves due to female same-sex attraction without considering other conclusions (such as bisexuality or remaining unlabelled) as possible.

Overall in this first set of TCPs, post-Stonewall achievements of visibility and rights are evident in the use of labels (preference for GAY and to a lesser degree LESBIAN) but not in making the LBQ characters' lives easy. The causes and especially implications of same-sex attraction and activity are portrayed as the subject of anxiety in these texts. This is linked to perceptions of same-sex sexuality and, in particular, to some meaning elements of the sexual identity labels. Moreover, social identity is the main issue for the character-narrators – Devon wants to connect with the collective which validates her same-sex attraction as sexual identity, whereas Dylan and Lissa want to fulfil heteronormative ideals. Furthermore, the latter make specific observations about female same-sex identity. On the one hand, they mention positive aspects of female-female relations, such as equality and understanding between partners in contrast to male agency. On the other hand, they perceive same-sex identified females who are visible to their peers as subject to male sexual fantasies. Thus, sexist structures in contemporary society are portrayed to be relevant even to same-sex oriented females.

6.4 To ADMIT and ACCEPT Same-Sex Sexual Identity

The four character-narrators in the TCPs analysed in this section come out to themselves to various extents corresponding with the implications they perceive in doing so. The novels from which the extracts are taken are a mix of US and UK settings and publications.

Again, there are certain experiences narrated within or just prior to the TCPs which trigger these reflections. For Devin, narrator of *Who I Am* (Rice, 2011), this is a threat by the twin brother of her new friend (Melanie) involving a vocative use of DYKE leading to her realizing the applicability of the label to her in conjunction with the fact that she is same-sex attracted, including to the bully's sister. For Clemmie, narrator of *365Days* (Payne, 2011), the final push to coming out to herself is the experience of jealousy and lack thereof towards the partners of a female crush and her ex-boyfriend, respectively, leading to the realization that her sexual attractions are sex-specific. In the TCP from *The Questions Within* (Schaeffer, 2008), Constance seeks out her counsellor as soon as possible following her mother asking her whether she is *gay* and appeased by the counselling she lets herself imagine her female best friend as a partner so that the possibility of being gay surfaces in her thoughts. The character-narrator in the last TCP analysed in this section, from *Pretend You Love Me* (Peters, 2005/2014), has accepted a *gay*

identity for herself but her best friend labelling her *queer* makes her face up to meanings of same-sex sexual identity beyond attraction.

In particular, she accepts a deviant social identity with the latter label, while GAY means normal for her. Conversely, Constance accepts 'gay' identity after being assured by her counsellor's coming out to her that she does not have to live the implications she perceives in labelling someone QUEER. Meanwhile, Clemmie wonders whether one can be 'ordinary' and 'gay' but identifies as such anyway. For Devin, the only relevant implications are those that lead others to violence against same-sex identified people. The passages have in common that same-sex attraction is portrayed to necessarily mean a same-sex identity.

6.4.1 "Being called a dyke" ends denial in *Who I Am*

Who I Am is set in the USA and, like the novels in the first set, is written in the past tense with the speaker-now equalling the story-now. The passage discussed is marked as a section with asterisks as boundary markers (see Table A4.1, 9.1); it is reproduced in A4.2.5 (pp. 511–512). In this section the character-narrator, Devin, reflects on "being called a dyke" (18) by the twin brother of the female friend she has made at her new school. That is, whereas Dylan and Lissa are aware that certain labels would be seen as applying to them due to their same-sex attraction/activity at witnessing SIL-usage, Devin has actually been labelled and this makes her realize her same-sex sexual

attraction and identity. Devin is portrayed as identifying with the sex-specific label used at her (DYKE) as well as with LESBIAN (see also Figure 28 – all sex-specific and factual). The TCP is wholly narratorial but features reports of, attributed and hypothetical SIL-usage in presenting Devin's perceptions of how her social environment supresses (unsuccessfully in the end) her same-sex sexuality.

The first three instances of DYKE in this passage (11, 15 and in 18) are reports of a speech act performed by another person, in this case Jason – Melanie's brother. The impact of the word on the narrator as a character, the addressee of the original speech act, is described using metaphorical expressions depicting it as a physical impact. In this, Devin likens her mental processes and Jason's verbal action to physical objects/actions.

> [11] Dyke. [12] The word slammed into my memory as painfully and sharply as a punch to my stomach.
>
> [18] The problem was that being called a dyke to my face was like a rock crashing through the thin crystal shield of my own denial.

This violent portrayal is in spite of the narrator's assertion that she does not think the word as such is a particularly bad insult nor its meaning (labelling someone 'gay') insulting (16–17). In pragmatic terminology (see, for instance, Birner, 2013, pp. 186–187), Devin's assessment of the original locutionary act is that the utterance is not an insult to her. It is clear though that "dyke" is used with malicious intent by the other party – the original speaker – that is, its illocutionary force is that of an insult. On the other hand, the label is used by

the narrator in verbalizing her sexual identity when she overcomes her denial ("I was a dyke", sentence 20). Thus, the perlocutionary effect of Jason's act is that Devin realises and names her sexual identity reclaiming the label he used – not what Jason supposedly intended. The text, nonetheless, depicts addressee-labelling as having a violent impact on the character-narrator, equalling the effect of the verbal act on her mind to physical violence. Thus, the discursive action of labelling is portrayed as as powerful as physical homophobia but only momentarily has a harmful (physical) effect on Devin (13) – she "curl[s] up in the fetal position […] holding away the pain" (14) and reconceptualizes "the word" as revealing "the truth" to her (19). This re-enacts the socio-historical developments in which discrimination of those with non-normative sexualities and gender identities has been counteracted by claiming essentialized identities (see section 2.1, and p. 17 on strategic essentialism's power against physical and discursive homophobia as well as p. 145 on the portrayal of coming out as providing resilience in YA).

As the cause of her denial Devin cites the impact of a real-world policy on her. The US government's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell"-policy was meant to allow same-sex attracted people to serve their country as military personnel (in contrast to the ban previously in force).[33] However, as Devin describes, the

[33] The policy was in effect from 1994 to 2011; it was issued in 1993 in a Department of Defence Directive. The text of this directive is accessible at https://biotech.law.lsu.edu/blaw/dodd/corres/html2/d130426x.htm; "E1.2.8. Provisions Related to Homosexual Conduct" is the section covering the policy.

silencing of homosexual expression that the policy created, preventing individuals from claiming a same-sex identity and filing complaints of discrimination against them based on sexual orientation, meant fatal homophobia.

> [23] I suppose I'd known it from the moment I first laid eyes on her as she'd so willingly come to my rescue, but admitting I was attracted to the same sex wasn't some easily accepted revelation, especially after having been raised in a conservative military household where "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" meant "Don't be a homosexual or you'll be beaten to death with a brick in a sock."

Devon here explicitly refers to same-sex sexuality using a SIL as a noun in a copulative construction thereby construing it as a state rather than an activity, which is more usually governed by an imperative as in the policy's name. Although the sub-conscious knowledge of attraction to the same sex is immediate for Devin, admittance and acceptance thereof is inhibited by the (micro-)culture in which she grew up, which sees same-sex-oriented people as homosexuals and violence against them as legitimated by governmental policy. The out-group view here is expressed by the negative label HOMOSEXUAL, while its nominal form in a copulative construction portrays Devin as seeing same-sex sexuality as a constant identity. Moreover, for her, prohibition of this identity makes it difficult to acknowledge same-sex attraction.

Half of the SIL-tokens in the passage occur in the penultimate paragraph of the section. In this Devin dissects Jason's motivation for bullying her and in

particular trying to scare her off her friendship with Melanie, his twin sister. The paragraph features several identifications with GAY and LESBIAN which are indirectly expressed and/or subordinated in the sentence structure at least once – it is not the identity assignment which is asserted but its implications.

> [24] Jason saw through me as easily as if I were made of water, but the more I thought about it, the more I figured he was worried about his own reputation. [25] What would his friends say if they knew that his twin sister was best friends with…a lesbian? [26] Did that make her a lesbian too? [27] If she was a lesbian, would that mean that it was possible for him to be gay? [28] It didn't matter that his sister was not a lesbian and that he was most definitely not gay. [29] The implications to his reputation were too much to ignore, and he wanted to get me out of the way.

The fact that Devin infers that Jason's motivation is a fear of association attests that she assumes that in their social environment it is believed that sexual identity is genetic (or otherwise determined in the womb) and that those of same-sex sexual identity tend to be friends (or more) with others of that sexual identity. Devin follows typical usage in this paragraph in that all female referents are labelled using LESBIAN as a singular noun with indefinite article and the male one using adjectival GAY. Thus the identity assignments to female referents are sex-specific, as in the speech act of Jason labelling her *a dyke*, echoed by Devin in her own earlier assertion of identity. Here she attributes thoughts to Jason, which is hypothetical on her part. This means that a distinct discourse space is evoked, as in her discussion of the military policy as an identity prohibiting imperative. The pause indicated by "…" in 25 preceding the first use of LESBIAN in this extract, and indeed the novel, is to be

attributed to the character-narrator and hence part of how Devin (not Jason) is portrayed as relating to SILs. In other words, she initially reclaims the label Jason used intending to insult her and later – after a pause presumably for consideration of which one to use – chooses another sex-specific label to refer to herself and her love interest. The quantitative analysis also revealed a preference for LESBIAN in the novel – Table 14 and Figure 28. Thus, Devin is presented as going along with the construction of same-sex attraction as identity and that of her own as a specifically female one.

In sum, Devin, though initially shaken by having to face up to her same-sex identity, owns up to it to herself in this extract and her worries focus on actual and possible reactions of the people around her. Devin uses DYKE due to its application to her – as an insult, which she recognizes as correctly ascribing the property of same-sex attraction to her. She then switches to using "a lesbian" in considering the consequences of the same-sex identity of herself, while using GAY and HOMOSEXUAL for a male person and those who are same-sex identified generically. This passage shows that Devin has "nothing against gay people" (17) including herself but perceives verbally and physically violent reactions by other people to same-sex identified people with which they come in contact. Moreover, the discursive processes involved in claiming an identity presented in this TCP portray the socio-cognitive structures of the

categorization of sexual orientation and attitudes to same-sex identified people impacting on the character-narrator's mind via labelling.

6.4.2 "So, that's it. It's official. I'm a lesbian." in *365 Days*

The extract I discuss in this section is from a novel set in the UK (one of the three by K. E. Payne in the corpus) and written in diary format. The passage is the entry for Sunday the 11th of March (25.1 in Table A4.1, and full text in A4.2.6 on pp. 512–513). All seven SIL-tokens in the passage refer to the character-narrator, but the six tokens of GAY are indirectly assigned and/or subordinated in the sentence structure. Her name is Clementine but she is usually called Clemmie. None of the instances of the use of a SIL is attributed to anyone but herself (contrasting with the previous passage).

In this entry, Clemmie reports to her diary that she has been shaken by her experience of the most recent party which her school friendship network attended. In brief, at this event she saw her ex-boyfriend with his new girlfriend and was fine with it but she had a crying fit when she saw a female acquaintance, whom she refers to as J, with her boyfriend.

> [5] I've fancied J for aaaages, and last night's episode has pretty much confirmed that I'm madly in love with her now, and that's hit me almost as hard as the realisation that I must be gay.

To be noted here is that, if one inverts the comparative structure, Clemmie states that she experiences "the realisation that I must be gay", that is, of her same-sex sexual identity, as an even slightly harder "hit" than the

confirmation of her attraction to a certain girl. As in the previous passage, the realisation of same-sex sexual attraction and identity is portrayed using a word evoking physical violence and for both character-narrators the identity aspect outweighs the attraction one. From this point on the passage from *365 Days* is concerned first with Clemmie's reasoning behind that realisation and then with its implications. In other words, this extract portrays Clemmie's same-sex sexual attraction as now firmly established but her sexual identity as warranting discussion. In her reflection, she does not question that her sexual identity is same-sex, though, she sets out the evidence with deductive logic.

The above is the first of three instances in which GAY is predicated upon "I" within an embedded clause introduced by "that". In all three cases the proposition of the embedded clause – that Clemmie is "gay" – is subordinated to factive expressions, that is, the self-identification is factual. The metaphor of visibility in "I can see clearly that I'm gay" (9) and "it's obvious to me that I'm gay" (19) expands on the portrayal of the narrator's same-sex identity as an indisputable fact by also construing it as an observable one (perception modality). Meanwhile, the epistemically used modal *must* in "the realisation that I must be gay" (5) indicates that Clemmie regards her same-sex identity as a logical necessity, that is, a fact that she infers from another.

This other fact is her experience of sexual attraction to girls, specifically J. The inferential link between same-sex attraction and same-sex identity is most

explicitly constructed in the third and fourth use of a SIL in this extract. In these, GAY features in counterfactual argumentation, which similar to Kate's (see 6.2.4) relies on non-sex-exclusive sexual orientation not being made relevant. In the first instance of these two, Clemmie lists some symptoms of her sexual attraction to J and claims that she would not be experiencing these if she wasn't *gay* and thus conversely that since she is experiencing them, she is.

> [11] I mean, why would I deliberately go out of my way each day at school to try and see her, why would my heart beat faster every time I do see her, and why would I get so upset seeing her with someone else if I wasn't just a little bit gay?
>
> [12] You can't not be gay and fancy girls, can you? [13] So, that's it. [14] It's official. [15] I'm a lesbian.

Sentence 13 indicates that Clemmie does not expect an answer to 11 or 12; they are rhetorical questions. That is, although formally they are interrogative sentences, they function as statements. Hence, in 12 she asserts that no one can be simultaneously not gay and fancy girls. In order to uphold this logic, the generic *you* in 12 has to be understood as female because a male person can *be not gay* and *fancy girls*. In this respect, it is relevant to note that in 15 Clemmie uses the sex-specific label LESBIAN – the only instance of a label other than GAY in this TCP. Taking 15 into account to construe 12, Clemmie proposes that for a person who is female like herself it is impossible to be simultaneously attracted to girls and not have a same-sex sexual identity. Conversely, same-

sex identity is to be inferred from same-sex attraction – the former has to be if the latter is the case.

Moving on from setting out why she cannot deny same-sex sexual identity, Clemmie states that she feels "relief that I've admitted it to MYSELF" (17) but anxious about being *a lesbian* to "other people" (19), including expectations to conform to stereotypes.

> [21] Will they expect me to shave my head and start wearing dungarees? [22] OMG, what if I suddenly start dancing like Ellen DeGeneres at inappropriate moments???

Ellen DeGeneres is a famous TV presenter and out lesbian. That is, Clemmie is worried not only about habits associated with lesbians generally, which are traditionally masculine coded ones, but also about developing a habit exhibited by an individual who is lesbian. She seems to fear that a common sexual identity means common mannerisms in addition to being expected to conform to aspects of being-a-lesbian stereotypically associated with this identity. Significantly, these are female same-sex-specific properties – male same-sex identity is associated with effeminate, not masculine, appearance. Thus, like Devin, Clemmie uses both GAY and LESBIAN in the passage in her narrative identified as a TCP – both partly see same-sex identity as not sex-specific (mostly as regards general elements of conceptualization) and partly use lexico-grammatical constructions in which the identity assigned to them is sex-specifically construed.

This is also evident in the last use of a SIL in the TCP from *365 Days*. Unlike the others, which are used in copulative constructions, GAY is used attributively in this. The premodified nominal is a sex-specific term denoting a role within a family, which also renders the noun phrase sex-specific. That is, Clemmie again uses a sex-specific construal in wondering about people's reactions. Here Clemmie questions whether her parents will "accept it" (25), concerned with the properties evoked, or rather counter-indicated, by GAY.

> [27] Maybe they don't want a gay daughter. [28] Maybe they want an ordinary daughter. [29] What's ordinary, anyway?

Both "gay" and "ordinary" pre-modify "daughter", and 27 and 28 are the same in sentence structure apart from the negation. As a unit *ordinary daughter* may evoke the domain of kinship in its heteronormative configuration such as expectations for a daughter to bring a son-in-law and biological children to the family. Hence, the parallel construction of 27 and 28 potentially constructs GAY as antithetical to this. Referring to herself by means of her relation to her parents, that is, Clemmie's use of the kinship term *daughter* in these sentences, invokes their hypothetical perspective. With 29, however, Clemmie distances herself from the construction of *gay* as opposed to *ordinary* suggesting that the meaning of *ordinary* may not be a given. In other words, although she perceives a distinction between *gay* and *ordinary* as potentially held in her social environment with particular reference to her parents, she questions the validity thereof.

In sum, the narrator of *365 Days* is portrayed as certain that her sexual identity is a same-sex one based on her attraction to another girl, and as initially shocked but then relieved at overcoming her own denial but worried about the attitudes of her social environment to her if they realize, like her, that she is female same-sex identified. Clemmie is implied to be the producer of all utterances in this passage as the novel is presented as her diary and she does not report any instances of SIL-usage. Hence, it is supposedly herself who assigns the properties evoked by the labels she uses to her identity. She does so both by using *gay* and *a lesbian* predicatively and by pre-modifying an instance of *daughter* which refers to herself with *gay*. Thereby she constructs GAY as a permanent and characteristic property of herself, as a specific female person. Thus, Clemmie can be said to identify with the label GAY in this last as well as the other instances of the SIL. She also identifies with the sex-specific label LESBIAN and presents expectations others may have of her female-specifically. In the earlier part of the passage Clemmie reflects on why she has come to identify as such, while presenting her same-sex identity as a pre-given fact. The reason she elaborates on is her experience of same-sex attraction and she constructs such attraction as inherently linked to same-sex identity. Whereas she seems to firmly hold this schematic element for both GAY and LESBIAN, she questions further aspects of these identities which she fears others may hold. She is particularly anxious about the associations of being a same-sex identified female with an item of clothing and a hairstyle

traditionally seen as masculine as well as the dancing style of a prominent lesbian public figure and about not being accepted as *a gay daughter* because her parents may see her as other than ordinary.

6.4.3 Counsellor's coming out propels narrator's in *The Questions Within*

In the novel in which the token-cluster passage analysed in this sub-section features, the character-narrator, Constance, tells the story of her growing up from the perspective of the first day of her last year of high school. While that story is told in the past tense, the events of the day are told in the present tense and the story-now of that day equals the speaker-now. Although the novel is published in a UK series of quick reads on young adult issues, the author is US American and the narrative is set in the USA (indicated by the school system). Constance tells of how she dealt with several difficulties in young adulthood. Most important in this are her mother (a single parent of one), with whom she has an ever more distant relationship, Kara, with whom she has been friends since primary school, and Ms Summerfield, who is the school counsellor. At the time of the events of the TCP (reproduced in A4.2.7 on pp. 513–516; 2.1 in Table A4.1), Constance has been seeing the counsellor regularly for some time. As in the preceding two TCPs in this set, the only self-identification with a SIL in a simple sentence is with a sex-specific one but, in this passage, it is not the character-narrator in the narratorial discourse situation but the counsellor in character interaction who identifies in this way

("I am a lesbian", sentence 51). The character-narrator meanwhile overcomes homophobia and, according to her speaker-now self, comes "ten steps closer to the truth" (97) that she is 'gay'. Ms Summerfield aids in this by disentangling (in their communicative interaction) same-sex relations and identity from mainly negative meaning elements which Constance associates with them. For Constance, these associations are what causes addressee-labelling with SILs. Furthermore, this is linked to Constance conceptualizing 'queer' and 'normal' as antonymical (for the exceptional prominence of QUEER in the novel see Table 14 and discussion of Figure 34 in Chapter 5).

The passage begins with Constance seeking out Ms Summerfield in her office because she had a verbal "fight" (13) with her mother. As Constance reports to Ms Summerfield, "out of nowhere she asked me if I were gay!" (21) thereby angering Constance. She associates her mother labelling her *gay* (even though it is an interrogative addressee-assignment) with her mother's general disapproval of her daughter as she perceives it (in particular, 30). She tells Ms Summerfield, among other assessments of her mother's question, that her mother thinks Constance is "weird" (28), that it is "a disgusting thing to ask" (28) because "a girl being with another girl is gross" (29), and that the same-sex identity assignment "doesn't make any sense to" her (33).

> [34] Am I supposed to have a boyfriend? [35] And if I don't, am I automatically a queer or a fairy?'
>
> [36] 'I understand how you are feeling, I've been there.'

> [37] 'How have you been here before? [38] I mean, no one could have ever called you a queer – you look normal.'
>
> [39] 'Let me ask you this. [40] Do you really think that being gay is weird or gross?'
>
> [41] 'Yeah!' I responded, with no hesitation.

Constance postulates that the absence of an other-sex partner is seen as sufficient ground for assigning a same-sex identity to someone including herself (34–35). Conversely, she regards that someone appears "normal" as a counter-indication for *queer* identity assignment in negating the possibility that Ms Summerfield has been addressee-labelled as such (38). In sum, Constance believes at this point that considering someone 'queer' or 'gay' means that the labelled person is seen by the source of the assignment disapprovingly as not conforming to heteronormative expectations.

Ms Summerfield challenges Constance's negative view of persons who engage in same-sex relations by coming out to her. One part of this is that prior to declaring her same-sex identity, she asks Constance "do you think I'm gross" (46) to which she receives an expected response that shows that Constance approves of Ms Summerfield ("No way! You're a cool person", 48–49). Knowing that she is a role model to Constance she states

> [60] 'And the fact that I am gay doesn't make me different than anyone else,' she continued, 'I have goals, wants and needs, just like everyone else in the world – including love. [61] So what if I fell in love with a woman? [62] I am who I am.'

That is, in the way Ms Summerfield portrays herself to Constance, that her love is same-sex does not change her identity in her opinion. Nonetheless, she shows herself as aware of persons with same-sex sexuality being seen as *different* but claims that she has learned to ignore being made fun of because of her social identity as *a lesbian* attributing "fear" and limited understanding to those who do (see 68–70). Constance judges that Ms Summerfield tells her that 'lesbian/gay' identity does not have to have implications for other aspects of her identity in order to make her "feel better inside" (63) as "she probably already knew that I was gay" (64). Here the narrative toggles between speaker- and story-now in perspective – the proposition of the subordinated clause is integrated into the speaker-now, whereas "already" indexes that, according to the narrator, Ms Summerfield holds this identity assignment to be true in the story-now.

Following the interchange with Ms Summerfield, Constance allows herself to be gay (cf. example (35) in 4.3), which is accompanied by tears as well as thinking about and daydreaming about Kara (71–105). However, the narrator illustrates that at that point she "didn't accept it fully" (97) by representing the "thoughts" (98) she had.

> [99] Am I in love with Kara and have I been this entire time? [100] How can that be? [101] What will I do if I am really gay? [102] I want a normal life, to be successful and maybe one day have a family – could I still do that?

That is, Constance questions whether she is in love with someone of the same sex and whether being gay is compatible with normality, having a family and success. That she does no longer think these things as entirely impossible is due to Ms Summerfield's intervention. For instance, before the counsellor's coming out, Constance experienced her mother's labelling her "gay" as meaning the same as her labelling herself a "screw-up" (24), that is, inherently unsuccessful. As regards same-sex identity/attraction, Constance in this passage concludes that "I didn't admit it to myself completely, but the thought of the possibility was surfacing quickly" (106).

To conclude my analysis, as narrator, Constance sees herself back in Ms Summerfield's office as moving most of the way to coming out as *gay*. In contrast, QUEER features as the SIL when being assumed by others to be thus is discussed by the character-narrator of *The Questions Within*. Female same-sex sexuality is conceptualized as abnormal, in particular as linked to being unsuccessful in life including failing to have a male partner and family, and as involving "gross" sexual activity. Furthermore, at least at the beginning of the conversation in this TCP, QUEER seems to have both the meaning 'weird' and 'gay' for Constance. In Ms Summerfield, though, the novel portrays a same-sex identified character for whom her love relationship with another woman does not have significant negative implications.

6.4.4 "Yeah, okay, I was gay. Did that make me queer?" in *Pretend You Love Me*

As *Who I Am* and *The Questions Within*, J. A. Peters's novel *Pretend You Love Me* is set in the USA. Unlike the preceding two TCPs analysed but like the first five in this chapter, the tense of narration is past but the speaker- and story-now progress together. The passage is the third TCP in the novel but the only one selected for close analysis (see Table A4.1 26.3 and the criterion explicated in 5.2.3; it is reproduced in full in A4.2.8 on pp. 516–518). Beside six tokens of GAY, QUEER occurs twice but no other labels do. This and the preceding TCP are the only ones featuring QUEER analysed so far (the one analysed in 7.2.1 is the only other one selected). They also share that they occur late in their respective novels, whereas the first two TCPs in this set (passages in which the character-narrator changes her assessment of her sexual identity) occur early in their respective novels. However, like the TCP from *Kissing Kate* (analysed in 6.2.4), the passage analysed in this sub-section includes a flashback to a conversation the character-narrator had with her best friend prior to the events told at the beginning of the novel. *Pretend You Love Me*'s character-narrator has adopted the usually male name Mike – her given name is Mary Elizabeth – and enjoys training her muscles, which is traditionally seen as unfeminine, but sees herself as cisgender. Although not present in the gym where this scene is set, the narrator's gay male best friend, Jaime,

features prominently in the passage analysed here, even apart from the flashback.

That is because, in the scene preceding this TCP, Jaime called Mike "queer" (this addressee-labelling is remarked upon in the earlier scene by Jaime as upsetting Mike; see example (21), which is the link to the paragraph on vocative use in 4.3). At the beginning of the scene under analysis, Mike tries to escape her thoughts about that labelling by physically exerting herself but the gym owner stops her because she is putting herself in danger. While under the shower, Mike attempts to find a difference between being 'queer' and being 'gay'.

> [38] My hands crossed over my chest, cupping my breasts.
>
> [39] Proof I wasn't like Jamie. [40] I wasn't a guy. [41] I wasn't queer.
>
> [42] Yeah, okay, I was gay. [43] Did that make me queer? [44] I hated that word. [45] It implied something like, "not normal." [46] I was normal. [47] I was gay. [48] So what? [49] That was fine. [50] I wasn't that gay. [51] There were degrees, weren't there? [52] Jamie was off the scale. [53] I was barely pushing the gauge.
>
> [54] Could you be a little bit gay? [55] A hollow laugh might've escaped my throat. [56] How deluded was I? [57] Jamie was right.

In sentence 57 Mike indirectly admits that she is in fact "queer", the label Jamie used for her. She does not, however, use this label then to state her sexual identity as she has done in 47 with "gay" (directly, without qualification or negation, and in a simple sentence comprised of a copulative). Mike objects to QUEER as a word because she sees it, unlike GAY, as signifying

"not normal" (45). That is, whereas the element of normality is compatible for Mike with 'gay' identity, being "queer" and being "normal" are incompatible for her and as she sees the latter as an aspect of her own identity (explicitly asserted in 46), she is reluctant to admit that Jaime has a point when he calls her "queer". Like Clemmie and Constance, Mike struggles with labelling herself by means of a SIL because of perceived implications of being divergent (Mike and Constance use the antonym "normal", Clemmie "ordinary"). Clemmie though perceives this association for GAY, whereas Mike only does so for QUEER. Like Ms Summerfield, Mike uses unsubordinated copulative constructions for stating her identity when she wants to express that her sexuality is same-sex but that that does not have further implications for her identity.

In the flashback-scene Jaime and Mike are about twelve and Jaime quoted "from a book […] three stages to coming out" (72–73).

> [74] One: Admitting to yourself you're gay."
>
> [76] "Two: Accepting the truth of it."
>
> [80] "Three: Embracing your difference, your identity, and your sexual orientation."

Interestingly, these stages do not mention coming out to others, only coming to terms with your sexual identity yourself, nor that one would be coming out as anything other than 'gay', which is indirectly conceptualized not only as one's "identity" and "sexual orientation" but also one's "difference".

Additionally, the exclusive reference to 'gay' identity has the effect that when Jaime asks Mike "Where are you?" (83) following his statement that he believes himself at the second stage, it is implicit that he thinks Mike is 'gay'. Mike evidently perceives this implicature, as her reply "What makes you think I'm gay?" (85) construes the identity assignment in an epistemic sub-world attributed to Jaime. The way it is embedded in a counter-question challenges that identity assignment. However, the flashback also represents thoughts of Mike's younger self which show that same-sex attraction was not alien to Mike even at the time of the remembered conversation ("I loved Angelina Jolie. She was hot", 78–79). Thus, this passage, like the other three in this section, portrays the character-narrator as attracted to the same-sex before being consciously aware of her sexual identity as other than straight.

Overall, by the speaker-now of the TCP Mike is portrayed as moving into stage three of coming out – she has admitted and accepted being GAY as well as currently questioning whether her same-sex attraction implies a "difference" which is evoked for her by QUEER as a SIL. In fact, in 56–57 (speaker-now) she appears to reject her earlier belief that she could be GAY to an extent which does not make her QUEER. Hence, like most other same-sex attracted characters encountered in the analyses in this chapter, Mike is presented to experience anxiety due to which meaning elements may be

evoked for whom when a same-sex identity label is applied. This anxiety is mainly portrayed using sub-ordinated copulative constructions.

6.5 Summary of Second Set of Analyses

Common to all four TCPs in section 6.4 is that instances of the lemmas ADMIT and ACCEPT discursively link the concepts they encode with the process of coming out. A form of each of these verbs is present in the stages Jaime cites (A4.2.8, sentences 74 and 76), Devin uses both in 23 (A4.2.5), Constance uses ADMIT in 106 and ACCEPT in 97 to state that she has moved most of the way to coming out (A4.2.7), and Clemmie uses ADMIT in reference to coming out to herself and ACCEPT when contemplating coming out to her parents (A4.2.6, 17 and 25). In fact, ADMIT is used in all four instances as the verb to characterize coming out to oneself and thus also in relation to the assertion of same-sex sexual identity or attraction; ACCEPT is also used in all four instances about this realisation. This constructs same-sex sexual identity and attraction as something which requires acceptance and admission, which usually applies to negative things.

Concomitantly, the analyses of these extracts have revealed that they portray coming to terms with same-sex sexual identity as a process which warrants verbal/mental exploration and is preceded by reluctance evident in

delay and/or accompanied by (emotional) pain. It is implicit in these narratives that these features do not apply to exclusively other-sex sexual identity. Moreover, accepting same-sex identity means not only admitting same-sex attraction and/or engaging in same-sex relations but also having to deal with the implications of the social categorization, which are manifold.

What other meanings are associated with each sexual identity label in particular partially differs between the four character-narrators. For Constance viewing same-sex attracted people as abnormal and unsuccessful in life is best expressed by QUEER, which has long been used to express that someone or something is 'weird'. For Mike that label is associated with an exaggerated expression of that identity (this meaning element is also encountered in the first TCP analysed in the next chapter). GAY, on the other hand, tends to be used in these passages to portray same-sex identified persons as normal, although this meaning element is not without contention. Something that is explored in the extracts is being like or unlike others with whom one shares same-sex sexual identity and/or associating with people of that identity. The worries presented as attending the process of coming out are, however, not described as intrinsic to the same-sex attracted person but as perceived in their social environment. These associations are particularly prominent in the use of LESBIAN. The connection between this and the use of noun phrases with an indefinite article to construct membership of a category,

including normativities attending to designated social classes and their contestation, is explored in section 7.2 below.

None of the character-narrators in this chapter contemplates that any of the labels they use (including QUEER and DYKE) could include either-sex attraction. This is despite a mention of either-sex attraction being conceivable in their narratives without rendering them incoherent. The hence unquestioned link between same-sex attraction and identity is discussed in section 7.5. The next chapter sheds light on this phenomenon by evidencing alternative construals.

Chapter 7: Analyses of Selected Token-Cluster Passages: Part Two

7.1 Introduction to Third Set

The analyses in this chapter, like the other analyses, focus on how the relationships of the characters to sexual identity labels (SILs) are portrayed. Unlike the previously analysed token-cluster passages (TCPs), the TCPs in this chapter feature overt negotiation of when SILs apply (at all or which ones) alongside either one character's rejection of one or all labels, or fluctuation in a character's conceptualization of sexual orientation.

Most characters featured, though, do use SILs in generic reference to characterize the social class denoted and in reference to (same-sex) sexual identity to characterize it. However, in the TCPs of the last set, there are more meta-linguistic references to SILs and alternative, including idiosyncratic, ways of referring to same-sex sexuality. These include new variants of labels to differentiate between how identities are lived and phrases to designate same-sex attraction/attracted people which substitute for labels. Most passages analysed in the following portray LESBIAN in its nominal singular form with indefinite article (*a lesbian*) in relation to differentiating between living that identity and having relations with people of the same sex.

In this chapter, TCPs from four novels with diverse settings are analysed. From *Pink* (Wilkinson, 2009), which is set in a large city in Australia (Melbourne), the two passages selected show the character-narrator rebelling against set ways of being 'lesbian' and 'gay' (see section 7.2.1 and .2). This is portrayed through her antipathy to the local femininity-eschewing lesbian community and to a male character's effeminacy ascription to their school's male theatre actors. The character-narrator of *Down to the Bone* (Dole, 2008/2012), set in the Cuban American community of Miami, rejects the social categorization executed by sexual identity labelling and sees herself as someone whose closest relationships are with females (sections 7.2.3 and .4). In a Californian setting, *My Invented Life* (Bjorkman, 2009) portrays a character-narrator who does not completely lose her concept of sexual orientation as binary despite discovering the Kinsey scale (a representation of same-, both-, and other-sex orientation as a continuum) following an encounter with a character who rejects all labels (see section 7.3.1 for the passage which features these encounters and .2 for the following TCP, which continues the portrayal of her partial re-conceptualization). Finally, one TCP is analysed from *Sugar Rush* (Burchill, 2004/2005), set in the UK city of Brighton (section 7.3.3). Its character-narrator takes issue with the polysemy of GAY as its contemporary negative meaning collides with her same-sex friendships turning sexual.

As detailed in the structure of analyses sub-section (6.1.2), the analyses of the individual TCPs are followed by a summary of the set's theme – in 7.4 for the set analysed in this chapter – and the analysis of select TCPs concludes with a discussion section summarizing the aspects elucidated regarding how language is used in the fifteen passages to suggest different relationships to SILs (7.5). In their analyses the sentence numbering in the respective appendix, providing their full text and position within the novel, is referenced.

7.2 Post-Identity?

7.2.1 "Just because I'm a homosexual, it doesn't mean I'm a mincing queer" in *Pink*

Ava, the character-narrator of *Pink*, narrates in the past tense, although the story-now coincides with the speaker-now. Previous to the events of the narrative, Ava has come out due to her relationship with a girl, Chloe. Chloe embraces the lesbian community of Melbourne, whereas Ava feels stifled by such rules as not wearing pink (hence the title). The narrative events are set off by Ava switching schools – she intends to keep her same-sex relationship a secret from her new acquaintances in order to re-discover herself. The analysis of the TCP in this sub-section highlights three interlinked aspects of the

discursive structures and labelling practices surrounding SILs manifest in the passage (which is reproduced in A4.3.1, pp. 519–522; and listed as 23.1 in Table A4.1). Ava is spending a break with the members of the stage crew, known as the Screws, of the musical production at her new school when the vocal performance of one of them, Jules, leads to him explaining to Ava why he does not sing in the production – he identifies as same-sex attracted but not as "a theatregay" (26), which comprises further meaning elements. The second aspect is the male-specificity and disparaging view of those which are not "normal-gay" (30), which Jules expresses and Ava objects to. She expresses her objection by invoking the Latin meaning of *homo*, which is countered by the correct Greek etymology of the prefix in *homosexual* (given in 3.2.4).

Jules characterizes "the gays in the musical" (44) as enhancing their physical appearance (32–34), wearing "women's jeans" (35), and walking "like ladies" (40), that is, expressing hyper-femininity. In this characterization, he also refers to this kind of gay people as *gheys-with-an-h*. In making counterfactual statements about his own identity, he uses "ghey-with-an-h" (27) besides "theatregay" (26) as well as "mincing queer" (76), which again evokes effeminate gait. In contrast, he indirectly identifies as another of "two kinds of gay" (29), namely "normal-gay, which is people <u>like me</u> who happen to like boys, but are otherwise functioning members of society" (30, emphasis added). In this he also indirectly ascribes the property of being dysfunctional

to those he perceives as the other kind. Another factual statement of his identity is subordinated syntactically to the last counterfactual statement: "In conclusion […] just because I'm a homosexual, it doesn't mean I'm a mincing queer" (76). So, for Jules, the elements of 'gay' identity which go beyond same-sex attraction are undesirable and he distances himself from those who exhibit these by designating them with different labels (modifications of established ones) than himself. In other words, he identifies as *a homosexual* (besides in the first copulative in 76, he accepts being labelled using *homo* vocatively, as seen in his reaction to 70 in 73) but rejects that this has further implications for his identity. The construction x_MEAN_y also occurs in the following couple of passages to contest the link between same-sex attraction/relations and same-sex sexual identity.

Ava experiences jealousy (50) at how Jules apparently is "comfortable" with who he is without fitting into one of the social groups she distinguishes – "the gay kids" and "the straight ones" (47). In conjunction, she wonders whether "there was any such thing as lesbian-with-an-h" (51), that is, a female equivalent to *ghey* – a kind of female same-sex attracted people she could identify, or rather dis-identify, with. She sees this latter identity expression in her girlfriend and misses the "real" Chloe (62–64). According to Ava's report, when Chloe first told her that "she was a lesbian", she had not adopted that identity expression and appeared "angry" and "vulnerable" (60). Therefore,

Ava agrees with Jen (61), another member of stage crew,[34] who has described this identity expression as follows:

> [57] 'I think that sometimes the whole larger-than-life gay thing is just another kind of closet. [58] It's easier to be different if you're very different, if you go all-out on purpose. [59] Because that way you can still hide who you really are.'

Jen shows understanding for same-sex attracted persons who conform completely to expectations of what it means to be 'gay' but negatively evaluates this (post-Stonewall) life for out-gays as a *closet*, an expression which evokes clandestine same-sex sexuality (practiced particularly pre-Stonewall). In sum, the conversation and Ava's narrative (i.e. comments on it) portray it as difficult but not impossible in contemporary (Australian youth) society to be same-sex attracted without adopting the other meaning elements associated with 'gay' and/or 'lesbian' identity.

Whereas Jules identifies "lik[ing] boys" as the only characteristic feature of those to whom the category "normal-gay" applies (30) and describes stereotypically feminine characteristics as the norm in the other gay-category, Jen does not specify the elements of being different nor whether she is talking about male or female same-sex attracted persons. Meanwhile, Ava's experience of same-sex identity is portrayed as female-specific (this includes that in the narratorial discourse situation in the novel only LESBIAN occurs in

[34] Jen later tells Ava that she is same-sex attracted and it is revealed that the other *Screws* know too, but her same-sex identity is not acknowledged by anyone in their conversation in this passage.

self-identification, see Figure 27). She is portrayed as perceiving Jules's distancing from effeminate gay identity not only as "homophobic" but also as "misogynistic" (37, and see 39 and 82 quoted below). It can be seen as homophobic in suppressing that way of living one's sexual identity, and misogynist in negatively evaluating femininity. However, Ava questions (in the narratorial discourse situation) whether 'gay' identity is compatible with the schematic element of homophobia ("But could you be homophobic if you were gay?", 39). On the other hand, she voices her concern about Jules's description of effeminacy and 'female-exclusive gay' identity:

> [82] 'The misogyny in this culture is so entrenched that even gay people buy into it,' I said.
>
> [83] Jules looked a bit offended. '[84] I'm a misogynist? [85] How, exactly?'
>
> [86] 'With all your comments about walking like a lady, and wearing women's jeans,' I said. [87] 'And your assumption that only men can be gay. [88] Not to mention the language you use.'

For those who are aware of the history of the gay rights and lesbian feminist movements, Ava evokes here the lesbian critique of the relative privileges and power of men in activism for same-sex attracted people (to the disregard of female-specific concerns) as well as the long-standing feminist critique of the discursive erasure of female experience by terms which can be used both male-specific and sex-generically (such as *men* for male humans and for humans in general). Whereas Ava's generic references (generic *you* in 39 and the plural noun phrase *gay people* in 82) and Jen's reference to an abstract

entity ("larger-than-life gay thing", 57) are ambiguous between male- and non-sex-specific meaning, Jules implies maleness for both *kinds of gay* (via specifying attraction to males and the cross-gendered expression of identity as feminine, respectively), foreclosing female *kinds of gay*.

Ava makes a further specific point in her "feminist lecture" (99) based on "remembering when Chloe destroyed our History teacher with this argument" (93). But as she reiterates an incorrect etymology she soon finds herself out of her depth in the conversation (see 109, 112–113, and 118–123). Besides constituting a linguistic discussion in a YA novel, the two proposed meanings for *homo* also conceptualize sexual orientation differently – as towards one specific sex or as towards the same/other sex, respectively.

> [93] 'The word homosexual is inherently misogynistic,' […] [94] 'The word homo means man. [95] Like Homo sapiens. [96] So homosexual means man-sexual.'
>
> […] [109] 'You're wrong. [110] I mean, you're right in the sense that homo does mean man in Latin. [111] But the homo in homosexual comes from the Greek homo, not the Latin homo.' […] [115] 'So homo in Greek doesn't mean man, it means same. [116] Like homogenous or homonym. [117] Homosexual means same-sexual.'

That is, the correct etymology of HOMOSEXUAL is applicable to same-sex attracted persons irrespective of their sex, whereas a derivation from Latin would mean that it is male-specific.

As Ava cannot think of a reply before the break is over, the male-prime of *homosexual* is only superficially resolved in this text passage – the word form

may be generic but its use may be, and in Jules's SIL-usage is, surreptitiously male-specific. Jules is portrayed as being at peace with his same-sex attraction and the label *homo* but as not belonging to the gay community closest to him. His anger at *gheys* may be interpreted as limiting him or as a liberating rejection of widely imposed social pressures to conform. Ava, at least, is portrayed to begin to look beyond what she knows from her girlfriend about being gay and in particular how a divorce between same-sex attraction and identity could be expressed. (Jules does it with different (forms of) labels and Jen with talking about going "all-out".) In other words, whereas Ava has felt that she must adopt a lifestyle along with identifying as lesbian due to her same-sex relationship, Jules and Jen are seen to engage in individual meaning-making and contesting normativites. These involve, among other things, the shedding of femininity in same-sex identified females, described by Clemmie in the TCP from *365 Days*, and the adoption of hyper-femininity by same-sex identified males. Also as in *365 Days*, potential group norms which prescribe ways of living an intelligible identity, are described by reference to particular individuals who are identified as members of the group (see 45 in A4.3.1). Ava presents positive and negative aspects of conforming to homonormativities with references to her girlfriend Chloe (see 60–64). In the last scene of the novel she eventually uses her own new ways of defining identity – this is analysed in the next sub-section.

7.2.2 "I don't know whether that means I'm straight or gay, or gay with a twist of straight or what" in *Pink*

In between the two narrative passages from the Australian novel analysed in this thesis, Ava's girlfriend has revealed their relationship to Ava's new friends at the musical premiere (the narration thereof forms the second token-cluster passage of the novel but is not analysed here due to the criterion explicated in section 5.2.3). Since that event, Ava has done her best to regain their friendship. In the scene prior to the one analysed in this sub-section, most members of the stage crew show Ava that they like her the way she is by wearing pink. Missing from this display is Sam, who was the one who corrected the etymology of HOMOSEXUAL in the first TCP. The last passage of the novel begins with Ava approaching Sam (the passage is reproduced in A4.3.2 (pp. 522–527); 23.3 in Table A4.1). At first it appears to Ava that Sam is "still mad" at her (23) and that he is not wearing pink (3). But after a clarifying conversation he reveals his "pink socks" (182). This conversation revolves around their sexual attractions and therefore most of it concerns this investigation closely – the following aspects are illuminated in the analysis. Sam admits that he likes Ava the way he now believes she only likes females, but Ava tells him that he is misguided in his assumption of exclusive-same-sex attraction based on her same-sex relationship (by this time terminated, see 91 and 93). Furthermore, she questions social categorizations, particularly

those based on sexual orientation, which has placed her in groups in which she has not felt that she truly belongs. Sam helps her let go of the categorisation of sexual orientation based on sex-of-object-choice and makes her feel comfortable as a member of the stage crew. They both allude to bisexuality but do not use BI(SEXUAL) nor construct either-sex sexuality as a stable identity. Overall, the passage moves from implying a binary conceptualization of sexuality to a fluid one.

Sam tells Ava that he wants to support her in *being a lesbian* if that is what she wants but also that he is disappointed that, as he believes, Ava won't reciprocate his attraction to her. Although there are two instances of identity assignment to the addressee in Sam's utterances quoted below, these are not the focus of the assertions as they are information assumed by the speaker to be known facts. Rather, like the reference to female same-sex identity in general (49, cited below), they are used by Sam to express what Ava's perceived same-sex identity means to him.

> [44] 'I don't want to be unsupportive. [45] I'm glad you're happy. [46] You seem like you have stuff … together now. [47] I want that for you. [48] But if you want me to be completely honest, then I have to tell you that I'm a bit bummed that you're a lesbian. [49] Not that I think there's anything wrong with being a lesbian, because there isn't, and if that's what you want, I'm totally, one hundred and eleven per cent behind you. [50] But,' – he cleared his throat – 'I'm a bit bummed because I like you.'
>
> [...] [56] 'It's no big deal,' he said, going red. [57] 'You're gay, so it's not going to happen. [58] End of story.'

The instance of *a lesbian* in a copulative is subordinated, in 48, to Sam's statement of disappointment (at the revelation that Ava is seen as a member of the class designated by the sex-specific SIL) and the copulative using adjectival GAY, in 57, is followed by a conjunction expressing consequence; this consequence (of the categorizing property 'gay' designating exclusive same-sex orientation) is that no love story will ensue between the interlocutors. Thus, Sam is here shown to see other-sex relations as excluded from 'gay/lesbian' identity and such an identity as given due to a same-sex relationship. Ava, on the other hand, realizes that she is in fact attracted to Sam and could start a relationship with him based on that (see 59–65, 100, and 170).

Ava's experiences have left her certain of her relations to individuals but with uncertainty as to what that means for her identity including membership in a class of people, though she makes peace with that uncertainty in the end (see 149–160, and the following block quote). Her sexual relations with her girlfriend are sincere (REAL) to her, as are her social relations with Chloe, Sam/the Screws and Alexis, a girl who belongs to the fashionably feminine boy-crazy group at school, the Pastels. In contrast, the social identities linked to these have questionable reality status for her. These identities are expressed as indefinite singular nominals.

> [69] 'I came to Billy Hughes because I thought I liked boys,' I said. [70] 'I told everyone it was because of the academic excellence, and it was, a

> bit. [71] But mostly it was because I wasn't sure if I was really a lesbian. [72] I didn't really fit in with Chloe and her friends. [73] And I wanted to be a part of a group. [74] I wanted to feel like I belonged.'
>
> [75] Sam smiled at his shoes, and I remembered the first time I'd seen him and the other Screws, horsing around at lunchtime.
>
> [76] 'The thing is,' I continued, 'I really liked hanging out with Chloe. [77] And I really liked hanging out with Alexis. [78] And I really like hanging out with you. [79] But I don't think I really belong as a lesbian, or a Pastel, or a Screw.'
>
> [80] Sam picked up a bent nail and examined it.
>
> [81] 'Anyway,' I said. [82] 'I don't know what I am. [83] I don't know where I belong. [84] It's complicated.'
>
> [85] He nodded and didn't look at me. [86] 'What I had with Chloe was real. [87] I liked her. [88] A lot. [89] I think I loved her. [90] It wasn't a phase or just experimenting or any of that stuff they tell you in Health Ed.'

Ava stresses that her feelings for Chloe are not to be doubted due to her questioning her sexual identity. Meanwhile, she counter-asserts the notion of same-sex relations as "a phase" or "experimenting", which has historically been countered by identity rhetoric. That is, she divorces her same-sex relationship and attraction from the discursively dominant paradigm of exclusively-same-sex female identity as a legitimation for female same-sex relations.

Ava continues by stating that for her determining her sexual identity from her attractions is a conundrum. To which Sam replies that living a both-sex identity is ubiquitous and therefore one does not have to decide on a label.

> [101] 'And I don't know whether that means I'm straight or gay, or gay with a twist of straight or what. [102] And I have to figure that out.'

> [103] Sam looked at me like I was crazy. [104] 'I hear it's okay to be both,' he said, with a little shake of his head. [105] 'All the kids are doing it.'

Sam portrays bisexuality here as a practice, in which specifically young people engage, rather than an identity one may claim; he also attributes the neutral to positive assessment of it to unspecified sources. In Ava's utterance it is, furthermore, interesting that she does not use *a lesbian* but adjectival STRAIGHT and GAY, which, given the patterns observed so far, underlines that here she is concerned with sexual attraction/relations more so than with identity. This is also seen in her reason for having to fix her sexual orientation, namely that she would not want to engage in another romantic relationship without being sure of which sex(es) she is attracted to (see 116–138). This and Sam's characterization of bisexuality are moreover only interim positions for the characters as Sam convinces Ava that any characteristic (not just sex/gender) could be a deciding factor in whether you are attracted to someone at any time (see 139–141 and 145–160). Sam rejects any imposition by social categories on love relationships by stating "you should be with whoever you want to be with" (144). In other words, sexual relations should not be governed by categories.

In sum, Ava is portrayed in *Pink* to arrive at a conceptualization of sexuality as undefined by sex/gender categories. This journey was set off by her wish to wear pink, a cultural marker of femininity, which her local lesbian community disapproved of. That is, Ava rebelled against having to live a

specific lesbian identity due to her same-sex relationship. Furthermore, she finds SILs insufficient in defining her sexual attractions. Relatedly, she feels she does not belong to either the group designated by LESBIAN, due to its normative element of exclusive same-sex identity, among other elements, or the group known as the Pastels, who ascribe exclusive other-sex identity to their members. Significantly, the group she eventually is made to feel as belonging to is one of misfits in the social environments of the school rather than one that let her know that she could explore her sexuality with their support. That is, none of the social identities expressed as indefinite singular nominals in sentence 79 validate either-sex orientation as a point of identification.

7.2.3 "Just because I'm in love with Marlena doesn't mean I'm ever going to label myself a lesbo" in *Down to the Bone*

The character-narrator of *Down to the Bone*, Shai, also rejects the obligation to live a 'lesbian' identity due to her same-sex relationship. That she has such a relationship has become known to her social environment because she has been caught sexting her girlfriend (Marlena) in class and brought before the school principal. In the first TCP from the novel, Shai talks about this "incident" (1) with her best friend Soli (the passage is reproduced in A4.3.3 (pp. 527–528); 29.1 in Table A4.1). This and the other TCP analysed from this novel are written in the present tense (the story-now equals the speaker-now).

The conversational turns of Soli and Shai intersperse Shai's reflections in the narratorial discourse situation – she presents her situation and assessment thereof to the reader as well as to Soli. The narratorial and the conversational self- and other-representations match. However, between Soli and Shai there is disagreement about labelling. Soli applies both *a homo* and variants of LESBIAN to Shai (addressee-labelling), whereas Shai mainly uses SILs to acquaint the reader with out-group views of the social class designated (generic references). Shai favours relative clause constructions which specify female same-sex attraction as a property of a (class of) person. To her, SILs express the properties beyond attraction – she rejects the implications of difference.

Shai describes her girlfriend's view of attitudes towards homosexuality which mean that she is mortally afraid of her same-sex relation being discovered (so far only Soli and her mother know that Marlena is the girl Shai is with; see 7–17). Both the utterance in the character interaction and that in the narratorial discourse situation (which concern Marlena's mental state regarding others' view of her) feature a copulative construction which is nested – several sub-world layers are constructed in "you know Marlena thinks people will believe she's a sicko who goes around checking out girls' boobs" (11) and "Marlena's obsessed with wanting people to think she's straight" (17). Whereas Marlena desires to be seen as heterosexual, Shai puts

the onus on her culture to cast aside their view of same-sex attracted persons as different. Both in 17 and in 46, quoted below, the most prominent further meaning element of female same-sex identity is perversion – sick sexuality.

> [41] most older Miami Cubans are religious and conservative. [42] Some embrace gay guys but find girls together disgusting. [43] Some gay Latino boys are more open about their sexuality. [44] They're praised as "fabulous" and "funny." [45] Some right-wing Latinos are so whacked. [46] They think lesbians are a perverted breed out to destroy common decency.
>
> [47] I know my culture has come a long way, but the homophobes need to read everyday stories about girls who like girls. [48] That way, we'll be seen as "normal."

Sentence 44 evokes the notions of the male same-sex identified person as an entertainer and an approved of *all-out* (see first sub-section) identity for Latinos (males). Shai does not indicate such an option for Latinas (females) and indirectly identifies as *a girl who likes girls* (via the first person plural pronoun in 48).

Unlike the attitude Shai and allegedly Marlena ascribe to most Miami Cubans, Soli's mother, Viva (Mima), according to Soli, does not have a negative attitude towards Shai and Marlena due to their relationship. As Soli tells Shai, "she loves you like hell even if you are a homo" (53). Despite this identity assignment being devoid of malice, Shai opposes it. She makes counterfactual assertions using copulative *homo* (54) and *gay* (58) to Soli. For Shai labelling is like being STAMPed (26–27, 60) or "branded" (61) and hence wearing "a target on my back" (56). She rejects both the reification of her

sexual identity in the phrase "my being lezzie" (58) and labelling "myself a lesbo" (25) because she does not "know anything about living a lesbian life" (59). She asserts: "I'm just in love with Marlena" (57) and "I'm just me" (58). That is, she contests a social categorisation based on her love relationship to another girl which makes her *a lesbian* rather than the individual she is. Soli counters this by coordinating a counterfactual assertion of Shai's sexual identity with a counterfactual assertion of her own racial/ethnic identity: "Sure. You're not a lesbo, and I'm not an Afrrrrrro Cubanita" (64–65). This sarcastic reply conceptualizes sexual identity as just as true as racial/ethnic identity.

In this passage the character-narrator is portrayed to perceive SILs (particularly HOMO and LESBIAN) as a visible mark on a person which makes the private matter of sexual desire and love public. In Marlena, a character is shown who tries to solve the implications of this by keeping her same-sex relationship secret and thus passing as *straight*. Shai, on the other hand, at least to her confidante Soli, overtly opposes being assigned a sexual identity while admitting same-sex attraction as a property of herself. Shai does not identify with any label in the narratorial discourse situation at any point in the novel (no plot in A3.2). Following the "incident", Shai's mother throws her out of the house. In order to regain her approval of her as a daughter, Shai attempts to live a heterosexual life – acting on some attraction to him, Shai

dates a guy called London (after Marlena has been married off). However, she breaks up with him because she does not love him like she did Marlena. Despite, or because of, portraying Shai as rejecting 'straight' and 'bi' identities as well as 'homosexual', 'gay' and 'lesbian' identities for herself, Dole's novel has the highest absolute frequency of SIL-tokens as well as the highest normalized and absolute frequency of tokens of BI(SEXUAL) and STRAIGHT in the corpus (see Table 14 and Table 16). Furthermore, the novel contains the only TCPs with more than two tokens of BI(SEXUAL) (see Table A4.1). One of these is analysed in the next sub-section.

7.2.4 "Bi", "lesbian" or none in *Down to the Bone*

In this extract from Dole's novel (the passage is reproduced in A4.3.4, pp. 529–531; and listed as 29.7 in Table A4.1), the character-narrator's new (white) love interest, Gisela, reflects to her about Shai's sexual identity specifically about who qualifies as a lesbian. All eight SIL-tokens occur in Gisela's speech; she uses LESBIAN three times and *bi(s)* five times. Shai does not use any SILs, stating that she hates "labels" (54) in reply to Gisela's use of them to distinguish between whom she would and would not date. After Shai elaborates on how she knows that she is only into female persons, Gisela accepts that Shai qualifies as a potential partner without Shai identifying as LESBIAN (that is, using that label). Gisela identifies as *lesbian*.

This section firstly summarizes the passage up to the paragraph in which all SIL-tokens occur. Then I discuss Shai's rejection of labels and how she eventually convinces Gisela that they could be together. Last but not least, I focus on Gisela's use of *bi(s)* and LESBIAN detailing the conceptualizations and contradictions in how she explains why she would only date the latter.

Shai is on a night out at the local club for LGBTQ and straight people. A group of her friends head outside to play pool leaving Shai alone with Gisela. In parting, London acts as if he is still together with her. Shai tries to draw Gisela's attention away from this but Gisela is "into serious confrontation" (28) so that Shai cannot escape having a frank conversation with Gisela about her relationship with London and her sexuality.

When Shai states "I hate labels, but I know what I love" (54), Gisela "asks earnestly", "are you confused?" (55). That is, the character's refusal to identify with a SIL prompts a judgment of her possibly being in a state of confusion (the lemma is used predicatively in a copulative, like a label). This is even though Shai makes a positive assertion about her knowledge of her affections, which started to address such a challenge – the conjunction *but* which introduces the second clause of 54 shows that Shai is aware that Gisela is likely not to be expecting its proposition. Shai rejects being confused with a "fast" *no* (56) and then must "explain why London and [she] were together that long" (57). She assures Gisela that being with London has ascertained to

her that she "can't fall wholeheartedly for a guy" (64) and under no circumstances will (58–65). After facing a few further challenges from Gisela, Shai reiterates her certainty in what is the object of her affection, "I know exactly what I want" (82). She intends to tell London that "truth" [ibid.] that night. Gisela agrees to wait for the next day to start their relationship.

That is, Gisela eventually accepts Shai's explication and judges her assertions as equally valid to the actions she has claimed someone would have to perform to be considered a potential partner by her (see 51 below). Thus, she must by the end of the passage consider herself mistaken in assigning a 'bi' identity to Shai in the middle of it. Gisela has only just changed her assessment of Shai from 'lesbian' to 'bi', which makes it easy for her to revert back.

> [44] "I didn't realize you were bi. [45] I thought you were lesbian, like me, through and through." [46] She shakes her head. [47] "I have nothing against bis. [48] In fact, all my friends are bi, but I'm not into dating bis again. [49] My ex professed having been born a lesbian and she left me for a guy. [50] I get a lot of shit about this from my bi friends, but I know what I want. [51] I'd like to be with someone who stomps their foot down and says, 'I'm a lesbian!'"

Sentences 44 and 45 contrast the categorizing properties 'bi' and 'lesbian through and through', that is, someone who is 'lesbian through and through' is exclusively gynephilic. The negation of the past tense epistemic expression in 44 and the past tense of the verb of cognition in 45 portray Gisela to have switched her assignments to Shai between these. When Gisela utters 51, she

means that she would like to be with someone who is exclusively gynephilic – LESBIAN, not BI. Hence, it is crucial to her which of the identities applies to Shai but eventually the crux is not the label Shai uses but that she ascertains that she is exclusively gynephilic – desiring women not men.

As Gisela's statement that her ex left her "for a guy" (49) immediately follows her assertion that she is "not into dating bis again" (48), it is given as the reason for why she does not want to date anyone not exclusively gynephilic. However, from her previous girlfriend's profession of "having been born a lesbian" (49) she could have learned that such a self-assignment of a same-sex denoting SIL in character interaction does not necessarily mean that that female someone is exclusively gynephilic. Therefore it is illogical for her to ask for a verbal assertion of lesbian identity to engage in a relationship with the hypothetical speaker (51). Furthermore, *again* indicates that she has dated *bis* before. Hence, Gisela implicitly counts her ex among those she calls BI and vice versa constructs all female *bis* as prone to leaving a girl for a guy. The bare plurals in 48 and 47 are generic references to all those who are 'bi' (see also discussion of the form *bis* in 5.1.1). In contrast, the adjective *bi* predicated upon "all my friends" in 48 and pre-modifying "friends" in 50 assigns the attributes of the schema to specific persons, namely those who Gisela counts as friends. It is a classic move to accompany attributing a

negative property to a class of humans with a reference to specific persons which belong to that class as friends.

In her SIL-dense speech, Gisela holds that someone who does not vehemently and clearly identify as *a lesbian* would not be faithful to a girlfriend and therefore she will be friends with *bis* but not date them. Shai does not engage Gisela in a discussion about distinguishing people and their properties based on labels but details her specific situation to her. Both Gisela and Shai are certain of their sexuality throughout the passage but Gisela has to revise her understanding of Shai's several times – from *lesbian* to *bi*, to *confused*, to gynephilic despite having been with a guy and not identifying as *a lesbian*. In addition to not using a label to describe her sexuality, Shai does not talk particularly about physical attractions but distinguishes between male and females as to whether she can experience "emotional closeness" (58) with a member of that sex. Hence, she does not comprehensively define her sexual identity to Gisela, instead she purposefully addresses Gisela's concerns as regards dating her.

Overall, this passage illustrates how the way a sexual identity label is used connects with the identity category and specific elements of conceptualizing sexuality discursively constructed. Gisela relates the attributes she holds for the schemata 'bi' and 'lesbian' to Shai as addressee in epistemic sub-worlds in 44–45; the SILs are both used predicatively in adjectival forms in this

application to a singular specific person, that is, as property terms. Whereas Gisela at first demands from a potential future girlfriend an assertion of 'lesbian' identity in a copulative construction using LESBIAN as a noun – *a lesbian* – that is, as a class term and claiming a social identity, she later accepts that Shai fulfils the properties she is looking for without Shai identifying with this label, particularly faithfulness in a female-female romantic/sexual relationship. This attribute is counter-indicated for her by the label BI, which she uses in plural noun phrases both as premodifier and as a head noun without premodification, and in generic and specific reference, as well as predicatively assigning it both to an individual and to a group. Despite this variety of forms and constructions in which BI is featured, there is something absent from its range of functions. BI remains a sexual identity label used for anyone but oneself in this passage – *bis* are characterized here as others whom one would not date.

7.3 Post-'Gay'?

7.3.1 Binary labels, Kinsey or beyond in *My Invented Life*

My Invented Life is narrated by Roz (short for Rosella; Isis in the online chat room of her school's theatre group) in the present tense (story-now and speaker-now are the same). In the extract from Bjorkman's novel discussed in

this sub-section (reproduced in full in A4.3.5 on pp. 531–533), Roz wants to find out if a female acquaintance from theatre, Andie, is attracted to her but ends up in a discussion about and reflecting upon labels. LESBIAN is used three times and GAY, STRAIGHT, BISEXUAL, HOMOSEXUAL and HETEROSEXUAL once each. Thus, this TCP contains the widest range of SILs among the identified TCPs, though it contains only eight tokens (see 13.4 in A4.1). MyILife as a whole contains the widest range of the search terms used as SILs of any text in LBQ1YA (see Table 16). In addition, Bjorkman's novel has the second highest normalized frequency of BI(SEXUAL) in the corpus (0.18; following DownToTB with 0.23; Table 14 shows that MyILife tends towards the formal form whereas DownToTB favours the abbreviated one).

The analysis below first focuses on the conversation between Andie and Roz, then on Roz thinking about Andie's resistance to labelling, and finally on Roz finding out about Kinsey's sexual orientation scale. This follows the order in the extract. At this point in the novel Roz has come out at school as a lesbian to prove to her sister, Eva, who Roz thinks is a lesbian, that it is not a scary thing to do (see Bjorkman, 2009, p. 51). Roz takes this as an opportunity to explore her own sexuality beyond her attraction to Eva's boyfriend.

At the beginning of this text passage, Roz's sister and most of their friends have gone out so that only Andie is in their online chat room when Roz logs in. Roz states in the narrative that this is her "chance to ask [Andie] directly if

she's crushing on" Roz (8). Though they discuss attractions among the group of friends, Roz does not find out if Andie is attracted to her in their chat (9–34). They use "like like" to refer to feeling attracted to someone in contrast to just "like" as friends (see particularly 15). Roz brings up sexual orientation in the chat when Andie does not answer her questions about potential attractions between Andie and a boy called Nico.

> [21] Me: there's a rumor that u r a lesbian
>
> [22] Andie: lesbian schlesbian i hate labels *gnashes teeth*
>
> [23] Andie: i fall in love with who i fall in love with
>
> [24] Me: so u r bisexual?
>
> [25] Andie: [emoticon: angry face]
>
> [26] Me: so u like girls sometimes, I mean
>
> [27] Andie: doesn't every1?
>
> [28] Me: i mean like like
>
> [29] Andie: who do u like like?
>
> [30] Me: i dunno

In 21 Roz uses LESBIAN as a nominal predicate in a copulative, which is subordinated to an attribution of its proposition to unspecified members of their social environment. Thus, Roz introduces the possibility of Andie's sexual identity being same-sex to the conversation without taking responsibility for the assignment of the label to Andie, the addressee. Same-sex attraction is functionally the most prominent meaning element of LESBIAN and either-sex attraction of BISEXUAL. Meanwhile, Andie is portrayed as seeing SILs as inappropriate in describing her interests in love, similarly to Ava in

Pink, and as hating labels, like Shai in *Down to the Bone*. In contrast to Shai, though, who identifies as *a girl who likes girls*, in Andie's definition of her sexual/emotional orientation reference to one or more class(es) of humans is absent (*i fall in love with* is repeated after the relative pronoun *who* in 23).

Andie replies to 21 with a repetition of the word *lesbian* followed by "schlesbian" (22), which suggests a mocking tone. She explicates her attitude by stating "i hate labels" and transposing an angry to passively aggressive gesture into written communication (*gnashes teeth*, ibid.). Following this rejection of being labelled, Andie defines her sexual identity without using any label nor any other allusion to the current categorisation of sexual identities along sex/gender lines (23). Roz disregards this and Andie's expressed hatred of labels by assigning *bisexual* to her in 24. Even though "the morpheme *bi-* refers to [a sex/gender] binary" (Motschenbacher, 2018, p. 164), this label is portrayed as the way to make sense of Andie's definition of her sexuality for Roz – the interrogative portrays her as unsure about this while the conjunction *so* expresses a conceptual link. Andie replies to this only with an emoticon which represents an angry face (25). When Roz rephrases her question to enquire specifically about whether Andie is at times attracted to girls (26 and 28), Andie is still evasive though by posing counter-questions to Roz (27 and 29 and wraps up the conversation.

This leaves Roz without an answer to whether Andie is attracted to her and "wondering about labels [and] why Andie hates them so much" (37). For Roz, "labels help you figure out how to behave" (38) in dating. Following advice on how to "impress" (40) someone who for Roz falls into the subcategory of male people she calls "a brainy dude" (39), she contends that labels prevent one from falling for someone who cannot return one's attraction due to their sexual identity.

> [41] Or if you're a girl attracted to girls—aka a lesbian—you don't waste your time and heart crushing on a straight girl.

The generic *you* indicates that Roz thinks that this works for everyone, but the reader may also find themself specifically addressed, in particular if the reader is "a girl attracted to girls" (41). The phrase within dashes following this noun phrase equates such a girl to "a lesbian" by means of the acronym *aka* (short for, *also known as*). That is, any girl attracted to girls is included in the category 'lesbian' by Roz. Like "a brainy dude", the nominal "a straight girl" describes a subcategory. The sexual identity is thus conceptualized as a permanent characteristic of a type of girl. Furthermore, as Roz describes it, this simplification of dating by means of labels only works if one can be sure whether any particular girl belongs to the subcategory and that the sexual identity is permanent. As Roz has just experienced with Andie, some girls are not this easily categorized (also Ava in *Pink*, for instance). Besides, Roz can understand feeling animosity towards labels from her own experience in a

different domain – comparison between sisters (42). However, Roz does not move beyond the categorization of humans into classes defined by sex, and the definition of sexual orientation based on them.

In order "to learn more about categories", Roz logs "on to a gay teen Web site" (43). As premodifiers in the noun phrase, the SIL and "teen" characterize for whom, by whom and/or about whom the web site is. *Gay* is used inclusively here as Roz evidently expects a web site which she characterizes with this label to include information on categories which are of interest to her and/or apply to Andie, neither of whom are male (cf. Jules's use discussed in 7.2.1) or identify to themselves as exclusively homosexual.

Roz finds out about research attributed to Alfred Kinsey.

> [46] He wrote that sexual orientation is a continuum. [47] He even created a scale for people to rate themselves: 0 = exclusively heterosexual, 1–5 = the gray area in between, 6 = exclusively homosexual. [48] Who knew there was such a big gray area?
>
> [49] I know I'm not a 6, but who says I couldn't be a 1?

Though this conceptualization of sexual orientation as a continuum is new to Roz, she immediately applies Kinsey's scale to her own sexual identity. The clauses, in 49, in which the numbers function as labels do (in copulatives) are to be interpreted using the equations in 47. There the labels *heterosexual* and *homosexual* are pre-modified by the adverb "exclusively" and equated with, by means of the mathematical sign for 'equivalent to', the numbers "0" and "6" respectively. Thus, these sexual orientations are defined as the extremes on

the scale which are distinct from "1-5 = the gray area in between" by virtue of their exclusiveness to one sex. Roz reiterates the conceptualization of everything in between exclusive homosexuality and exclusive heterosexuality as a "gray area" in 48. Finally for the passage and chapter, in 49, Roz states that she knows that she is not exclusively homosexual and further uses Kinsey's scale to propose that possibly her own sexual identity is mostly heterosexual rather than exclusively so.

In sum, in this passage from Bjorkman's novel *My Invented Life*, the elements of conceptualization evoked by the SILs used at issue are the categorical boundaries between sexual orientations. Furthermore, whereas the narrator is happy to use both current labels and ones she only finds out about during the narrative passage, Andie rejects all labels Roz applies to her in their conversation. LESBIAN is used for "a girl attracted to girls", STRAIGHT for one who is not and BISEXUAL for Andie when she says that she falls in love with who she falls in love with. Similarly, HOMOSEXUAL, HETEROSEXUAL and the "gray area in between" are used to refer to opposites and a third category. In contrast, GAY is used inclusive of more than homosexual male.

7.3.2 "Lesbians aren't usually this touchy about their boyfriends" in *My Invented Life*

In this extract, Roz reports to her sister what she has experienced recently with Andie. This includes part of what happened in the narrative passage

discussed in the previous sub-section (TCP 14.4 in A4.1). The passage analysed in this one is reproduced in full in A4.3.6 (pp. 533–536). Below I first discuss the relationship of Roz's sister, Eva, to the label LESBIAN; then I explicate what is revealed about conceptualizations of 'dyke' and 'lesbian' in the sisters' discussion of their competition for Eva's boyfriend; thereafter I point out how for Eva same-sex sexual activity is linked to same-sex identity; next I turn to how Roz explains Kinsey's scale and her own sexual orientation to Eva; and finally, I elucidate how Roz and Eva judge Andie's definition of her sexual identity.

Two of the five instances of LESBIAN in the TCP are part of the phrase *Lesbian Report* (1 and 86), which is how the sisters refer to Roz telling Eva about being out as a lesbian. They also use the abbreviated form *L Report* (22) in the passage and elsewhere. In this extract, Eva shows interest in sexuality and female same-sex experience at times (in particular, 37, 41–42, and 63–64) when she feels confident that they cannot be overheard (see Roz's comments in 4, 36, and 97). Conversely, she reacts violently to the label spoken in public (86–93). As Eva turns out to be attracted to her best friend, Carmen, this behaviour may retrospectively be interpreted as anxiety about being associated with the identity 'lesbian'.

At the time of the TCP, however, Eva is with a boyfriend and in the passage accuses Roz of making attempts at stealing him. Based on this, Roz rejects her theory that Eva is a lesbian.

> [11] "I'm no threat," I say. [12] "I'm a dyke, remember?"
>
> [15] I'm guessing that lesbians aren't usually this touchy about their boyfriends. [16] My theory about Eva's sexual orientation—thin and shaky to begin with—enters its final death throes and expires on the threadbare carpet at my feet.

The parallel constructions in 11 and 12 equate being *no threat* with being *a dyke*. That is, in giving Eva the proposition of 12 as evidence for the proposition of 11, Roz relies on Eva to understand being a dyke as not being romantically and/or sexually interested in anyone's boyfriend. Formally, Roz self-identifies with DYKE in a copulative; but functionally she claims it only to try to appease Eva. That is, this is an instance of character interaction differing in identity portrayal to narratorial discourse situation. However, it is peculiar in that, as alluded to by the tag question in 12, Eva knows that Roz has claimed a same-sex identity but is only acting it to prove to Eva that being out is not that bad. Conversely, Roz supposing that Eva does not have a same-sex identity relies on her thinking that *lesbians*, as a class, are not concerned about competition as regards male affection. As Eva is, she cannot belong to that class.

When Eva has finished her rant, she asks Roz about the report and Roz tells her that while practicing for a play "Andie acted like she might kiss" Roz (33). Eva asks Roz

> [41] "What will you do if she does? [42] Kiss you, I mean."
>
> [43] "Kiss her back."
>
> [44] Eva squeezes the steering wheel with both hands, I'm guessing to keep herself from strangling me. [45] "I get it. [46] You're so engrossed in the role, you think you're a lesbian now."

Eva is shocked (44) by Roz's reply (43) to 41–42 and retorts to the matter-of-fact, unmediated and unhedged way with which Roz claims she would engage in same-sex behaviour by saying that Roz has been consumed by *the role* she is playing (46). This is manifest to her in that Roz identifies as a lesbian in thought as well as in performance – the copulative assignment is subordinated to a thought attribution in 46. It seems that, for Eva only thinking that one is *a lesbian* licenses such an unabashed assertion that one would engage in female same-sex activity.

Roz uses Kinsey's continuum of sexual orientations to define her sexuality in a way which allows her to be both interested in same-sex sexual activity and "boy-crazy", for which property she was known before taking up the role of out-lesbian (Bjorkman, 2009, p. 51).

> [51] Still, I'd like to know what she thinks of Kinsey's ideas.
>
> [52] "Pretend the dashboard is a line," I say. [53] "The far left equals lesbian and the far right equals heterosexual. [54] Everything in between is bisexual, okay?"

> [55] “If you say so,” she says, her eyes still focused on the opaque windshield.
>
> [56] “I’m about here,” I say, pointing to the glove compartment door. [57] “If Ms. Perfect came along, I could fall in love with her.” [58] Maybe.
>
> [59] “So you’re in love with Andie.” [60] She drops the steering wheel and flexes her fingers.
>
> [61] “Not exactly. [62] I’m just curious.”

In a car for American roads, the glove compartment is on the right-hand side so Roz points out her sexual identity as somewhere close but not equalling *heterosexual* (53, and see 56). This designation of her sexual identity roughly matches that in the TCP discussed in the previous sub-section where she postulated that she may be a 1 on Kinsey’s scale. (Note that in 58 she qualifies her communication to Eva with a “maybe” in the narratorial discourse situation.) There are some noteworthy differences though in how she describes Kinsey’s scale. Firstly, she drops the premodifier *exclusively* in equalling the extremes to labels. Secondly, she does not use *homosexual* but the sex-specific label *lesbian* to designate the opposite end to *heterosexual*. Thirdly, she uses *bisexual* for the space in between the extremes, instead of *the gray area*. Using *lesbian* makes the scale more specific to the situation of the sisters, who are female, and drops the label disfavoured in contemporary society. Without the premodifier, *lesbian* occupies only the space of the extreme while any deviation from being exclusively gynephilic is designated *bisexual*.

As a final note in the report, Roz asks Eva for her judgment of Andie's self-identification.

> [105] "Andie told me she falls in love with who she falls in love with.
> [106] Does that sound the same as bisexual?"
>
> [107] "More like confused."
>
> [108] "I thought you two were friends."
>
> [109] "In your mind, Chub."

In 105 Roz reports Andie's definition of her sexual identity in 23 of the previously discussed TCP from this novel. The repetition of "she falls in love with" implicates that Andie does not consider any parameter relevant. That is, she is portrayed as avoiding any specification to the point that the relative clause is technically redundant. Discursively, though, it answers to the contemporary expectation to specify the sex(es) of those one falls in love with. Roz is portrayed to want this expectation fulfilled – she asks her sister whether she would equate Andie's definition to *bisexual* (106), even though Andie rejected this when Roz suggested it to her in their online conversation (see the discussion in the previous sub-section). Unlike Andie's definition, the label *bisexual* is based on the parameter of sex/gender. Eva dismisses that Andie's definition could be equated to an established SIL by judging that Andie is *confused* (107, like Gisela does with Shai in 55 of the TCP discussed in 7.2.4). This evokes the idea that, if one does not identify with one of the recognized labels which are based on sex-of-object choice categories, one has not properly processed one's sexuality cognitively (cf. the TCPs discussed in

6.4, especially the one from WhoIAm). Roz judges that Eva's is not a friendly comment and Eva's reply ends the conversation about Andie. Sexuality is not mentioned (explicitly) thereafter.

In general, this extract is revealing about the sisters' relationship to each other but more specifically about their approach to encountering female same-sex sexuality. Whereas Roz seems to relish exploring this and claiming a same-sex or both-sex identity, Eva seems torn between her interest and society's judgements. Together with the previous passage from this novel, we can see how *My Invented Life* shows how a person can fluctuate between different conceptualizations of sexual orientation as they learn about it. Roz varies in whether she sees sexual identity as binary, for instance, classifying any "girl attracted to girls" as *a lesbian* and "a straight girl" as not (see previous sub-section), or 'lesbian' and 'dyke' as exclusively gynephilic identities and *bisexual* as covering everything along the sex-of-object choice scale between those and 'heterosexual'. In addition, the novel presents conceptualizing sexuality beyond those categories in the character of Andie. Roz has identified to her peers as 'dyke/lesbian', although she previously thought of herself as heterosexual. She rationalizes this to herself and Eva using Kinsey's continuum but reveals to the reader that this is only an option, not an identity she has decided upon.

7.3.3 "Which 'gay' does she mean?" in *Sugar Rush*

The character-narrator of *Sugar Rush*, fifteen-year old Kim, changes schools and best friends (she switches from the girl in charge at one school to the other) when her father becomes a single parent, due to her mother leaving the family for a younger man, and does not want to pay the school fees on his own. The narrative is told largely in the past tense from an unspecified but distant speaker-now but also features present tense in presenting the reflections of the character-narrator. One such reflection is the central SIL-dense paragraph in the TCP analysed in this sub-section – it is in present tense presenting the thoughts of Kim's fifteen-year-old self. All SIL-tokens are quoted below and the whole passage is reproduced in A4.3.7, pp. 537–539; it is listed as 20.1 in Table A4.1. The passage only features GAY and the central question is whether Maria Sweet (also known as Sugar, the new best friend) applies it to their situation in its sexual or its generally applicable pejorative meaning (see 3.2.4). Kim is portrayed to not identify as same-sex in the sense of a stable in-born identity and as at odds with the gay rights movement. Furthermore, like Shai, she does not identify with any label in the narratorial discourse situation at any point in the novel (no plot in A3.2). This is despite her sexual attraction to Maria, which is evident in the TCP as well as in other scenes. Maria's position is ambiguous – she may just be teasing Kim by showing concern for her and bestowing sexual favours on her.

A programme between Kim's old and new school has started in order to foster contact between their students, who tend to have distinct social backgrounds. In the scene of the TCP, Kim and Maria are about to visit Kim's old school where they might encounter Kim's formerly best friend Zoe. They are spending their morning off in a city park and Maria turns the conversation to "pay school" (47) and Kim's "girl" (40; see, in particular, 20 and from 32 onwards) when she starts smoking a joint (see 19 and 31). In 44 Kim starts smoking, too, to escape this conversation. This gives her a "weirdly sexy feeling" (52) and "sleepy pleasure" (53). In contrast, (according to Kim) Maria keeps her cunning wits about her even under the influence of drugs, though she does appear to change especially in that she loosens up sexually (see 59–62). In 93 Maria kisses Kim but breaks off telling her she might have something infectious (94–95) and it is not clear whether anything else of a sexual nature happens between them in the park – the narrative cuts to them meeting Zoe at her school. However, Kim also portrays her experience of the removal of a bee sting by Maria as sexual at the start of the scene and understands the phrase *putting your sting in someone*, which Maria uses, as metaphorical for making someone fall for one sexually, as seen in her using it to express that she has for Maria (see 1–16). Maria is also portrayed as interested in Kim in that she expresses protectiveness of Kim and jealousy at Zoe (see 56–57 and 70, respectively). But experiences at other points make Kim believe that this jealousy is non-sexual (see 82–83 quoted below).

The ambiguity of Zoe's jealousy crystallizes around her use of *gay* in sentence 74.

> [70] And I don't know if I don't like this Zoe because you hate her – or because you love her.' [71] She squinted at me through the smoke and smiled. [72] 'It's horrible, innit? [73] This situation. [74] It's so, SO gay.'
>
> [75] Gay. [76] I hate the way we use that word these days. [77] Just means anything we don't like, anything that's not cool, and as we're fifteen that's about ninety per cent of everything. [78] So socks are gay, spots are gay, science is gay – I mean, I'm not arguing here, they ARE all gay. [79] But things being the way they are, with my heart and stuff, I don't need my possible future sexual identity bandied about as a byword for everything that's rubbish. [80] Then, when Maria uses it like that, which 'gay' does she mean? [81] Does she mean she's got gay feelings about me? [82] Or does she just mean it's rubbish to have old and new best friends meeting up? [83] Well, I'll vouch for that one. [84] But as if the whole gay thing wasn't confusing enough already – did it really need this? [85] Gay is the new sad – it's official!

Kim states that the she hates how the age group she belongs to uses the word *gay* for anything they dislike and herself uses it in copulatives to exemplify its assignment to an assortment of teenage pet hates. This general usage pattern in her social environment makes it difficult for her to judge which meaning of GAY Maria intends to convey in reference to her envisioned encounter with Kim's former best friend. She may mean that the situation has made her realize that she has sexual feelings for Kim as she is jealous of Kim's "love" (70) for Zoe. But Kim bets that Maria means that she dislikes it as a meeting between "old and new best friends" is generally awkward. Meanwhile, Kim calls GAY her "possible future sexual identity" (82) and refers to same-sex sexuality as "the whole gay thing" which is "confusing" to her (84). This

indicates that Kim is aware that the label may apply to her but simultaneously distances herself from *being gay* (in contrast to Devon, see 6.2.1), that is, she does not see it as her past or present identity and considers gayness as confusing even without the contemporary polysemy of the word *gay*. Concluding, Kim states that *gay* for her now means 'sad', which is ironic as its earlier meaning is 'happy', this having been one of the ways in which the label, as used by the Stonewall generation, enacts a reconceptualization of homosexuality as positive.

To conclude, Kim does not embrace post-Stonewall discursive practices surrounding GAY. She experiences "things being the way they are, with my heart and stuff" as difficult and the polysemy of GAY as adding to the difficulties of navigating same-sex friendships which may turn sexual in young adulthood. Thus, she does not identify with GAY or any other currently established label. Besides, her same-sex attraction is part of what drives her story – it is about managing messy teenage life with a runaway mother and changes in her social relations.

7.4 Summary of Third Set of Analyses

Like those in the previous chapter, some characters in the TCPs analysed in this chapter are portrayed to conceptualize same-sex sexual identity as a

necessary consequence of female same-sex attraction. Some other characters in these seven passages from four novels, though, can be seen to challenge this link more or less fervently. In addition, these TCPs portray developments of conceptualization within one character and evolution of conceptualizations as a character interaction progresses.

In all novels from which TCPs were analysed in the third set, at least one character takes issue with all or one of the established labels investigated in this thesis or uses alternative linguistic means to talk about (female) same-sex attraction and those that experience it. For Kim in *Sugar Rush* the issue is the applicability of *gay* to both same-sex activity/desire and anything hated by contemporary youths (in Britain). Roz in *My Invented Life* discovers the Kinsey scale, which differentiates a large spectrum between exclusive same- and other-sex orientation, that is bisexualities, and applies it to herself. She finds it more difficult to accept Andie's definition of her sexual relations as socially uncategorized and her sister (Eva) judges Andie to be *confused*. Shai also encounters this judgment as she, like Andie, refuses to label herself. On the other hand, Shai does use social categorization when she describes herself as *a girl who likes girls*. Ava, character-narrator of *Pink*, takes issue with the male-prime of *homosexual* and a male character's conceptualization of *two kinds of gay*. Furthermore, similarly to *Down to the Bone* and *My Invented Life*, in *Pink* it is suggested that one can be same-sex attracted without adopting an *all-out*

sexual identity expression and that one does not have to choose between being 'gay' or 'straight' – one can be a combination or something else. These novels are on the higher end in terms of the frequency of the use of SILs in the corpus (see Table 14 and Table 16). *Down to the Bone* has, in fact, the highest absolute frequency and *My Invented Life* has the highest normalized frequency. This suggests that, in having a complicated relationship with SILs, the young women's narratives contain more tokens of them than those whose character-narrators have a more straightforward and accepting relationship with SILs.

7.5 Discussion of Analyses of Token-Cluster Passages

This section summarizes and discusses the portrayal of the relationships of the characters to SILs in the fifteen TCPs from eleven novels analysed in this and the previous chapter. The linguistic means of this portrayal are detailed, in particular those which could not be elucidated in the quantifying analysis (see section 4.3 and Chapter 5). This includes that the analysis of text passages in which SIL-/DoS-tokens occur extraordinarily densely can reveal alternative construals of same-sex sexuality and (dis)identifications which are portrayed by making reference to co-text instead of featuring a SIL-token in the construction itself. The following aspects of the research question are addressed:

- how perceptions of same-sex identity are expressed in the selected text passages,
- how the intrinsic link between attraction and identity is constructed and not challenged in the majority of the TCPs,
- how the refusal to label (oneself) is communicated and received in those passage in which it occurs, and
- what further significance of same-sex attraction is reproduced by the use of which SILs.

This chapter and section will conclude with a summary comparison of the characters featured as regards whether in admitting same-sex attraction they accept a sexual identity (label) recognized as a social category.

The co-text of a signifier within a noun phrase referencing a class of people defined (partly) by its sign conveys attitudes and explicitly constructs meaning elements in many of the instances of this construction in the TCPs analysed. This includes references to other- or same-sex identified people as well as to the sex-categories of humans and combinations of these designations, for instance same-sex identified males and other-sex identified females. Furthermore, these noun phrases feature both as individuative and collective generic reference – a lesbian is a woman attracted to other women, lesbians love women instead of men. Prominently, these categories are the basis of sexual categorization linked to social identities. This includes that one

individual who has exhibited a certain property suffices for characters in these passages to judge this to be a characteristic of the whole class, for instance, unfaithfulness in *bis* (Gisela in *Down to the Bone*). This normative judgment highlights that there are hierarchies even within the LGBTQ+ community which are manifested by prejudices against people in whom non-normative category properties intersect, such as female persons whose sexual orientation is not exclusive to one sex.

Another aspect of this is that the passages portray both out-group and in-group views of most labels but no in-group view of 'bi(sexual)'-identity (see also discussion of indefinite noun phrases in 5.3). Such views are also conveyed using attributions and hypothetical instances of SILs in the above construction or in copulatives. An out-group view which is thus expressed in two passages, the one from *Kissing Kate* and the earlier one from *Hello, Groin*, is that females are objects of male pleasure even in lesbianism. Conversely, in *Down to the Bone* lesbians are allegedly seen as a threat to "common decency", which evokes heteronormative views of women as sexually passive (serving male pleasure, not their own). Similarly, in Dylan a character is portrayed to eventually feel liberated from penile-focused sex by embracing lesbianism, although she sees same-sex relationships as deficient due to the impossibility of sexual reproduction. Not sex-specifically, the "gay community" is portrayed for Devon as an aid in seeing her same-sex identity as positive –

herself as a member of a collective social identity, not as having a pathological condition or engaging in chosen behaviour. As well as such phrases, meta-linguistic uses of SILs portray attitudes towards the people these signifiers define. In the explanations to the little sisters analysed in 6.2.3 and 6.2.4, this involves co-textually constructed links between words claimed by the designated community versus pejorative words, and positive versus negative views.

Mostly in these passages, avoiding to claim a same-sex identity and failing to adhere to the social group's norms, such as exclusivity in sex-based orientation, is portrayed as threatening the validity of same-sex attraction. That is, same-sex attraction is intrinsically linked to same-sex identity – you cannot be attracted to females and/or have been involved sexually with a female as a female without being *gay/lesbian/queer/a dyke* (the latter are used synonymously as exclusive of either-sex attraction in the texts). In particular, Clemmie in *365 Days* is portrayed as deducing identity from her attraction to a member of one rather than the other sex. Conversely, prohibition of identity in the social environment of her deceased father is presented as the reason for Devin to have taken so long to recognize her same-sex attraction. In other passages as well, same-sex attraction is portrayed as having always been a property of the person and realizing it as going hand in hand with admitting same-sex identity. The absence of BI(SEXUAL) as a label to identify oneself with,

or at least as a positively-evaluated collective identity, adds to this portrayal, erasing either-sex sexual orientation as valid and bisexual identity as intelligible. Moreover, the coherence of the narrative is not something that dictates the absence of narratorial contemplation of orientation as possibly not exclusive to one sex. Thus, those passages in which character-narrators are not even seen to make the argumentative step to reject either-sex attraction, as well as the portrayal in the flashback in *Kissing Kate* of Kate as getting away with judging her attractions against 'gay' rather than 'bisexual' identity, contribute to the construction of either-sex orientation as a discursive, and hence conceptual (socio-cognitive) gap. The lack of visibility in contemporary society of bisexuality, in contrast to same-sex identity, makes this portrayal seem realistic.

Even when characters are seen to dis-identify with an exclusively same-sex sexual identity label if experiencing same-sex attraction, this is portrayed as a precarious option. Part of this is that characters such as Andie in *My Invented Life* and Shai in *Down to the Bone* explicitly express that they hate labels in order to answer to their sexuality being defined. Furthermore, both are labelled *confused* when they refuse to express their sexuality using a recognized label. Meanwhile, another (maybe more viable) option is presented in creating new labels from established ones to differentiate between same-sex attraction in oneself and same-sex attraction lived as all-out

identity. Again, this is accompanied by explicit articulation in language of a challenge to the link between attraction/orientation and a certain identity – MEAN and MAKE (as verbs) are used in contructions conveying this. Thus, the TCPs portray individual meaning-making by discursively reconstructing labels and refusing to accept labelling associated with adopting a normative lifestyle.

Relatedly, implications of sexual identity beyond attraction/relations are subjected to scrutiny in these passages. A 'gay' identity is most likely to be presented as 'normal' but conforming to heteronormative ideals is presented as the key issue. The main aspect of this is that approval of a woman in contemporary culture is linked to having success, which in turn is linked to having a family including a male partner. Female young adults are socially (discursively) conditioned to see happiness in this, represented by Dylan in *Hello, Groin*. Constance, meanwhile, expresses that if you do not conform to this, you do not appear as 'normal' and hence as deviating from 'straight', that is, as 'queer'. Overall, worries attending non-conformity are portrayed as sex-specific and often accompanied by the use of a sex-specific label. In other words, lexico-grammatical patterns are instantiated in, and socio-cognitive structures inferrable from, this analysis of LBQ1YA which may be described as sexist heteronormativity.

Also, elements of gender reversal in conceptualizing same-sex identity are manifested in these passages, such as, that females who are attracted to the same-sex exhibit masculine characteristics and conversely males who are same-sex attracted exhibit feminine characteristics. On the other hand, coming out is presented as something same-sex attracted people do, not other-sex attracted people. Thus, entering heteronormative social identity is unmarked discursively, that is, not conceptualized as a process. And, heteronormative identity is associated with conforming to gendered expectations while homonormative identity is associated with rebelling against these. Conceptualizing two sexes and two sexual orientations is meanwhile an element of both these normative discursive structures. Individuals who refuse to conform to either of these are judged accordingly.

TCPs in LBQ1YA have been recognized as tending to feature coming out (see 5.2.2). The analysis of the fifteen passages selected for a closer look has shown varied relationships of the characters to accepting same-sex identity and a socially recognized label in privately and/or publicly asserting that identity. These extracts also feature manifold worries that may attend to this process. A common one, in the novels from which TCPs were selected at least, is that the love interest is a new or long-term friend of the character-narrator and she does not want to jeopardize their friendship with admitting her attraction. The next paragraph contrasts pairs of characters from these novels

as regards the (dis)connection between identity (labels) and attraction (and/or relations) in which they are portrayed.

Jules, a male secondary character in *Pink*, identifies as *homosexual/gay* but not with meaning elements beyond same-sex attraction (and the labels that express these implications for him, namely *theatregay* and *mincing queer*). He is comfortable and confident in this, unlike Mike, the female character-narrator of *Pretend You Love Me*, who agonizes over being called *queer* but gives in admitting that one cannot be *a little bit gay*, that is, same-sex attraction means *queer* as well as *gay* identity. Shai, narrator of *Down to the Bone*, engages in same-sex relations while consistently rejecting (sexual identity) labels for herself. In contrast, Dylan, narrator of *Hello, Groin*, is portrayed in limbo between sexual identities (labels applied in subordinate clauses construing alternative sub-worlds) and maintains an other-sex relationship and a same-sex friendship until she admits/accepts same-sex identity. Conversely, Ava, narrator of *Pink*, has come out as *a lesbian* but living that identity in her local community and other-sex attraction make her re-consider. Contrastingly, the narrator of *Quite an Undertaking: Devon's Story*, has not had access yet to a local same-sex identified community but identifies with the gay community she encounters online. Like Dylan, Devon is portrayed as isolated initially by her family, which is perceived by her as heteronormative with the accompanying expectations and attitudes. The narrator of *Sugar Rush*, Kim,

engages in same-sex activity but is concerned with the usage of *gay* in contemporary youth culture, not with sexual identity in itself (her social troubles are not mainly due to the same-sex nature of her attractions). On the other hand, Lissa is scared of same-sex sexual identity, in the form of the use of a denoting label, due to how she imagines to be treated by her peers if they think it evident that the category applies to her. She is one step further, though, than Constance, who has to overcome her own negative view of same-sex relations as linked to non-normative identity to consider it possible for herself to be *gay*. Whereas Constance is aided in this by her counsellor coming out to her, Roz – the narrator of *My Invented Life* – comes out to make it less scary for her sister. Roz, meanwhile, struggles to overcome the binary and moreover sex-based conceptualization of sexuality/identity to recognize Andie and her sister for their orientations. Finally, both Devin and Clemmie only come out to themselves in their respective TCPs. The narrator of *Who I Am* is worried about losing her love interest's friendship and being bullied for associating with her, while the narrator in *365 Days* fears rejection by her parents. As for Devon and Dylan, this is fuelled by heteronormative expectations, and additionally by fear of *all-out* identity expression.

In these qualitative analyses I have elaborated on a range of functions of SILs in passages from LBQ narratives featuring reflection on the character-narrator's sexual identity, the conceptualization of same-sex sexuality as

linked to a social identity/category, and/or SILs as linguistic expressions. Whereas the passages analysed in the previous chapter only portray characters who see sexual identity as either same-sex or other-sex, in this chapter passages were analysed in which at least one character is not so sure about same-sex sexual attraction (or activity) necessarily meaning (exclusive) same-sex identity. Put differently, whereas in the seven novels represented in Chapter 6 same-(or other-)sex sexuality is seen as a stable identity (i.e. not changing over the course of a person's lifetime), in the four novels represented in this chapter sexuality is seen by some young adult characters as more fluid – not defined by sex-of-object choice, still not fixed, or a matter of love rather than sexual desire – and also by one (at least at times) as a continuum including either-sex orientation. Unlike the quantitative analyses in Chapter 5, the analyses of TCPs have made it possible to investigate certain co-texts of the SIL-tokens, in particular, as to which associations of labels with which meaning elements are constructed or deconstructed. In the next chapter I will look in detail at the specifics of the labels investigated in this thesis both as regards patterns in their (dis)associated meaning elements and the relative frequencies of their functions in the corpus as a whole (see especially 8.2).

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This chapter provides the overall conclusions to the thesis. Its research has been focused on answering the following question for my corpus.

> How are the relationships of characters to sexual identity labels (SILs) portrayed in LBQ1YA, and, in particular, how do the portrayed relationships differ between labels as regards self-identification by the novels' female character-narrators?

Whereas section 8.1 discusses the usage patterns of the investigated SILs as a set, the next section differentiates between the labels. These sections conclude on how the meaning elements (dis)associated with certain labels connect with the preferential trends observed in the corpus and together characterize how LBQ characters relate to these labels.

In these sections as well as the remaining sections of this final chapter, the research questions as stated in the research design chapter (4.2.3) are answered in their wider implications. As a reminder, these are

1. a) What are contemporaneously widely recognized SILs used for in LBQ1YA?

b) Which range of relationships is portrayed for GAY, LESBIAN, DYKE, QUEER, BISEXUAL, STRAIGHT, HETEROSEXUAL and HOMOSEXUAL, respectively?

2. a) What does this indicate about the underlying cognitive, semantic, and social structures of contemporary labelling/categorization of (same-sex) sexuality?

   b) From a perspective which endorses the representation of human diversity, what does this mean for LBQ YA literature?

The last question assumes that it is important for young people, who are the future of our society, that this literature is the best it can be. From my (queer) perspective this includes that it should open up as many possibilities for young people as can be imagined. What the results of the presented investigation may mean for the (LBQ YA) readers of the corpus texts, which are part of Young Adult literature featuring female same-sex attraction, is extrapolated in section 8.3.

A part of this project has been finding suitable tools to enlighten the portrayal of the relationship of female characters to SILs in novels. Section 8.4 first explicates the methodological advances that have been made in this project focusing on the developments for Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) of fictional narratives, research on category labels, and on the linguistic construction of sexuality. That section also discusses the limitations

of my approach in its focus on the usage patterns of established SILs. In conjunction I provide indications towards useful further research enabled by these developments as well as research which could not be conducted within this PhD project, but which would complement it. The final section (8.5) comprises my closing thoughts on the importance of investigating literature such as that collected in the corpus for my PhD for furthering and improving both academic practice and the representation of diversity down to cognitive, semantic, and social structures. As regards gender and sexualities activism and studies in general, as well as Queer cognitive CADS and literature featuring sexuality for minors, in particular LBQ YA, it is true that we have come a long way but there is still further to go.

This thesis has explored how first-person narratives featuring female same-sex attraction published as novels for young adults portray their character(-narrator)s' relationship to sexual identity labels. In this exploration it has been crucial to use a bottom-up approach to the data, starting with the concordance lines rather than results of corpus analyses based on inferential statistics. This was combined with an approach to syntax and lexis focusing on lexico-grammatical constructions and their construction of text worlds, drawn from cognitive linguistics/stylistics rather than formal grammar and semantics. Finally, the close-text analyses were conducted alongside corpus-wide quantitative analysis. Thus, I was able to, for instance, trace the nuances of

using category labels in indefinite noun phrases for describing a category (e.g. in definitions) or for reference to an individual or a group that can be described by a category, or in copulative constructions as property terms for assigning the categorizing meaning element to an individual or a group. From the investigation emerged, in particular, a scarcity of engagement with the possibility of attraction not exclusive to one sex/gender and of using BI(SEXUAL) as a designation for a community in which such attraction is validated. These traces of mono-normativity in LBQ1YA are corroborated by the scarcity of LBQ YA novels contemporary to the juncture in the late 1980s to early 1990s of the bisexual movement with the reclamation of *queer* to question the binaries dominant in Western conceptualizations of sex, gender and sexualities. There might be a tension perceived in calling for (more) character-narrators being written who use the label BI(SEXUAL) and a queer perspective but, as Gurevich et al. (2007) put it,

> the very status of bisexuality as an ambiguous identity within the binary logic of monosexism […] gives it the potential to reveal (and even revel in) the inevitable inconsistencies and discontinuities within all identities. There is another tension at work here – between what is seen as a totalizing impingement of the bisexual signpost (i.e. the bisexual label runs the risk of fixing identities, in much the same way as the labels straight and gay)

> and a woefully persistent cultural incomprehensibility of bisexuality. The resolute desire to dismantle the limits of existing signs stands alongside the equally insistent demand to be understood, or at least admitted as an ontological possibility. (p. 224)

In other words, while labelling (some)one's identity in any way including as BI(SEXUAL) potentially reifies essential identity and constructs normativities, (re)presenting the use of BI(SEXUAL) and individual meaning-making attending it in YA would contribute to young people comprehending sexual orientation not exclusive to one sex/gender as a possibility. Fifty years after Stonewall social media provides a platform and is used as such to spread the narratives of people in the public eye who are attracted to more than one sex/gender or consider people irrespective of sex/gender to be potential intimate partners – YA contemporary to that should reflect this visibility and provide models to its readers for negotiating their experiences and social identity in relation to that.

8.1 The Portrayal of Female Characters' Relationships to Sexual Identity Labels in the Corpus

This section is subdivided into three sub-sections – each addressing an aspect of the questions answered in my research. The first sub-section focuses on the linguistic means of SIL-character relationship portrayal in LBQ1YA and the consequent investigative means. The next sub-section summarizes the analysed usage patterns and how they reveal the (re)production in the investigated texts of the socio-historical and in particular discursive environment in which these YA novels are set. The final sub-section complements this by introducing the indicated cognitive, semantic, and social structures and what the meaning implications of SILs import for relationships.

8.1.1 Means

Regarding the linguistic means by which relationships of characters to SILs are portrayed in novels, the assignment of such labels to or designation therewith of specific persons is most important. In first-person narratives, the most straightforward case is the use of the deictic pronoun *I* as the subject of a copulative in the narratorial discourse situation, that is, narratorial self-identification. Other pronouns, such as *you* and *she*, also mostly straightforwardly indicate the relationship between the source of the assignment and its target, that is, the person the label is applied to. Some other constructions are also routinely recognisable in this regard, for instance the

vocative use of a label as addressee-labelling. However, both in directly presented character interaction and in the narrative, the reporting of another discursive interaction and the triggering of sub-worlds may involve indirect means of referent identification. Thus, the portrayal of a narrator's thoughts on people's reactions to a (hypothetical) scenario of coming out at times features the name or another designation of the character-narrator which places the self in social relations (for example, a narrator's reference to herself as *a daughter*). Overall, in many cases it is not possible to annotate the usage features of interest to this investigation due to purely formal features of the linguistic expressions used in novels. This may be for the simple reason that to identify as which sex (and gender) a person referred to by their name (e.g. Jamie) is constructed in a text world one has to know whether that name is revealed in the text to designate a cisgender male, a cisgender female(, a non-binary person, a trans* person) or is left unspecific in this respect.

Besides applying to specific persons, SILs can be used to refer to social groups generically. Such references are used in the corpus to attribute certain characteristics to humans in the designated category and/or to describe one's relationship to the community thus labelled. For similar purposes references to the designated sexual identity are used. Relationships to SILs are also expressed in direct reference to the sign, the word (signifier) and/or the concept (signified). Meta-linguistic references may involve the repetition of

the label and/or of (spelling) variations thereof, for instance, to mock the signifier's potency. An assortment of labels may also co-occur, in meta-usage as well as copulative and other constructions, in order to question which ones apply to a character in whose opinion. In this respect, as in many others, modality and negation are frequently used linguistic means of SIL-character relationship portrayal in the investigated corpus. In contrast, the pre-modification by category labels of nominals which do not refer to persons plays a relatively small role in the texts investigated. In fact, most instances annotated as Not_Person indirectly refer to the community specified by the pre-modifying label(s), for instance by metonymically referring to a space or media for this community.

Throughout the project, corpus methods have been used rather innovatively to reveal SIL-character relationships in LBQ1YA. One of the reasons for this is that widely used tools were not suited to my data. For instance, collocation would have needed a greater dispersion of the tokens across the narratives or a larger set of novels so that a small number of token-clusters do not make up as large a proportion of the tokens of a word form or lemma.

The patterning of the occurrences of SILs and related terms (DoS-tokens of the search terms) across the narratives, though, is a discursive phenomenon which can be revealed by concordance plots. Furthermore, the clustering of

SIL/DoS-tokens in text passages has enabled the investigation of the usage and meanings of SILs in extended co-texts (beyond concordance lines) based on a principled selection. The absence of SILs in large stretches of, and even whole, texts in the specialized corpus investigated indicates that SILs do not necessarily play a major role (throughout) YA novels with LBQ first-person narrators in which female same-sex attraction (FSSA) identifiably plays a major role in the narrative. A related phenomenon which had to be accounted for is the polysemy/homonymy of the search strings, that is, all node words in the concordance can be used in domains other than sexuality, in addition to their SIL-usage, in these texts. Quantitatively this is most significant as regards STRAIGHT (by a long way). This is best taken into account by manual annotation in the absence of automatic taggers sufficiently developed for this purpose.

Meanwhile, corpus linguistics is best suited to provide an overview of the usage patterns of SILs in a comprehensive set of texts. Moreover, the combination thereof with close-text analysis informed by (Queer) Discourse Studies and cognitive linguistics (of all concordance lines as well as token-cluster passages) has enabled a bottom-up interpretation of the patterns observed quantitatively. On the most general level, I observed that high (normalized) frequency as well as absence of SILs in a novel can indicate portrayal of rejection of labels (explicit and implicit, respectively), whereas

novels with a normalized frequency in the mid-range for SILs in the corpus tend to portray their character(-narrator)s in a straightforwardly accepting relationship to these category labels.

8.1.2 Functions

This sub-section addresses the usage of SILs generally in the fictional narratives in the corpus collected for this PhD (RQ1a). Section 8.2 adds to this by detailing the labels' distinctive usage ranges (RQ1b). The focus is on the female same-sex attracted and/or sexuality questioning first-person narrators (as indicated by the main RQ). The overall answer to RQ1a is that SILs are used to present these characters' negotiation of their (social) environment – their peer group(s) and families as well as their culture more generally. Navigating societal structures and associated discursive practices is something young adults need to learn, and which is one of the remits of literature written for them. For contemporary teenagers questioning their sexuality, SILs are part of this.

This is reflected in that this negotiation occasions SIL-usage in most of the investigated narratives. To the greatest extent this revolves around what is commonly known as *coming out*, accepting same-sex identity and a socially recognized label in asserting that identity, in private and/or publicly. In addition and/or conjunction, discussion of (including private reflection on)

same-sex sexuality, relationships, orientation, labels, and identified people has been observed in token-cluster passages (TCPs).

It is the social function of (sexual identity) labels to perpetuate categories formed for collective experiences, that is, those shared discursively between individuals – YA novels are one way of sharing them. Conversely, experiences shared rarely, if at all, may cease to be (re)produced as categories or not be called into being in the first place by SILs repeatedly functioning to reference them or groups of people having similar experiences. In LBQ1YA either-sex attraction is not widely made relevant and meaningful, nor validated as a social category (see further sub-section 8.2.3 on the absence of BI(SEXUAL) on certain facets of functions). On the other hand, from a queer perspective, absence of SILs and other discursive structures reproducing sexual orientation categories may be welcome.

However, given its scope this project has not investigated the texts in which SILs are absent or rare. Of the three novels which do not contain any tokens of the search terms in a sexual sense, the set up of BetweenYM promises the most as regards queer potential. Its character-narrator has a sexual affair with a teacher specified to be female but in the end kisses her best friend who is only refered to as *you*, that is in their relationship to the first-person narrator not as an entity recognized socially by a name. Hence, throughout the narrative, whether the relationship of the character-narrator to that person

becomes sexual has no implications for her social identity – she may be same-sex or either-sex oriented. In the absence of SILs the sex of her partners is (likely to be) not portrayed to bear on her public life but as a matter *Between You & Me*.

The entities to which SILs are applied do not show the same pattern in LBQ1YA as in general corpora or corpora with specific related foci but of a different genre. In my corpus, three quarters of human referents (to whom SILs annotated for usage features are applied) are female and slightly over half of entities labelled are specific persons. Thus, investigating a set of narratives by LBQ young adults makes it possible to identify patterns in the extent and way SILs (including female-specific ones) are used for females in published texts of a personal nature. Phrases such as *gay marriage* feature only comparatively rarely and in their personal implications rather than as the subject of debates of its legal status (cf. studies referenced in 3.2.4). Instead of discussing the inclusiveness of various umbrella terms, acronyms, or binomials theoretically, this research has shown to which extent which labels are portrayed as available for cisgender female (self-)identification (see next section).

One of the main functions of SIL-tokens in the investigated corpus is presenting the perceived application of labels to specific persons. To portray the intricacies of who may claim or think that a certain label applies to whom

on which grounds, as well as the reporting thereof and the attribution of such thoughts, copulative constructions assigning same-sex denoting SILs to specific persons are often subordinated, once or several times (nesting of sub-worlds). The implications of SILs thus presented are part of the discursive structures (re)produced in these texts, hence, of the linguistic construction of (same-sex) sexuality. In contrast, only a small proportion of the SIL-tokens used in LBQ1YA simply and solely assert a specific sexual identity/ orientation, especially of those used for self-identification. However, this may be expected to be their main function in novels in which someone feels attracted to someone else and hence has to express that attraction to their love interest in order to start a relationship.

Overall, dealing with labels as applied to someone (especially oneself) by others is a prominent function of SIL-usage in the corpus. Thereby the usage patterns observed reveal the reproduction of the socio-historical environment in which these YA novels are set (in almost all novels in LBQ1YA). That is, though in contemporary societies internal homophobia is reduced due to widespread acceptance of *gay people*, it is replaced in the majority of texts in the investigated corpus by internalized social categorization as a same-sex attracted person. Of these texts again the majority portray their character-narrators as contemplating their category membership as sex-specific, indicated by the use of female-specific SILs in narratorial self-identification.

8.1.3 Structures

This sub-section is concerned with the semantic field of SILs (see Figure 2) and the knowledge structures evoked by its lexical items serving as an introduction to the next section in which these are detailed. Therein gaps in usage are judged by what is possible conceptually. However, thinking beyond the conceptual field, that is towards non-polar sexual identity, is limited in these sections as the focus of the research question to be answered is on SILs which belong within the field (but see sections 8.3 and 8.4).

The analyses in this thesis have shown that and how the labels investigated function to construct sexual identities as intrinsically linked to the attraction a person experiences towards male and female people. Moreover, the instantiations of SILs in the lexico-grammatical structures of LBQ1YA draw conceptual boundaries between homo and hetero and male and female, whereas the questioning of these binaries is attended by questioning stable sexual identity. Bisexual identity is bracketed by these structures. This is substantiated by the infrequency of the label itself and/or the way in which character(-narrator)s are presented to deduce their sexual identity from their attraction to persons of one sex. Such default inferences indicate and perpetuate socio-cognitive structures in which binary sexual identity is hegemonic. These intersecting mechanisms of discursive erasure have been revealed by my Queer CADS approach as it has included both qualitative and

quantitative analyses. The latter show that lexico-grammatical structures which evoke conceptualization of sexual attraction as necessarily linked to an identity which prescribes exclusivity of sexual orientation to one sex are predominant in LBQ1YA.

Dominant socio-cognitive structures are (re)produced in the texts investigated also in that in most novels in the corpus this link is unquestioned. Furthermore, for most characters using SILs in these texts, persons who engage in same-sex relations (sexual activity and/or romantic relationships) are socially categorized as other and appropriately labelled by means of a same-sex denoting label by their social environment. That is, they are seen as not 'normal' in various ways, or at least further schematic/meaning elements are ascribed to them in conjunction with sexual identity.

In response some characters portrayed in the novels re-affirm 'gay' as one kind of 'normal'. Meanwhile, the use of sex-specific labels is more likely to be accompanied by articulating further implications of same-sex identity and conversely implications tend to be sex-specific (for instance, behaviours associated traditionally with males are associated with same-sex oriented females). DYKE is especially associated with othering via addressee-labelling in pejorative ways; concomitantly, this label is not portrayed as a viable option for self-identification most of the time. QUEER and BI(SEXUAL) also appear as precarious options in most text worlds; particularly, they are not

conceptualized within the range of 'normal'. Moreover, DYKE and QUEER are used like LESBIAN and GAY without consideration of either-sex attraction, and BI(SEXUAL) is relatively infrequently used irrespective of usage feature investigated and is absent in most (con)texts. Other-sex denoting SILs are used in contradistinction to same- and either-sex denoting ones, which are used more so for making further distinctions (beyond orientation). In the corpus of LBQ narratives HOMO(SEXUAL) is used less than GAY for females.

Hence, normativities governing forms of non-heterosexuality in contemporary Western cultures are manifest in the corpus, as is heteronormativity. The meaning elements of each SIL, differentiated in the next section, relate to the overall research question in that what a label is perceived to mean by a character is often crucial in how they relate to that label.

8.2 The Meaning Elements of SILs evoked in the corpus

8.2.1 GAY and LESBIAN

The usage of LESBIAN and GAY in the corpus indicates that 'lesbian' and 'gay' identity are the socially approved of ways of living same-sex sexuality in contemporary Western cultures as represented in YA novels with LBQ first-person narrators. That is, they are used extensively and in most novels (in

LBQ1YA) preferred over other SILs as well as associated with accepting same-sex orientation. However, in the novels we also find portrayals of conflict over (socially) imposed ways of being 'lesbian' and/or 'gay'.

For female characters this is especially portrayed in conjunction with the use of *a lesbian*. In other words, for the sex-specific label associated with the 1970s rights movements the portrayal of further implications is more expansive than for GAY. Furthermore, LESBIAN is linked to a greater extent to social relations. Relatedly, Motschenbacher (2018) found that among the nominal R1 collocates of the label "one finds a number of family-related terms (*parents, families, mothers, daughter, mother*)" (p. 161), whereas for the other labels he investigated, which are all non-sex-specific, at most two of the following are collocates in the top 30: *parents*, *parent* and *family*. This indicates that females, even those in same-sex relationships or same-sex identified, are judged against their (social) role within the heteronormative family unit. This and further normative elements of contemporary discursive structures are seen in LBQ1YA in the expectations the character-narrators encounter. Sexist heteronormativity has been seen in the TCP analyses, including Dylan's preference for having children in a heterosexual relationship (see section 6.2.2). Furthermore, the expectations character-narrators encounter also indicate mono-normativity structuring conceptualization of sexual relations, homonormatively as well as heteronormatively. For instance, when Roz asks

her father about how he would feel about a lesbian daughter he replies that for him and her mother "it wouldn't change anything" but adds: "Of course, we'd be sad about no grandchildren" (MyILife, p. 79). That is, he assumes that "a lesbian" would not have biological children to which Roz replies: "Lesbians have ovaries, Dad" (ibid.). Thus, the father (re)presents post-Stonewall acceptance of 'lesbian' identity by the out-group with attending normative conceptualization of sexual reproduction only within the traditional family unit. In constrast, Roz alludes to the biological prerequisites still being there in same-sex identified females. Such possibilities as two females in a same-sex relationship teaming up with a man to have children, involving other-sex non-monogamous sexual actions, are not socially recognized indicating mono-normativity.

That same-sex oriented females are seen by their social environment as 'lesbian' rather than 'gay' is also manifested in that LESBIAN is used more than GAY in generic and third-party reference to females in the corpus. For references to female same-sex sexual activity the sex-specific label also tends to be used, that is to say, as SILs are rarely used to refer to acts in the corpus, relative to the other category labels investigated. Meanwhile, sexual activity and romantic relationships as well as sexual attraction to someone of the same sex are constructed as the properties which are crucial in social categorization as same-sex oriented; that is, if you have same-sex relations and/or desires,

you are *lesbian*/*gay*. Expressing solely these categorising properties tends to occur with GAY rather than LESBIAN.

Regarding labelling female characters, there is no explicit rejection by female characters of GAY as male in LBQ1YA, but two instances of questioning its sole applicability to males (see 3.2.4 for its general usage bias towards males). The prominence of LESBIAN and GAY relative to each other depends on the measure looked at – generic, specific, self-identification, and so forth – and varies largely by novel. Thus, whether GAY or LESBIAN is used more than the other for identifying female characters appears to be authorial choice. This is also supported by the fact that GAY is more frequent than LESBIAN in the three novels by Peters, which are set in the US, as well as in the three novels by Payne, which are set in the UK (see R_ALoveS, Keep_YaS, PYouLoveM, MeAtYou_, 365Days and A365Days in Table 14).

Overall, the usage of LESBIAN and GAY reflects the achievements of 1970s activism. But the greater visibility brought about by these has also resulted in some new negative meanings being associated with the terms. This is manifest for GAY, especially in Kim's reflection on the troubles its new polysemous usage brings for her (see 7.3.3). Being *a lesbian*, meanwhile, at times still carries the meaning of being a feminist in the sense of disassociating from men and shedding aspects of femininity associated with male pleasure and the disempowerment of women in patriarchy. However, LESBIAN as a political,

primarily anti-sexist rather than sexual, identity is hardly manifest. In other words, in the corpus focusing on FSSA, it is such attraction that leads the character-narrators to consider same-sex identity with or without its female specific implications (which at times are normative and have to be aligned with or struggled against), not identification with LESBIAN as a political identity which leads to same-sex relations. Furthermore, the colloquial variants of LESBIAN included in the search terms seem to be similar in usage to DYKE, which is still common as an insult.

8.2.2 QUEER and DYKE

Of the two labels which have recently undergone partial reclamation in Anglophone Western societies investigated in this thesis the sex-specific one had been less studied beforehand. Most notable about DYKE in LBQ1YA has been that it tends to be used alongside LESBIAN. In particular, four novels feature factual self-identitfication in the narratorial discourse situation with LESBIAN as well as DYKE (see Figure 28 and Figure 33) and only one features a joint identification with GAY and DYKE (PYouLoveM, see Figure 36) – none features narratorial self-identification solely with DYKE, which is the case for LESBIAN and GAY. This partial reclamation of DYKE is illustrated by the TCP analysed from WhoIAm (in 6.4.1) in which Devin first appropriates this label, which has been used to insult her, for self-identification in her thoughts but then switches to using LESBIAN for herself in her narrative. In addition, in the

texts investigated this label is not more strongly associated with masculine traits than its sex-specific counterpart more established in positive out-group reference, LESBIAN.

The academic usage of QUEER is not instantiated in this specialized corpus of personal narratives, but it is used to refer to activism and in particular spaces/groups for those who identify as other than 'straight' (cf. Motschenbacher's results from a reference corpus cited in 3.2.4). The metaphorical extensions of STRAIGHT in their antonymic link to QUEER (discussed in 3.2.4) are manifest in LBQ1YA in that QUEER identity is portrayed to be ascribed to those who do not conform to heteronormativity. Relatedly, QUEER is portrayed in most novels with negative associations or not used at all. Furthermore, it is not portrayed as an option for self-identification with the exception of the portrayal of its characters' relationships to it in Crush2006, in which it is even the sole label used factually in narratorial self-identification (see Figure 35). Regarding male characters, it is associated with effeminate behaviour and all-out identity expression more generally, that is, with a homonormative lifestyle.

In sum, these labels are not portrayed as what gives one access to a positive in-group by self-identification, with the exception of QUEER in one novel. Therein their usage contrasts with that of GAY and of (at least the main form of) LESBIAN. Similarly, in only one novel (DownToTB) is a BI(SEXUAL)

community portrayed as accessible, but even there it remains an out-group for the character-narrator.

8.2.3 BI(SEXUAL)

Among other things, the infrequency of this label, especially in noun phrases with an indefinite article to construct membership of a category or define a category and in (plural) noun phrases categorizing a group of people, in LBQ1YA indicates that it is not portrayed as a stable identity nor either-sex orientation as widely visible socially as a property categorizing a group of people. Furthermore, in the TCP from DownToTB, which features *bi(s)* and which I analysed in 7.2.4, an either-sex attracted person is regarded as an undesirable partner due to unfaithfulness, including to any declaration of *a lesbian* identity. These results are similar to Motschenbacher's interpretation of BISEXUAL's nominal R1 collocates in a reference corpus of American English and to Baker's conclusions from looking at the concordance of it in the British National Corpus (see 3.2.4) – 'bisexual' is not conceptualized as a life-long identity enabling monogamous relationships.

There are, however, identifications of a specific (set of) person(s) with BI(SEXUAL) in LBQ1YA (including of males), especially using copulative constructions with an adjectival complement, but these tend not to be factual. None are in those closest to the deictic centre of the narrative, the self-identifications in the narratorial discourse situation in seven novels.

Moreover, all of these are portrayed in no closer a relationship to the female character-narrator in terms of reality status than one or more of the annotated same-sex denoting SILs (see A3.2, and note on MyILife in 8.4.1). Hence, this label is hardly portrayed as a point of identification for those experiencing female same-sex attraction to claim an identity distinct from those exclusively oriented to one sex.

Curiously, although the third set of TCPs analysed features questioning the application of same-sex denoting SILs to not necessarily exclusively same-sex oriented characters, not even half of these narrative passages contain BI(SEXUAL). In those in which it occurs, it is portrayed as an extension of the binary system of categorization of people's sexuality based on their sex-of-object choice. Put differently, bisexuals are conceptualized as homo- and heterosexual in various proportions designated by their Kinsey score (MyILife) and as desiring both sexes and acting on it to the detriment of their relationships (Gisela in DownToTB). Relatedly, Sam in Pink2009 uses the phrase "be both" (sentence 104 in A4.3.2) in reply to Ava's list of labels including a composite one of "gay" and "straight" (101) constructing a compound identity which is designated bisexual in MyILife. The hence ambivalent link of 'bisexual' to moving beyond categorization is discussed alongside indications for the conceptualization of fluid sexuality in section

8.4.1, on how to interpret frequency figures using the investigation of TCPs as well as concordance lines.

Overall, in LBQ1YA usage of the either-sex denoting label is not frequent enough for patterns to emerge in quantitative analysis except for the relative absences stated above. Comparison to the frequencies stated in research on reference corpora is difficult due to differences in which search terms and tokens are included but roughly the same pattern of same-sex identity/orientation as the frequent marked case, other-sex identity/orientation as the less frequent default case, and either-sex identity/orientation as the least frequent erased case is evident.

8.2.4 HOMO(SEXUAL), HETERO(SEXUAL) and STRAIGHT

I have less to say regarding each of these labels than about each of the above given that they were not annotated for usage features due to their low overall token counts in LBQ1YA. In fact, together there are only 205 tokens of these SILs, making it possible to quickly check their full concordances to describe usage patterns. For instance, the concordances show that, except for allegedly by Jules's language use in Pink2009 analysed in 7.2.1, HOMO(SEXUAL) is not primed male, nor are STRAIGHT, HETERO(SEXUAL), or BI(SEXUAL) (cf. Motschenbacher, 2018, pp. 160–164).

For the investigation of STRAIGHT as a SIL, it has been crucial to filter out uses of the search terms with non-sexual meanings. That is, my investigation of the sign concerns only the 124 SIL-tokens of STRAIGHT (and the six liminal ones) setting aside the 417 tokens clearly outside the domain of sexuality in the LBQ YA novels investigated. This other-sex denoting label is used in counterdistinction to same-sex, and to a much lesser extent either-sex, denoting labels to designate identity generically, but especially for groups and individuals. This includes that STRAIGHT is used as a means to state that there is no same-sex attraction in a person and that someone passes as such (e.g., Marlena in DownToTB, see 7.2.3). Although mostly this means that this label contributes to the discursive construction of sexual orientation as binary, it is also used to designate points on a continuum of sexual orientation to males and females (as by Ava in sentence 101 of the TCP discussed in 7.2.2, and see example (27) quoted in 4.3).

The usage patterns in LBQ1YA are similar for HETERO(SEXUAL). Furthermore, for instance in the TCP from *Hello, Groin* dicussed in 6.2.2, these labels are associated with family and heteronormativity. The uses of HOMO(SEXUAL) in the corpus, on the other hand, are mostly like those of the other same-sex denoting labels in that they evoke various elements of the conceptualization of (female) (same-sex) sexuality. This includes discussions on the meanings and etymology of the label (such as the one in the TCP

analysed in 7.2.1), as well as its applicability to people with certain attributes. Some of the uses featuring the latter show it to be partially reclaimed for self-identification while associated with addressee-labelling, similar to DYKE and the colloquial variants of LESBIAN, and overall on the negative side in terms of attitudes evoked.

8.2.5 Discussion and summary

This section has been concerned with how the preferential trends observed connect with the meaning elements that are (dis)associated with certain labels in the corpus, including the socio-cognitive structures of sexuality (counter-)indicated by their usage, and together characterize how LBQ characters relate to these labels. In these narratives featuring (F)SSA other-sex denoting labels contribute 10.8% of SIL-tokens investigated and are used to mainly denote its absence in people/characters. Overall, the female character(-narrator)s' relationships to these SILs can be assessed as neutral (for some they are ambivalent). BI(SEXUAL), the only either-sex denoting label investigated as it is the only widely recognized one, only contributes 4.4% to the overall SIL-token count of 1400. Orientation designated BI(SEXUAL) is portrayed as at odds with both moving beyond categorizing identity and approved-of ways of living same-sex sexuality, namely identifying as LESBIAN or GAY if one experiences FSSA, or sexual acts with another female, or wishes to engage in a same-sex relationship. Even though they are largely negatively

associated, DYKE and QUEER have more tokens, 10.0% and 5.2% respectively, while hardly being used to imply non-exclusive same-sex orientation. This shows that discursive practices involving either-sex orientation are marginalized in their representation in LBQ YA novels (see further below). Although overall LESBIAN and its variants only contribute 28.8% to the SIL-tokens in the corpus compared to 38.3% by GAY, more character-narrators identify as LESBIAN to themselves than as GAY. Authorial choice seems to determine whether the female character's same-sex identity is portrayed as sex-specific or (largely) not.

The dominance of LESBIAN and GAY in the discursive structures and labelling practices (re)produced in the corpus shows the double-edged sword of visibility of same-sex sexuality in contemporary Western communities. Generally the attitude is positive nowadays towards same-sex orientation due to gay rights activism but expectations to conform to particular expressions of identity have been established. For females the ways in which women's place in society is defined also influences how they are seen when identifying as non-heterosexual; this is reflected in particularly 'lesbian' social identities being portrayed in most texts. In contrast, particularly 'bisexual' social identities are not as widely and as immediately represented as points of identification in the corpus.

If the fictional narratives were to reflect self-labelling reported in interview and questionnaire studies (see sub-section 3.2.1 for references), about as many female characters would have to identify with *queer*, *dyke* and *bi(sexual)* (rather than *gay* or *lesbian*) as with *gay*, *lesbian* and/or *dyke* (rather than *bi(sexual)*). Put differently, the same proportion of character-narrators would have to be portrayed to indicate their orientation as not exclusive to one sex in their use of labels, as are portrayed to identify with a label which prescribes sex-exclusivity for them, in order to validate the experience of those who are either-sex attracted in equal measure to those exclusively same-sex attracted. Besides, whereas applications of all other labels to female characters is extensively discussed in character interaction and the narratorial discourse situation, only one TCP features negotiation of being labelled (pejoratively as) *bi* (see A4.1, 29.2) and there are hardly any considerations by the character-narrator of whether the label applies to herself compared to those for LESBIAN and GAY. This may reflect a particular problem for bi-visibility, namely that a bisexual orientation cannot be evident from the partner(s) a person is seen with, except for in some cases of openly lived polyamory. Hence, bi-visibility mainly relies on linguistic practices which raise awareness of either-sex attraction as a stable identity, that is, irrespective of current partner or sex of a person one expresses desire for at any one time.

Thus, it is not reasonable to expect contemporary realism to portray characters being labelled BI(SEXUAL) to the same extent as LESBIAN and GAY due to aspects of sexual orientation apparent to their social environment. On the other hand, sexual attractions non-exclusive to one sex could be rendered intelligible as identities by the portrayal of character-narrators' private and public linguistic practices. This may involve tipping the scales as regards the likelihood that a character(-narrator) considers the sexual relation currently apparent to them as a sure indication of one of two sexual orientations – same-sex or other-sex (cf. the discursive processes – including cognitive ones – portrayed as involved in claiming an identity denoted by a same-sex label and refusing to do so in the TCPs).

As described by Murphy (1997), the top distinction in the semantic field of SILs is between exclusive other-sex orientation and same-sex orientation. This is manifest in the novels investigated in that a sexual act with, a love relationship with and/or experience of desire for someone of the same sex trigger consideration of a 'non-straight' identity. Whereas LESBIAN and GAY identities, and to a lesser extent DYKE and QUEER identities, are portrayed in a 'here, we, now and right' relationship to the deictic centre of the text world of texts in the corpus, BI(SEXUAL) and either-sex designating uses of DYKE and QUEER are not so portrayed in my data. Furthermore, not categorizing one's same-sex sexuality within the poles of sex-of-object-choice-based orientation is

portrayed either as not linked to (a set of) socially recognized identity (labels) or in conflict with these.

8.3 Implications of the Findings for LBQ YA

In this section, as in the rest of the thesis, I focus on the perspective of cisgender female young adults who experience same-sex attraction or question whether an attraction to another female is sexual (living in an English-speaking first-world country). This description fits the first-person narrators and supposedly the main audience of the corpus I investigated. This body of texts is skewed to those which present sexual orientation as binary and same-sex attraction as necessitating GAY and/or LESBIAN identity. In this section I answer research question 2b on what the range of relationships portrayed and which conceptualizations are represented to a lesser extent mean for LBQ YA literature. Put differently, I explore what it means for LBQ readers that certain identities are rendered intelligible and others marginalized in LBQ1YA, that is, which possibilities are presented as open to the narrators in finding confidence in who they are.

I first detail which portion of this literature has been investigated in this thesis. Then I discuss the scarcity of intersecting social identities presented in this population of texts. Which models of discursive structures and labelling

practices are provided in the corpus, in particular the portrayal of *coming out*, is focused on next. This leads to a discussion of same-sex desire and relations as the main categorizing properties in the application of SILs. This does not conversely mean, however, that SILs are the main means of narrating experience of these. I conclude this section with a call to providers of such texts to young adults to cater to all equally, validating their experiences rather than to endorsing mainly the world-view which is current societal consensus, which may be changing more rapidly than novels are reaching publication.

Based on the data collection (described in 4.1) we can say the following about the meaningfullness for LBQ YA of the claims made about the population contained in my corpus. The corpus comprises about a quarter of published YA novels focusing on FSSA and two thirds of post-1993 realist novels with one LBQ YA point-of-view character electronically available in 2014. I have studied the same-sex attracted or sexuality questioning female characters within LBQ YA which are most immediately presented to the reader by focusing on narratorial self-identifications in LBQ1YA. Irrespective of the other criteria in narrowing down the corpus, around thirty percent of novels are excluded from the investigation due to unavailability in electronic format when the data was collected. If novels not available for digital purchase should actually portray to a greater extent what is underrepresented in my corpus, that would be a finding in itself. Namely, that in the

distribution of texts these parts of what is possible to portray are further marginalized. Moreover, the fact that resources for identifying LGBTIQ YA texts, aimed at teenagers and used in this study, make it hard to find non-*lesbian* texts featuring FSSA is likely to impact on what teenagers read. The novels which have been published since I collected LBQ1YA in 2014 may portray what is absent from my corpus so that the recommendations for closing gaps in LBQ YA, presented in this chapter, are guidance for future research, which should check whether these have been closed, as well as for writers and publishers as to what they should produce.

The texts, and particularly passages, analysed in this thesis exhibit differences in how the social environment of the character(-narrator)s is perceived to treat same-sex attracted people and in the treatment narrated to have been encountered by them. These differences are portrayed within texts as well as between texts. For instance, some character(-narrator)s travel to urban centres from rural regions of Anglophone North America and thereby encounter openly same-sex oriented and/or queer-identified people first-hand for the first time, whereas others stay within their familiar environment, having to negotiate their old friends' reaction to their coming out to them. Overall in the corpus non-North-American texts are scarce so that inter- and intra-differences cannot be evaluated. In particular, the third set of TCPs is diverse in setting as well as in the relationships portrayed but one cannot

conclude from correlations therein that, for example, the portrayal of questioning established ways of living same-sex identity is determined by a setting in Australia, as there are only two novels set in Australia which fullfill the corpus definition criteria, even though neither exhibits the dominant pattern of SIL-usage in the corpus. As regards ethnic identities as well, points on the range of conceptualizations presented may be unique to a particular intersection of identities, so it is problematic to draw conclusions in research and for the readers who share this intersection to only see one kind of portrayal for that intersection. Hence, diversification in the non-sexuality based aspects of social identities which LBQ YA character-narrators exhibit would be welcome. New publications also need to be studied to see whether the conceptualizations and associated usage patterns manifest in these texts have been lagging behind times, for instance, whether QUEER is more strongly emerging as reclaimed for self-identification and/or denoting non-exclusive same-sex orientation in recent novels. Regarding texts from the UK, caution is mandated, however, as due to the effects of section 28, texts reaching publication now may be dated, to a greater extent than those published in North America at the same time (see 3.3.1).

Some of the text passages analysed contain meta-discussions of the evocation of meaning elements and other aspects of the potentialities of labelling sexual orientation. Thus, for instance, the passage from HelloG

analysed in 6.2.3 and the one from Pink2009 in 7.2.1 provide models for educating other people about same-sex sexuality and properties of SILs dicussed in this thesis. The TCP from KissingK, on the other hand, may be less of an aid to its readers by portraying a character-narrator who is not able to cope with another person's questions. This may foster recognition of a reader's experience, though. Meanwhile, the didacticism of such passages may alienate readers.

In contrast to the expansive discussion of BI(SEXUAL) and either-sex designating uses of DYKE and QUEER in the literature on SILs and of characters thus identified in reviews of LGBTIQ YA, this thesis has revealed that LBQ narratives scarcely present concrete ways of identifying with these labels so as to increase visibility of sexual orientations not exclusive to one sex in media for young adults. In parallel to meta-discussions of other labels in which these are defined as exclusively same-sex denoting, LBQ YA should feature QUEER and DYKE in reflections and conversations in which their use for either-sex orientation is explicated. Similarly, BI(SEXUAL) could be featured as a point of identification alongside critical reflection, for instance, on its intrinsic reference to the sex/gender binary. In LBQ1YA it is hardly portrayed in individual meaning-making. On the other hand, it is associated with stigma – bi (female) individuals are judged against gay (and lesbian) norms, as well as against heterosexual norms, in particular mono-normativity. There are no

group norms for bi-identified people portrayed, such as encouragement or incitement to come out as BI(SEXUAL), even if only as strategic essentialism.

On the other hand, addressee-labelling using DYKE, GAY, LESBIAN and QUEER is seen in the corpus to set off reflections on sexual identity, mostly on that of the person labelled, and this is part of the previously identified prominence of coming out in these texts. Another part of this is that expressing the alleged or known state of other people's suspicions or knowledge of someone's sexual identity is a prominent use of SILs in the corpus. Furthermore, although there are different types of coming out presented in the TCPs (see 5.2.2), these passages tend to discursively link the experience of attraction with identifying as same-sex and accepting engaging in same-sex relations. Moreover, two TCPs feature flashbacks which portray the character-narrator in continuity with their earlier selves as regards their sexual identity, thus they construct a stable, unified self for the character most immediately presented to the reader (see 3.3.3, 6.2.4 and 6.4.4).

Indeed, the first six TCPs analysed present one event or person as sufficient to determine one's identity for the rest of one's life. This is at odds with Diamond's (2008) longitudinal study on non-heterosexual young women observing "'post-coming-out' identity changes" in two thirds of these, which "challenge[s] the long-standing assumption that sexual identity questioning is permanently resolved as soon as the individual replaces his or her initial

heterosexual identity with a gay/lesbian/bisexual identity" (p. 13). In the 34 novels investigated only a few character-narrators recognise that their sexuality is not defined by their current or past relations, which may have just been due to, for instance, with whom they had the opportunity to engage in sexual activity. While these only nearly identify with BI(SEXUAL), there are some secondary characters who factually identify as such and person(s) who are identified as such by another character, including adults. Nevertheless, 'bisexual' is far from firmly being discursively constructed in this corpus as the default sexual orientation of all people who then need to come out as either 'gay/lesbian' or 'straight' if they want to claim a monosexual identity. Rather, experience of same-sex desire and/or relation is portrayed as pushing characters from 'heterosexual' social identity into 'gay/lesbian' and to then identify as either-sex attracted or as of indeterminate sexual identity as a struggle.

What is absent from LBQ1YA in these respects is a character-narrator portrayed in a social environment recognizing and validating bisexualities (discussed in 8.2.5). Though Roz in MyILife maybe comes closest to seeing BI(SEXUAL) as a helpful identification, she more often than not relies on binary logic in her interactions with other characters. Meanwhile, Ava in Pink2009 explores her non-sex-exclusive attractions behind the back of friends, jeopardizing these relationships (including her lesbian one). It may be difficult

to portray a character-narrator in a single story arc as equally validly orientated sexually to more than one sex without showing her as promiscuous. But Clemmie in her sequel (A365Days) instantiates the possibilities of multi-novel narratives to show the same character-narrator in subsequent relationships and available for dating in between these. That character-narrator, though, is presented only in desire-fulfilling relations to other females and her identity as consolidating (see Figure 38). In contrast, she could be portrayed in one novel as identifying as monosexual and then coming to recognize either-sex attraction in herself and finding support in coming out as BI(SEXUAL).

SILs tend not to be directly involved in narrating the experience of sexual desire or relations. That is, the first-person narrators state what happened and how they feel without using SILs and then use a SIL to define what this means for their identity. Still, phrases like *gay feelings* and *get all gay on someone* do occur. It seems reasonable to assume that this reflects common usage in colloquial conversations as *I kissed a girl* sounds more natural than *I engaged in a lesbian kiss*. Therefore, investigations which move beyond SILs as search terms are needed to describe how language is used to portray same-sex desire and relations in LBQ narratives (see 3.3.3 for a review of studies so far, and 8.4.3 below for suggestions of search terms for future investigations).

In sum, this thesis has investigated a crucial portion of YA focused on FSSA showing that in the majority it reproduces the hegemony of 'gay/lesbian' identities and coming out in post-Stonewall societies. In other words, readers are likely to be exposed predominantly to the normative discursive structures which conceptualize these identities as an essential truth that has to be claimed in order to accept same-sex relations and/or attraction, resulting in a potentially harmful pressure to align with 'gay/lesbian' norms, such as sex-exclusivity in sexual and romantic orientation. While some character-narrators are portrayed to remain questioning or decide to not define their sexuality using established SILs, young female adults who would claim BI(SEXUAL) strategically, or who feel that this label is the most accurate representation of their sexuality, are not validated in these texts. Authors, publishers and those bodies and individuals, such as parents, who affect distribution and access of young people to titles featuring sexuality, should dare to represent the messy lives of teenagers and guide them to be happy. All of them can certainly do with non-judgmental help in navigating a world in which sexuality is ever-present in young people's lives, including bullying via social media of those who appear or feel different from a discursively reproduced norm.

8.4 Limitations of this Project, Methodological Implications, and Suggestions for Future Research

In this section I discuss limitations of this analysis of contemporary novels in its CADS approach and suggest how these shortcomings could potentially be addressed in future research detailing the required technical, financial and temporal resources.

The first sub-section discusses the methodological implications of my research for Queer CADS of category labels in fictional narratives. I explicate what my approach has and has not been able to elucidate. Sub-section 8.4.2 concerns the triangulation of the results of this investigation with those of literary criticism on the texts in the corpus (as far as available) and those of reader response studies. I propose a way in which the latter could be conducted. The final sub-section (.3) suggests how the corpus-assisted approach in this thesis could be expanded on. This includes suggestions for applying the methodology developed in this thesis to other sub-sections of LGBTIQ YA as well as using keyword and collocational analyses on YA novels in which sexuality generally, not non-heteronormative sexuality specifically, features. The limitations of this project associated with the latter analyses have mainly been mentioned in the research design chapter.

A team of researchers would be beneficial in future studies. This is one of the reasons substantial financial resources would be needed in order to build

the corpora enabling the suggested research but these would not exceed the usual expenses of social science research. Several people are needed to keep pace with publications of LGBTIQ YA. Conducting an investigation such as mine within a team would also allow checking coding between people. More generally, in order to confirm that the patterns observed are verifiable/falsifiable, it would be beneficial if all data and its analysis could be shared, at least between researches. Furthermore, a consecutive written text, such as this, is not ideal for presenting the cyclical process of data scouting and method development as well as the intertextual and interdiscursive chains, the tracing of which would belong with the Discourse Analysis in this project. Current technical developments may make alternative formats feasible for academic research and publishing. For example, secure online interactive platforms could enable collaboration in, and interchange of, research including working together on copyrighted texts. It seems to be difficult though to integrate the affordances of various softwares to create a platform that allows for interdisciplinary research. For instance, there is software that affords qualitative annotation processing, software that affords real-time collaboration on text analysis, software that affords complex statistical analysis and convenient output of results, cloud infrastructure used in research including on sensitive data, software that affords the creation of hyperlinked texts (including multimodal ones) and last but not least corpus software, but these have not been integrated into each other, yet.

8.4.1 Queer CADS of category labels in fictional narratives

In this sub-section I evaluate the novel approach to LBQ YA (see 3.3.4) developed and applied in this thesis. First I explicate how CADS can be enriched by investigating fictional narratives as well as how corpus methodology can be fruitfully employed in Queer Discourse Studies (QDS). The que(e)rying of categories then becomes the main focus – I discuss how this investigation has contributed to research on category labels by analysing the discursive structures and labelling practices surrounding SILs in fictional narratives. Finally for this section I circumscribe the new field for investigating the linguistic construction of sexuality explored in this thesis, in which there is still much to discover (see 8.4.3 below).

In this project I set out to discover means of empirically researching the ways of seeing the world as regards same-sex sexuality in contemporary society (re)produced in literature. My concern has been with Young Adult novels as consumption media sharing Discourse Studies' aim of opening up structures of hegemony and marginalization to deconstruction. By developing a corpus-assisted approach this PhD project enables overview assessments of (corpora of) novels, thereby reducing selection bias. I hope to have illustrated how research is improved by engaging the complementarity of quantitative and qualitative, corpus-based and corpus-driven, as well as objective and subjective investigation. This includes the recognition that descriptions are

never free from the argument's slant but if WORD A does not occur in X out of Y number of texts and WORD B does, the converse is not true (i.e. WORD B is not the one absent).

By employing a cyclical process of data scouting, the usage patterns in the data drove how it was investigated. In particular, the clustering of SIL/DoS-tokens in the narratives enabled close-text analysis of text passages selected in a principled manner and the extent to which usage categories would be filled guided the levels of distinction. Furthermore, where instances of a category or word are low enough to consciously grasp patterns with the human mind, this capacity has been used. But when a researcher's consciousness starts to have to recall something from memory, it starts to select according to principles not recoverable to the researcher. A computer processor can present the quantity of instances of a category for comparison to that of one or more others as well as filter results according to principles set by the researcher. Especially in interpreting minority patterns (that is, relatively infrequently instantiated structures) and absence, the researcher can thus check the data instead of relying on the assumption of intra-categorical homogeneity. For instance, the counter-factual identification with LESBIAN by Roz in MyILife (see Figure 29) is a rare form thereof, namely, an identification in a past sub-world – "I was a lesbian in a past life and my current life is the echo" (Bjorkman, 2009, p. 180). This is crucial in the interpretation of the plot of narratorial self-identifications

as Roz actually presents this as equally a possibility as her prospective identification with *bisexual* (paraphrasing her identification as a 1 on Kinsey's scale in the TCPs analysed – 7.3.1 and 7.3.2; the latter is quoted in Table 13).

How to capture the majority and minority patterns which indicate hegemonic and marginalized conceptualizations of same-sex sexuality in novels has been the key problem in developing this Queer CADS approach to fictional narratives. Focusing the research on how language is used in first-person narratives to suggest different relationships to established SILs has narrowed the scope of the investigation towards the extent to which the reader is invited to subscribe to the validity of categorizing one's identity based on the sex/gender of the object of one's sexual attraction and in particular of either-sex orientation as an identity. The analytical framework and its quantitative application described in section 4.3 has been able to provide an assessment in this regard of a population of texts. In the collection of this corpus the greatest possible care has been taken to be comprehensive of those texts which are set in societies in which these SILs are established but which do not invite subscription to the schemata they evoke. Although the focus on usage patterns of SILs has meant that the presentation of my results has given most weight to those (co-)texts in which SILs are used, I did assess the extent to which SILs are absent from those texts which fit the corpus

definition. This would not have been possible had I, for instance, selected from the outset texts in which the search terms are key(words).

The later focus on coherent extracts from the narratives in which SILs occur extraordinarily densely only initially seems to contradict this approach. In fact, it enabled the deconstruction of the attending discursive structures (re)produced in contemporary YA novels. In other words, in the TCP analysis I have been able to deconstruct assumptions indicating normative structures. This applies both to those passages in which the cognitive structures of binary sexual identity are presupposed, such as in the TCP from KissingK, and to those in which they are overtly negotiated, such as the one from Pink2009 in which Sam moves from assuming exclusivity in sexual orientation, to wondering about being oriented to "both", to conceptualizing sexual orientation as not sex/gender based. Thus, the combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses has enabled the tracing of dominant and marginalized discursive structures.

In order to facilitate the identification of TCPs, the plot display in the corpus software AntConc was developed mainly by adding mechanical options and enhancement of the display outside the software, resulting in plots scaled to the length of the text from which the density of the investigated signs can be gauged. A further validation of the approach has been that reading the eleven novels from which TCPs are analysed did not substantially

alter my interpretation of the characters' relationships to SILs gained from the concordance and passages (only a few details became clearer and were revised). I contend that investigating fictional narratives in this way is an enrichement to CADS – literature is part of the discursive practices in our society, therefore it should not be ignored due to specifics of literary/narrative language use having to be accounted for.

As well as contributing methodologically to CADS, my PhD project has developed an analytical framework to investigate the potentialities of labelling portrayed in fictional narratives fostering cognitive linguistic and semantic observations on category labels. The scheme for manually annotating the occurrences of SILs in the investigated corpus accounts for the social and communicative dynamics of labelling. It could be used with fictional narratives (and/or adapted for other types of texts) in the development of coding tools which allow for semi-automatic recognition of referent characteristics of interest. In this way the research presented in this thesis can be seen as a pilot for further investigations of category-label-usage patterns and particular contexts of dense usage.

The analysis of TCPs as well as concordances has informed how to interpret the frequency figures. I believe this approach furthers academic understanding of the meaning of constructions and the construction of meanings. It can even to some extent provide indications on

conceptualizations beyond the categorization evoked by the labels used as search terms. To illustrate I discuss the ways in which fluid sexuality is erased in the corpus.

By fluid sexuality I here mean that sexual orientation is not assumed to remain unchanged during a person's lifetime and/or that sex-of-object choice is not seen as the crucial criterion in categorizing sexual orientation. As detailed in the previous section, the portrayal of coming out in LBQ YA constructs sexual identity as stable. In LBQ1YA, coming out is presented as recognizing something about oneself that is real beyond cognition and as sharing this recognition with the world. Having said that, there is also some fictional narrative portrayal of the continual effort it takes to negotiate other people's perception of oneself in various social environments. Meanwhile, the synonymous use of LESBIAN and GAY with DYKE and QUEER, evident for instance in Devin substituting LESBIAN for DYKE having recognized her sexual attraction as same-sex due to being addressed as the latter (see 6.4.1), suppresses sexual orientation non-exclusive to one sex by not portraying these labels as designating it. Moreover, even the refusal to use labels does not always concur with not subscribing to social categorization (see, for example, the language use of Shai analysed in 7.2.4). Conversely, infrequency of BI(SEXUAL) seems to concur in part with a fluidity conceptualization. In particular the lack of factual self-identification with the either-sex denoting

label in non-distanced discourse is partly due to some character-narrators embracing their sexual identity as indeterminate.

Another way in which conceptualizations of same-sex sexuality beyond polar sexual identity can be investigated is to enlarge the set of search terms. However, substantial preparatory research would have to be undertaken in order to identify SILs beyond those widely recognized. Some such SILs occur in the corpus which I have investigated, for example Andie in DownToTB eventually identifies as "no-sexual" to Roz, meaning thereby that she is not into physical expressions of attraction to another person (Bjorkman, 2009, p. 180). An expansive source of emerging labels, for instance *graysexual*, are social media and other internet sites. A search term that may be used to find these terms is *sexual*, which finds all strings of characters forming words in which *sexual* occurs. However, in order to make it worthwhile to use the approach developed in this project on such labels, much larger sets of fictional narratives would have to be collected – even *sexual* only has 169 hits in my corpus.

I have contributed to research on the linguistic construction of sexuality by investigating LBQ1YA, a corpus which is female-exclusive in at least one characteristic, for the portrayal of the relationships of female characters to SILs, including two sex-specific ones. The results of my investigation highlight that the discursive structures linked to same-sex sexuality are female-specific

in contemporary Anglophone societies, just as research on agent roles of female and male persons in the portrayal of heterosexual activity indicate the discursive structures which construct females as passive and males as active (see, for instance, Lischinsky, 2018a). In a culture which increasingly polices young people's identities and bodies via the ideals for being a woman and being a man (re)produced in consumption media, it is crucial to distinguish between norms for males and females in research. Although as a queer theorist I wish to move beyond such binary categories, we cannot describe the status quo and deconstruct it while ignoring the most fundamental fiction Western culture has upheld – that it is natural for humans to solely be either male or female physiologically and desire either other-sex or same-sex partners.

8.4.2 Reader responses

The imposed length and remit of this thesis means that I cannot provide a detailed comparison between previous findings on LBQ YA generally nor of others' and my interpretations of individual novels. I may do so in further projects or publications from this thesis. However, I suggest that it would be even better to triangulate this cognitive CADS investigation of usage patterns of SILs with findings from a reader response study of particular novels as well as literary criticisms of these.

Although based on previous research and theoretical assumptions generally accepted within linguistics, the effect on readers of certain usage patterns is conjectural in this thesis. That is, I describe what, given the current understanding of how language use (re)produces and is a product of cognitive structures, certain features of language use mean for which schemata the reader is, often without them noticing, pushed to agree with. This does not mean that any particular reader does agree with them. In fact, especially when the reader becomes conscious of being pushed into a way of seeing the world they do not agree with due to their own experience, they are likely to actively reject it. Literary critics (as well as queer theorists) are readers which supposedly are more likely than young adults to read texts against the grain and explicate the underlying world-view of a text. In order to elucidate actual responses of the target readership of LBQ YA novels, I suggest to have them as participants in research.

Although other forms of reader response studies are possible, I propose the following set-up. The first step would be to distribute a questionnaire online (such as on social media sites) on experiences of reading YA novels featuring sexual attraction and/or relations between young adults. In this I suggest reaching out through various platforms aimed at a wide range of teenagers, not predominantly those which identify as other than straight. From the respondents those would then be invited to participate in reading groups who

have revealed themselves to share with the character-narrators of the corpus investigated experience of female same-sex attraction or questioning whether an attraction to another female is sexual (and further groups if resources allow). The group discussions could be conducted via text-based online platforms (chat rooms) facilitating corpus-assisted analysis of the language use of the participants as well as allowing participants to remain anonymous. (Pseudonyms could be chosen by participants when indicating on the questionnaire that they would be willing to participate in such further research. Thus, characteristics of participants collected in the questionnaire could be linked to discussants by the researcher/team.)

For discussion by the group(s), texts would be chosen from the corpus investigated which are exemplars from different parts of the range found, preferring those also discussed in literary criticism (and other research, see notes on secondary literature on each of the novels in the corpus in the table in Appendix A). The discussion would be moderated to elicit reader responses to the relationships to SILs and related dynamics of labelling portrayed in each novel. The analysis of the discussion would focus on the extent to which the teenagers agree with the schemata (re)produced or negotiated in each novel including if they relate to SILs in the same way as the character-narrator. Thus, a range of responses to particular points on the range of discursive

structures manifest in the text could be described and conclusions drawn on the validity of the conjectures in this thesis.

8.4.3 Expanding the corpus approach: Further corpora of LGBTIQ YA novels

I have already made some observations regarding tracing alternative conceptualizations of same-sex attraction and/or discursive structures surrounding same-sex sexuality. This sub-section first suggests search terms beyond SILs which, although they at times occur in passages in which SIL-tokens cluster, might be used to find passages in which same-sex sexuality is conceptualized without using SILs as well as analysing their concordances (and possibly collocations). Thereafter I propose building a corpus or corpora of texts belonging to genres within LGBTIQ YA which afford creating text worlds which are not necessarily tied to the discursive structures of contemporary society, such as historical, magical realism, fantasy and science-fiction (as mentioned in the discussion of Figure 6). I then detail sub-sections of LGBTIQ YA to which the methodology developed in this thesis could be applied. Finally, I suggest how statistical analyses, particularly keyword and collocation analyses, could be used on a broader set of corpora of YA novels in which sexuality features.

As sexual relations and attraction have been identified as the basis for social categorization and labelling as regards sexual identity but SILs are not

prominent in narrating these experiences, searching for terms which denote sexual relationships, activity and desire may elucidate the portrayal of same-sex sexuality in YA in addition to, and apart from, what can be traced in the use of SILs. Linguistic expressions I would include are: HAVE *a crush on someone*, FALL *for someone*, LOVE *(someone)*, FALL/BE *in love with someone*, FANCY *someone*; KISS *someone*, TOUCH *someone* (meant or experienced as sexual), FINGER and other verbal expressions for sexual activity such as *sleep with* and *make love*; *a kiss*, *a touch*, *love-making*, FEEL (as a sexual emotion), MISS *someone* (as a sexual emotion), DESIRE *(for) someone*. Furthermore, *lover* and other expression for sexual partner could be included in another investigation of LBQ1YA as well as of other corpora featuring sexual relations. Expressions for genitalia and sexual arousal, that is, entities involved in sexual activity may complement an inquiry into conceptualizations of same-sex sexuality in YA. Judging by observations made so far though, these are likely to be rare in this literature, especially if girls are the target readership. Additionally, abstract terms relating to the conceptualization of same-sex sexuality are the following (including plurals if indefinite article not used): *a stage*, *a phase*, *hormones*, *physical attraction*, *a crush*, FANCY (noun), *lesbianism*, and *sapphism* as well as terms containing *sexual*. Using these search terms discursive structures surrounding same-sex sexuality could be explored further focusing on aspects absent from this project's results, in particular the conceptualization of same-sex sexuality in novels in the investigated corpus which do not contain SILs.

Another set of texts in which SILs are absent are those which present societies in which same-sex sexuality is not cognized at all in the way it is in contemporary Western ones. These could be investigated using the search terms above in order to compare discursive structures. For this, historical, magical realist, fantasy, and science-fiction novels with female character-narrators, or other point-of-view characters, need to be collected to form (sub-)corpora of LBQ YA. In conjunction, I also propose to build corpora of other sub-sections of realist and contemporary LGBTIQ YA than the one already built and investigated but which could be analysed using the framework described in this thesis or an adaptation thereof.

2019 marks 50 years since the publication of the first novel regarded as (L)G(BTIQ) YA. This will hopefully provide a convenient occasion for taking stock of this literature. The final half-decade in this half-century seems to have continued the overall trend of rising publication numbers (described in sections 3.3.2 and 4.1.1). Malinda Lo's most recent post on this provides details up to and including 2016, in which year 79 LGBTIQ YA books were published by mainstream publishers (see Lo, 2017, section "How Many LGBTQ YA books were published?", and cf. Figure 4, which has fewer than 40 books per year). She claims that this literature has expanded not only in quantity but also in genres and identities represented. Of particular interest to me is that she states that the number of books with cisgender female

character(s) surpasses that of books with cisgender male main character(s) in some years (2004 and 2010 to 2012 for major publishers, ibid., 6th figure, and 2016 for mainstream publishers, ibid., 7th figure). This suggests that it may be possible to build corpora of comparable size to compare recently published YA novels featuring FSSA with those featuring MSSA.

In particular, I propose to analyse, using the methodology I developed, a corpus parallel to the one investigated in this thesis in that all selection criteria remain the same except for that the first-person narrator has to be male. This would allow observing similarities and differences in the usage patterns of SILs (with the forms and variants of FAGGOT added to the search terms). It would be a curious finding, for instance, if male character-narrators are portrayed to factually identify as BI(SEXUAL) in the narratorial discourse situation, as according to survey data male young adults are less likely to identify thus than female young adults (see, for instance, Glover et al., 2009, p. 85, table 1). The parallel corpora could both include novels published since I collected the data for this PhD, that is the novels from the most recent half-decade since 1969 (2014-2018) could be collected to enlarge the size of the corpus and hopefully diversify the national and ethnic identities represented.

Diachronic comparison of the usage patterns of SILs in LBQ (or GBQ) YA may also be possible. Ideally dividing a 1969 to 2018 corpus into sections diachronically would be determined bottom-up from the patterns observed. If

no suitable tools could be found to do this automatically, I would apply my framework (including the usage feature annotation) and order the results displays for the texts according to temporal setting (in the absence of an explicit setting, the time at which the author was a young adult could be used). Sub-corpora could also be created of equal size and for instance keyword analysis conducted until the criteria for division which result in significant keywords are determined.

Another way in which the scope of the data studied could be enlarged is by collecting LBQ YA novels which do not stick to one first-person narrator. This would however complicate the analytical framework as there are quite a few novels in this literature which feature several point-of-view characters and/or types of narration in terms of the pronouns used in the narratorial discourse situation. Gillingham (2017) observes that third-person narration in lesbian YA romance tends to "stagger[] the view points of the two central female characters between chapters" (p. 60), as in Boock's novel discussed in 4.2.1. An instance of mixed narration is *Annie on My Mind*, which has one young adult queer female point-of-view character but the first-person narration has a frame in third-person. Just third-person narration featuring LBQ main characters appears from my data cataloguing not to result in a corpus as big as the one investigated in this thesis.

Other corpora which would also be smaller but maybe with recent publications big enough to warrant corpus-assisted studies are one comprising novels with trans* main characters and one of novels in which (F)SSA does not play a major role but which feature LB(GTI) YA characters (e.g. a detective story in which the detectives are from a queer youth club). As well as enabling comparing usage patterns between these corpora by applying the methodology developed in this thesis, taking the sub-sections of LGBTIQ YA together may render it fruitful to use traditional corpus approaches which were rejected for LBQ1YA due to the infrequency/distribution problem with the terms the investigation here has focused on.

Collocational analysis would further elucidate the semantic prosodies of SILs in fictional naratives if enough tokens of the node word (the search term) occur in the corpus investigated and are spread over texts and passages within these. This could be enhanced by including collocation networks and collostructions in the investigation. In this it would be beneficial to develop (semi-)automated taggers based on this project which could prepare the texts for these analyses, for instance by filtering for non-sexual meanings of STRAIGHT.

To find unlooked-for differences in language use between sets of texts, on the other hand, a keyword analysis is appropriate. In order to complement this by similarities, Baker has developed calculating lockwords (e.g. 2011).

These two measures could be used to determine which factors effect a shift (and which do not) in language use between sub-sections of YA featuring diverse sexualities and gender identities. A factor that I could not explore so far but which I suspect would be of interest is age – of protagonist or targeted reader – even if what is revealed is that the discursive structures manifest in the texts do not correlate with it. Also, a parallel corpus of non-sexuality focused YA novels could by means of these measures show what is peculiar about the discursive practices in LGBTIQ YA or other YA novels in which sexuality features prominently.

To conclude this section I suggest several ways in which the future research introduced could ascertain cognitive implications of the findings. In LBQ1YA 'gay/lesbian' identity is constructed as *truth* while bisexuality remains an ontological impossibility in the portrayal of the cognitive processes involved in same-sex identity claims. By means of keyword and/or collocation analysis with further corpora of YA novels the discursive structures which were traced in the qualitative analysis may be mapped statistically, for instance, collocational networks of TRUTH in sub-sections of LGBTIQ YA and their implications for identity/reality construction. Further collections of LBQ YA may also provide clearer insight into the local norms of communities of (young) women (re)presented. For instance, it may be elucidated how LBQ readers are likely to understand the relations between all-out identity

expression, 'queer' identity, reversal in gender expression accompanying same-sex attraction, trans* identities, rejection of male-pleasing appearance and behaviour, and privileged 'lesbian' identity. That is, the mapping of socio-cognitive structures could be refined by future research on larger data sets.

Relatedly, such and parallel corpora of GBQ could provide further data on QUEER's relationship to male and female characters. Moreover, a parallel investigation of the latter could generally enlighten the import of the leanings towards certain lexico-grammatical constructions found in LBQ1YA (in contrast to traditional distinctions in syntax descriptions). Whether GBQ YA character-narrators identify as *a gay man*/*guy* and encounter beliefs of same-sex sexuality construed sex-specifically, for instance the idea of contagion manifesting as fear of *fag germs* (*germs, warts* and *gonorrhea* are premodified by *dyke* in the second TCP identified in HelloG, 28.2 in Table 18), and to what extent/proportion GAY is used in such a corpus referring generically to males could be compared to the findings for LBQ1YA presented in Figure 18 to confirm or refine their significance.

In addition the reader response study could help ascertain the effect of structures on the readers and hence the social function of identity construction in LBQ1YA. In other words, such research could test whether the description of the discursive structures (including inferred socio-cognitive structures) matches the pressures to align experienced by readers. These would be

manifest in explicit contestation and in alignment inferrable from utterances of participants in the group discussions. Hence, one would look at, for example, which proportion of participants pick up gaps where bisexuality could be present compared to those who go with primed inferences as well as any correlations with their background and which novels they read, that is their exposure to hegemonic binary identity versus non-monosexual communities. Likewise, if both the proposed analysis of male-focused YA and a corresponding reader response study would be done, one could find out whether YA readers align with sex-specificity or otherwise in the construction of identity depending on which is dominant in the novel discussed. Such further research on the constructions in which category labels occur would provide a more solid basis for making claims about the cognitive implications of their usage patterns.

8.5 Closing thoughts: Opening up possibilities

This thesis has developed and applied an approach which I call cognitive Corpus-assisted Queer Discourse Analysis of fictional narratives. This section summarizes what this approach has been able to reveal about the relationships of female characters in first-person LBQ YA novels, in particular their character-narrators, to SILs. The constructions in which SILs are used in the investigated corpus indicate either binary sexual orientation, scalar sexual

orientation with poles of exclusive orientation to one sex, or fluid sexuality in which the sex-of-the-object choice is not the (primary) definer. In this, the first conceptualization is dominant and portrayed in conjunction with accepting GAY and/or LESBIAN identity, while the second is expressed by BI(SEXUAL) in some novels. However, if consideration of either-sex orientation is presented at all, the character-narrators are portrayed as eventually endorsing their sexual identity as indeterminate, rather than claiming BI(SEXUAL). In other words, of the possibilities for same-sex attracted or questioning females, identification with post-Stonewall social identities based on binary sexual orientation is represented to the greatest extent, embracing understandings of one's self beyond contemporary labelling and/or categorization to some extent, and categorization of one's sexual orientation as BI(SEXUAL) to the least extent.

The narrative portrayals studied in this thesis have prominently featured overcoming internalized homophobia and preconceptions acquired due to the socio-historical environment in which the novels are set. A part of this is showing how the character(-narrator)s cope with discursive structures and labelling practices, including their implications for what it means to belong in the category SILs evoke. This does not necessarily feature instances of the labels and may feature meta-linguistic uses of them, as in the following quotes:

> I know my culture has come a long way, but the homophobes need to read everyday stories about girls who like girls. That way, we'll be seen as "normal." (Dole, 2008/2012, ch. 5, sentence 47 in A4.3.3)
>
> What was the best, the truest word – dyke, lez, lesbiAN? None of them felt right, none of them felt like me. (Goobie, 2006, ch. 21)

These are examples of portrayal of conflict with and/or avoidance of SILs indicating not fitting the labels which denote a social identity and/or rejecting their implications of otherness. The options not to label/categorize oneself and/or be acknowledged by one's peer group and society as having a sex-immaterial sexuality are portrayed in those novels which contain SILs, at least, as not straightforwardly attained.

Put differently, by focusing on the lexico-grammatical and stylistic constructions in which SILs occur in LBQ1YA I have revealed the complicated patterns in (dis)identifications with these category labels. Describing the normativities interwoven with the relationship of same-sex desire and relations with 'non-straight' identities furthers the field of language and sexuality, especially in its Queer CADS strand. Specifically, I have identified mono-normativity and inflections by the sex-specificity of the data in it. A further intersection with the latter seems to be that the normativities created by gay and lesbian activism are refracted in the out-group attitudes and expectations. By this I mean that the normative assumptions of other-sex identified people can be a perverse version of the norms experienced within 'non-straight'-groups campaigning for certain types of recognition. The

character-narrators studied have been seen overall to have less access to bisexual communities than to gay and lesbian ones but mainly it is their heterosexual peers and families that they are presented as navigating and this provides the conflicts in most novels.

I hope to have opened up Discourse Studies with this thesis to investigations of literary data. I wish to encourage this academic community to take a critically constructive look at fiction, as well as other texts which socialize minors as done, for example, with gendered portrayal in textbooks. I consider it crucial to produce academic work which describes empirically what can be made available to children and young adults and explicating one's perspective in interpreting the results for practicioners, that is, parents, educators, librarians and other people which may regulate the access of minors to texts. Categorization is essential in communicating with (linguistic) signs and, in order to acquire competency in a language, humans need to acquire the concept(ualization)s linguistic expressions evoke. But social categorization often leads to, or is employed in, giving a privileged status to those who fit certain categories discursively constructed as superior. In order to reduce conflict based on social categorization, we should encourage the next generation to be prepared to think outside the box and allow themselves and others the freedom to be themselves. As regards the discursive structures of sexual orientation/identity (re)produced in LBQ YA novels set in post-

Stonewall Western Anglophone societies, I welcome indications that experience of FSSA need not be minoritized to socially recognized sexual identities and belonging to a group defined by category labels, though the corpus investigated accurately represents that it often is.

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Appendices

Corpus Texts

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Appendix 1 – Conventions Observed in Conversion of E-Books Into Corpus Files

Title Code rules

- the code has to consist of at least 6 characters and no more than 9
- the code has to feature more than one word; if the full title is a single word, the year in which the novel was first published is to be included as the last two or four characters of the code (complying with the first rule)
- spaces and commas are not to be used; the underscore character is to be used for all punctuation marks and to abbreviate the title where it is necessary to leave out words

Mark-up conventions

The header template (shown below) was copied and pasted into the file and the values inserted/amended according to the Excel spreadsheet (i.e., the Table provided on the CD-ROM). All dates are inserted/amended to appear in 4-digit format (DoFP corresponds to Column D "Year of First Publication", DoEu to Column E "Year of Edition obtained", SetD to Column F "Setting-

Time"). The values for the spelling variant of English (sVar) are US (American), Can (Canadian), UK (British), Ire (Irish), Aus (Australian). The authors are inserted in the "last name, other names" format.

```
<head>
<title></title>
<DoFP>20</DoFP>
<DoEu>20</DoEu>
<SetD>20</SetD>
<sVar>US</sVar>
<Narration>First Person</Narration>
<author></author>
<aSex>F</aSex>
</head>

<body> five line breaks, then the text, then five line breaks and then </body>
```

For chapter divisions: <chapter chapterTitle=...> ...text of the chapter... </chapter>; the title of the chapter as given in the text was inserted (moved) between = and >. If there is a higher level of divisions as well, the following template was used: <part partTitle=...> ...chapters including tags... </part>. The formatting was amended, if necessary, so that no more and no less than three line breaks appeared between tags and between tags and text. If there were any line breaks within the chapter title (e.g. first a number and following one or more line breaks a title consisting of words), these were replaced with a space. If there was a section of text before the first chapter title, this was marked-up as a chapter and, in the space for the chapter title, "blnk" inserted for blank.

Steps in conversion with accompanying checks made and information noted (in Table provided on the CD-ROM)

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">1. conversion to plain text (UTF-8) and removal of front and back matter</td><td>bibliographic information incl. Year of Edition and Primary Place of Publication</td></tr>
<tr><td>summary/ies in front and/or back matter, if any, pasted into Excel Table</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Following step 1: name of first-person narrator noted and text checked for whether narration consistent in this respect; text searched for explicit dates</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">2. spell-check, including conversion mishaps</td><td>Notes of other indications of the Setting-Time; if none found, Year of First-Publication taken</td></tr>
<tr><td>Spelling variant (sVar) determined</td></tr>
<tr><td>Noted any SILs, neologisms and variants as well as those included in Table 1 Search strings, which were not recognized by word spell-check</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Following step 2: Number of Types and Tokens determined in AntConc and noted in Excel Table</td></tr>
<tr><td>3. mark-up: header with file info, chapters (and parts, if any), spaces (line breaks) normalized (see above)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Following step 3: file length in thousands of characters determined in AntConc and noted (hence, text file prefaced with three digits corresponding thereto)</td></tr>
</table>

Table 15 Conversion of novels into corpus

Appendix 2 – Cross-Tabulation: Absolute Frequencies of Sexual Identity Labels in the Corpus Texts by Label

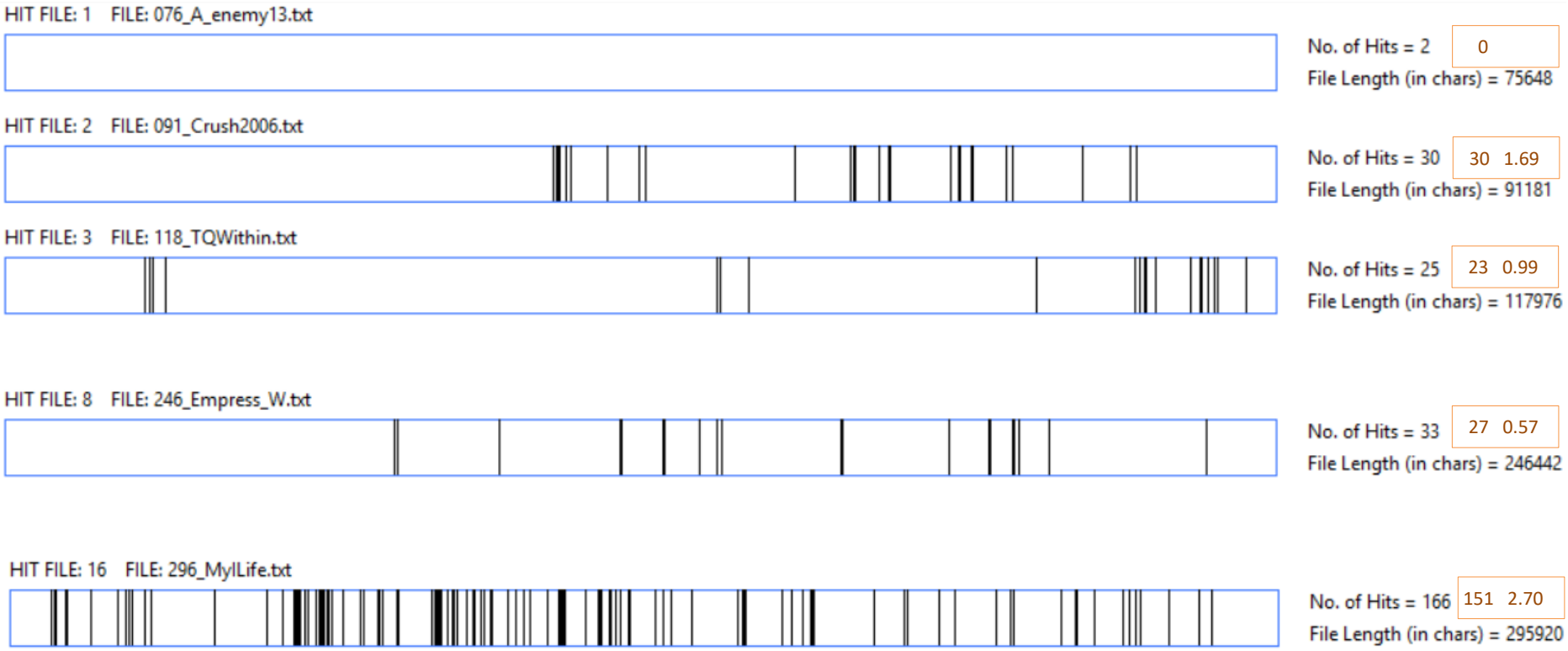
Novel/File	LESBIAN	L vari-ants	DYKE	GAY	QUEER	STRAI-GHT	HETERO-SEXUAL	He abbr.	HOMO-SEXUAL	Ho abbr.	BISEX-UAL	Bi abbr.	Total SILr & -v Tokens	Tokens in File
A_enemy13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14,740
Crush2006	9	1	2	4	12	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	17,787
TQWithin	1	0	0	14	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	23	23,250
OrpheaP	0	0	3	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	38,917
LfaDGirl	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	42,860
BetweenYM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	41,608
AboutAG	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	45,846
Empress_W	11	0	5	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	5	0	27	47,446
CGCGirl	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	48,434
KissingK	7	3	4	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	32	49,027
FindingHF	3	0	11	13	8	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	41	51,949
WhoIAm	17	1	10	13	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	44	50,906
OoOrder	1	0	8	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	52,199
Scars2010	4	1	0	6	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	14	55,190
Inferno09	1	0	3	1	11	9	0	0	0	0	0	1	26	55,299
MyILife	80	4	11	31	1	2	5	4	1	2	6	4	151	55,960

Novel/File	LESBIAN	L vari-ants	DYKE	GAY	QUEER	STRAI-GHT	HETERO-SEXUAL	He abbr.	HOMO-SEXUAL	Ho abbr.	BISEX-UAL	Bi abbr.	Total SILr & -v Tokens	Tokens in File
QaU_Devon	4	3	0	37	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	48	57,374
Start_FH	1	1	0	10	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	21	57,789
Sparks_D	2	0	0	21	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	58,755
Flick2011	9	21	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	35	61,040
BandGOut	6	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	10	58,529
SkyAHills	28	2	14	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	1	52	62,285
SugarRush	1	3	3	20	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	61,946
R_ALoveS	8	10	7	14	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	43	64,222
Keep_YaS	13	3	8	41	7	5	0	0	0	0	3	3	83	63,433
Pink2009	33	0	0	25	1	8	0	0	5	3	0	0	75	64,485
MeAtYou_	1	0	0	49	0	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	58	72,074
365Days	5	0	0	19	1	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	32	73,010
PYouLoveM	4	0	5	27	11	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	55	80,337
A365Days	5	0	0	53	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	69	83,456
HelloG	30	2	30	13	1	7	1	9	0	1	0	0	94	84,619
DownToTB	30	20	5	51	3	32	0	2	2	9	2	19	175	89,539
GIveRunAW	11	3	8	12	0	2	1	0	2	0	4	1	44	88,465
Torn2010	0	0	1	22	0	2	0	0	1	0	3	0	29	133,030

Table 16 Absolute frequencies of sexual identity labels in each novel

Appendix 3 – Concordance Plots: Sexual Identity Labels Usage Pattern Displays

A3.1 All SILr and SILv tokens – Illustration of Standard Concordance Plots During Development of AntConc



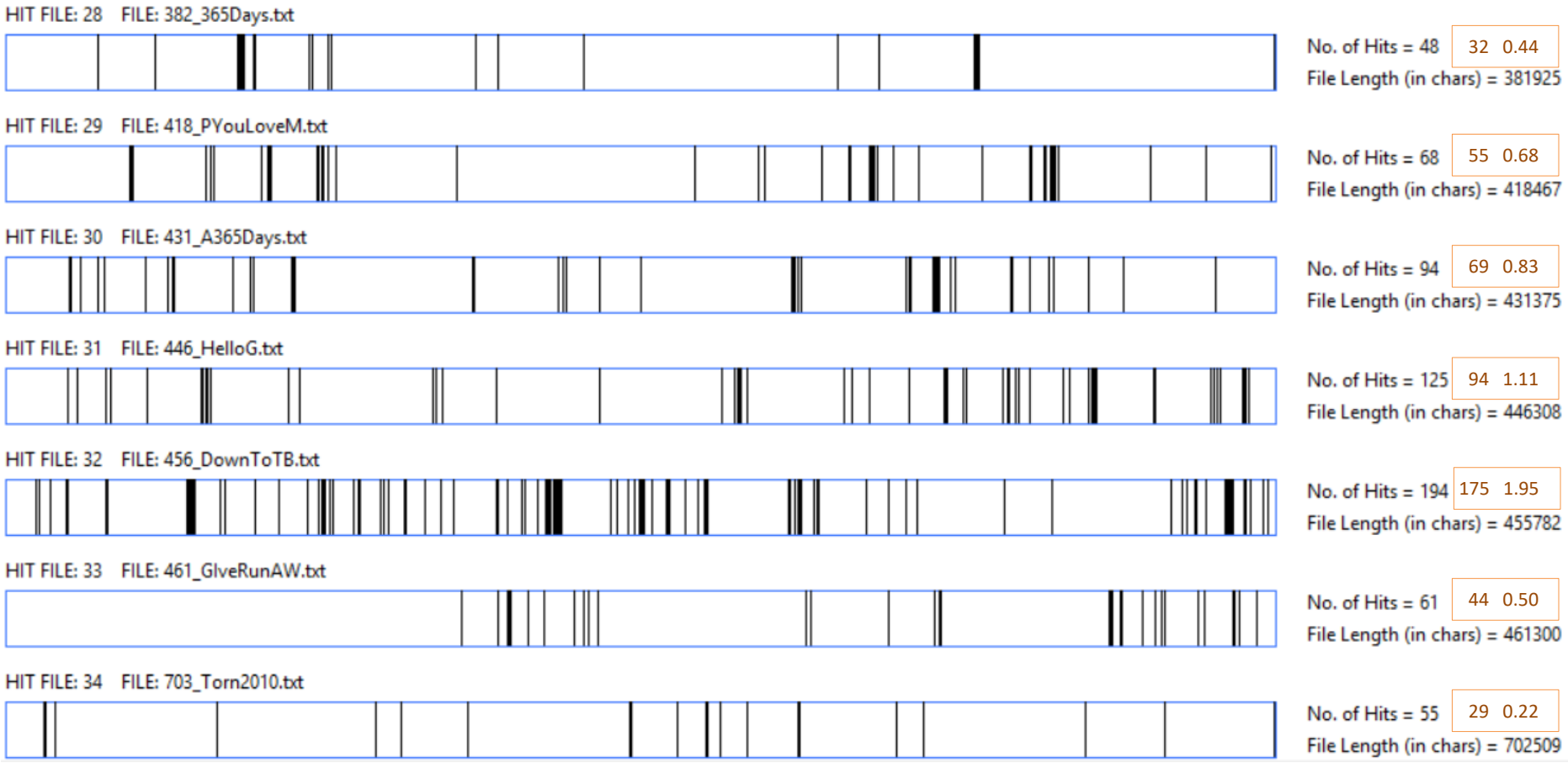


Figure 25 Usage of sexual identity labels across narratives – Illustration of standardized length plots

A3.2 Narratorial Self-Identification

Colour Legend

	direct	attrHypo
factual	dark green	light green
potential/prospective	dark orange	light orange
interrogative/conditional	purple	pink
counterfactual	black	grey

Table 17 Legend for concordance plots of narratorial self-identification with annotated sexual identity labels

GAY only in five novels

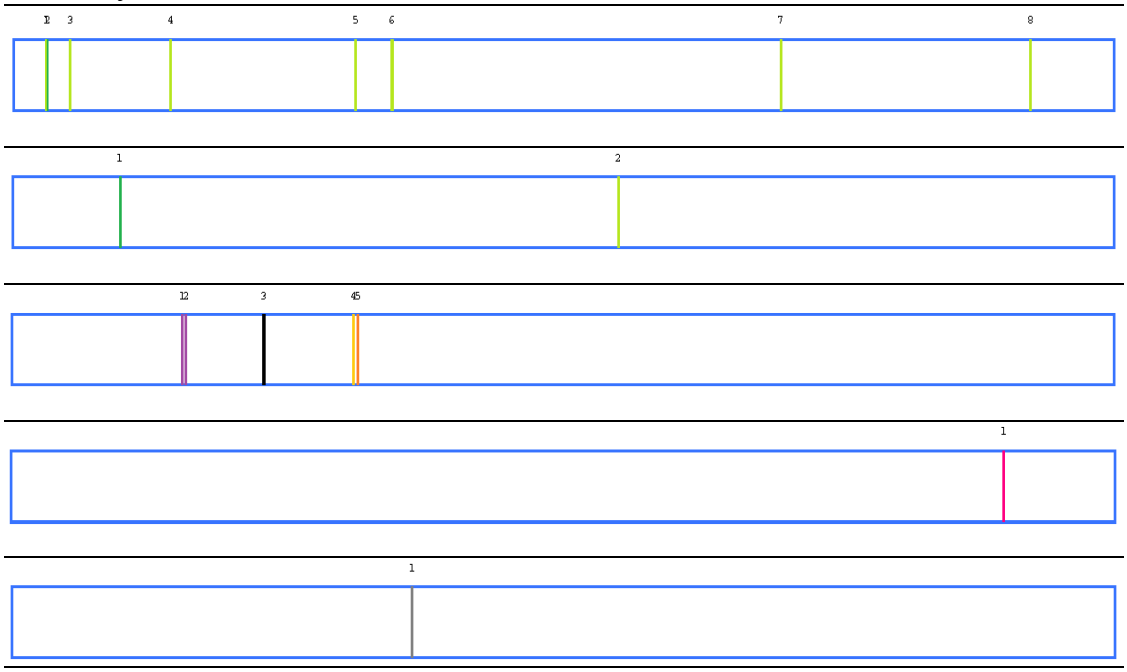
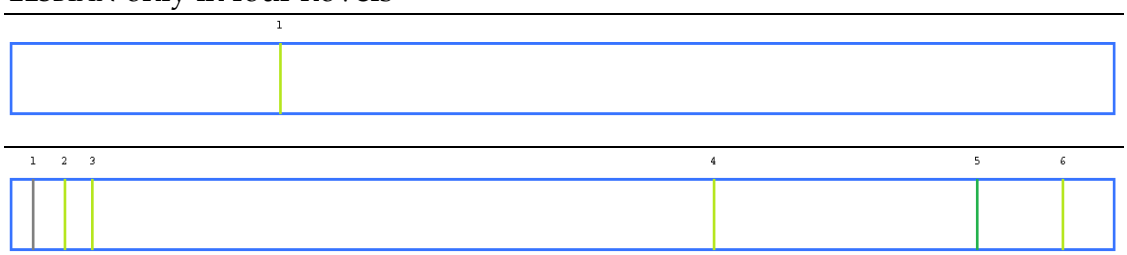


Figure 26 Narratorial self-identification with GAY only in five novels: QaU_Devon, StartFH, MeAtYou_, LfaDGirl, and Torn2010

LESBIAN only in four novels



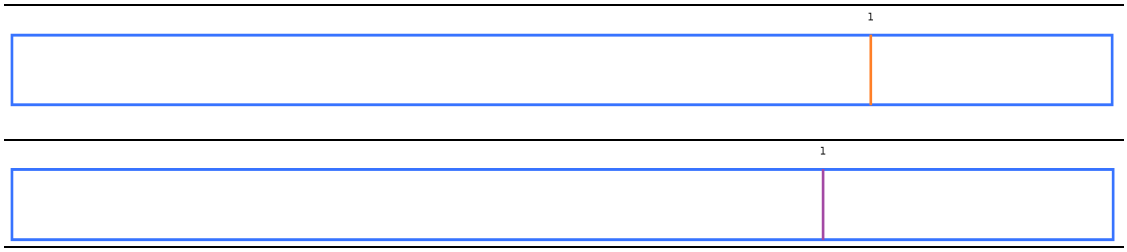


Figure 27 Narratorial self-identification with LESBIAN only in four novels: R_ALoveS, Pink2009, Flick2011, and GIveRunAW

LESBIAN and DYKE in three novels

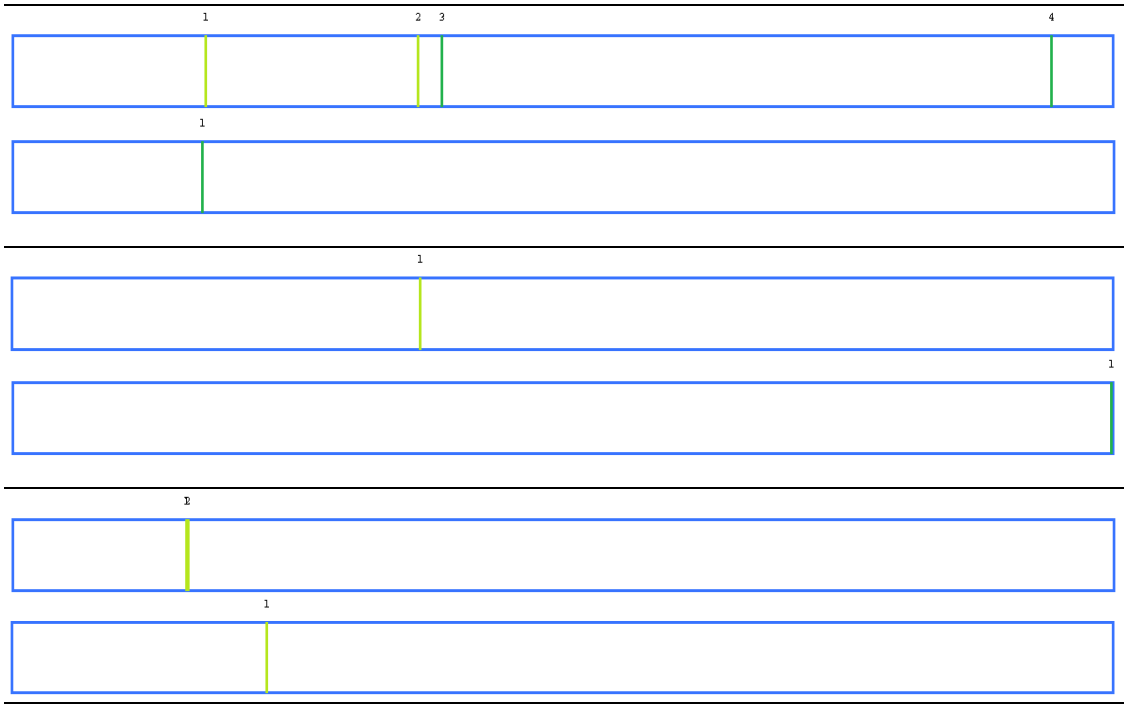


Figure 28 Narratorial self-identification with LESBIAN and DYKE in three novels: WhoIAm, FindingHF, and HelloG

LESBIAN and BI(SEXUAL) in three novels

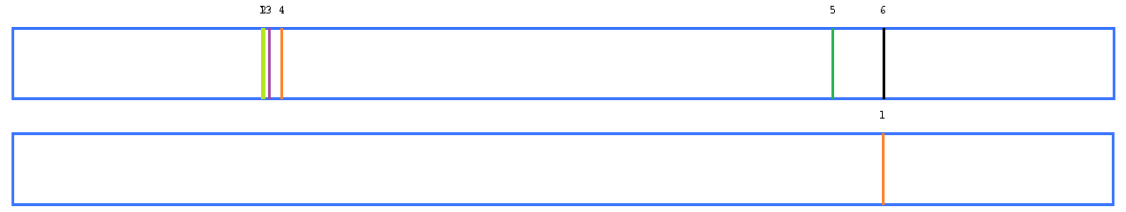


Figure 29 Narratorial self-identification with LESBIAN and BI(SEXUAL) in three novels: MyILife, SkyAHills, and Empress_W

LESBIAN, BI and GAY in Sparks_D

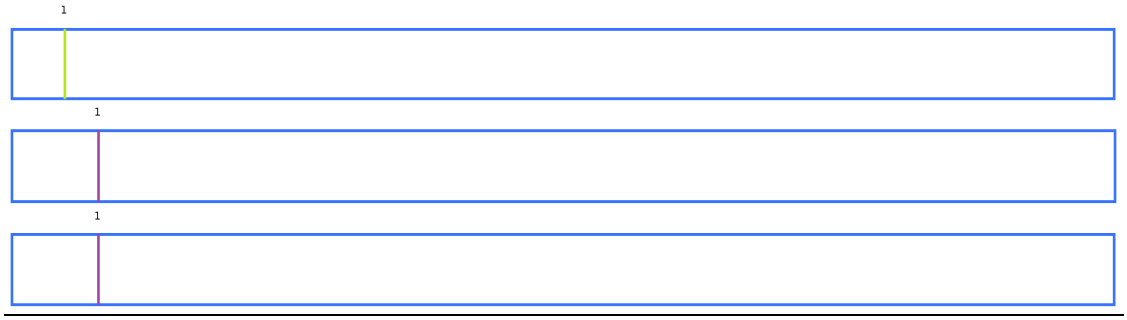


Figure 30 Narratorial self-identification with LESBIAN, BI and GAY in Sparks_D

LESBIAN, BISEXUAL and GAY in BandGOut

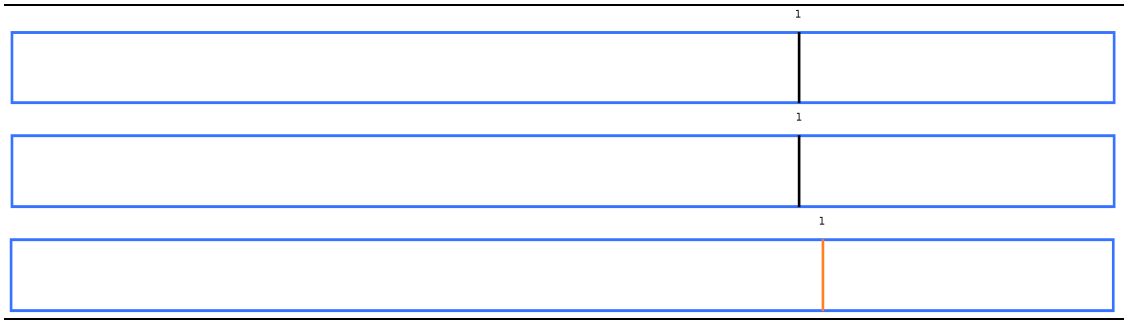


Figure 31 Narratorial self-identification with LESBIAN, BISEXUAL and GAY in BandGOut

DYKE, QUEER, and BI in Inferno09

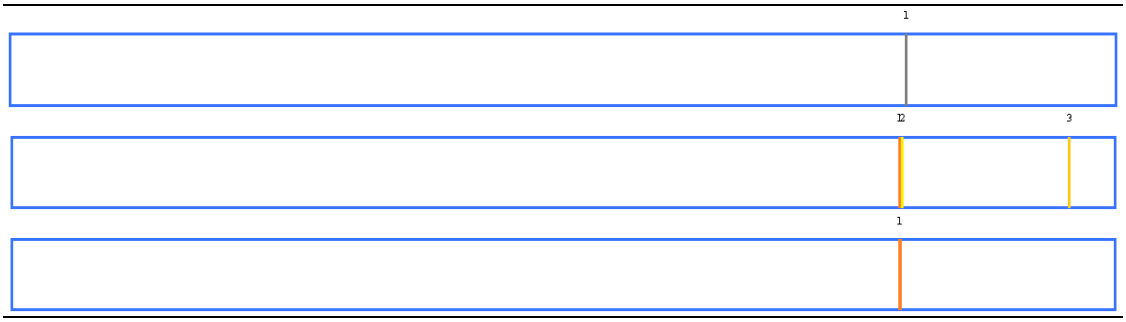


Figure 32 Narratorial self-identification with DYKE, QUEER, and BI in Inferno09

LESBIAN, DYKE, BI, and GAY in Keep_YaS

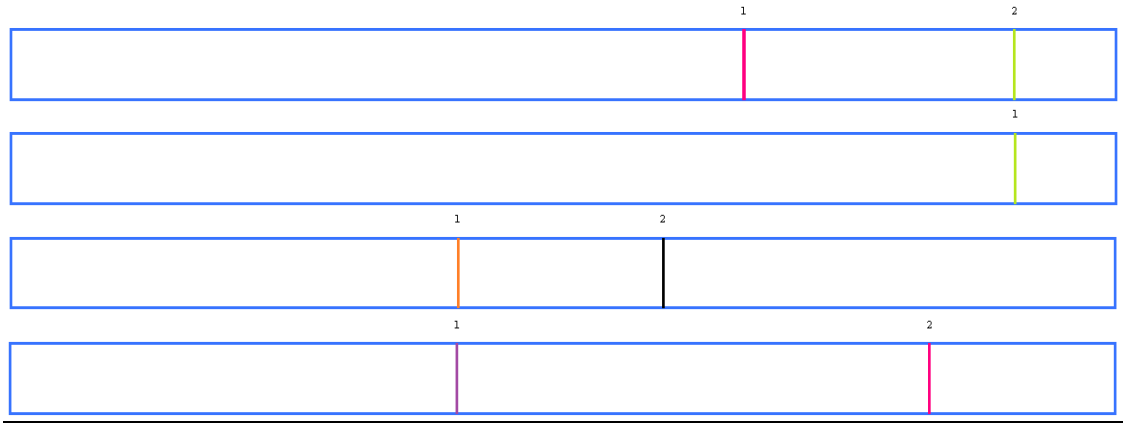


Figure 33 Narratorial self-identification with LESBIAN, DYKE, BI, and GAY in Keep_YaS

QUEER and GAY in TQWithin

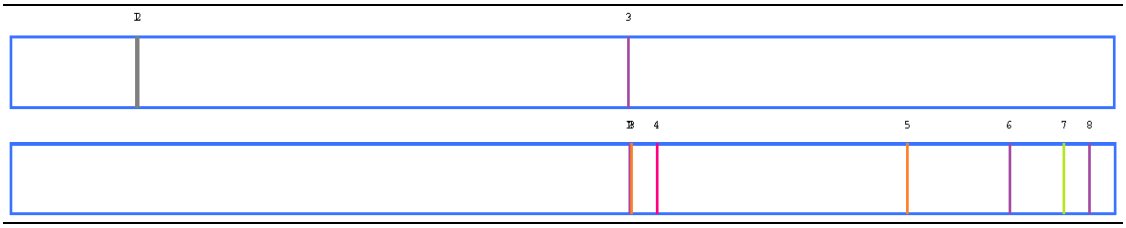


Figure 34 Narratorial self-identification with QUEER and GAY in TQWithin

LESBIAN and QUEER in Crush2006

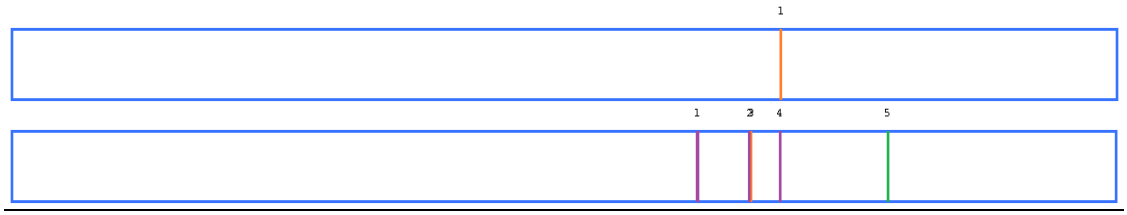


Figure 35 Narratorial self-identification with LESBIAN and QUEER in Crush2006

DYKE, QUEER, and GAY in PYouLoveM

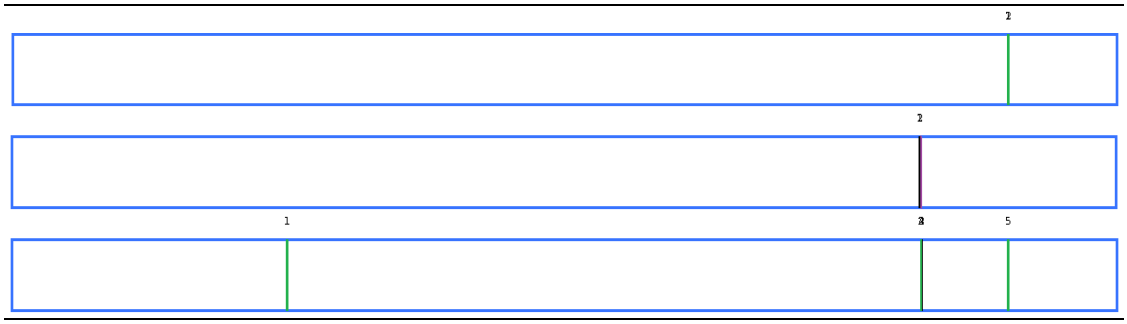


Figure 36 Narratorial self-identification with DYKE, QUEER, and GAY in PYouLoveM

LESBIAN, QUEER and GAY in 365Days

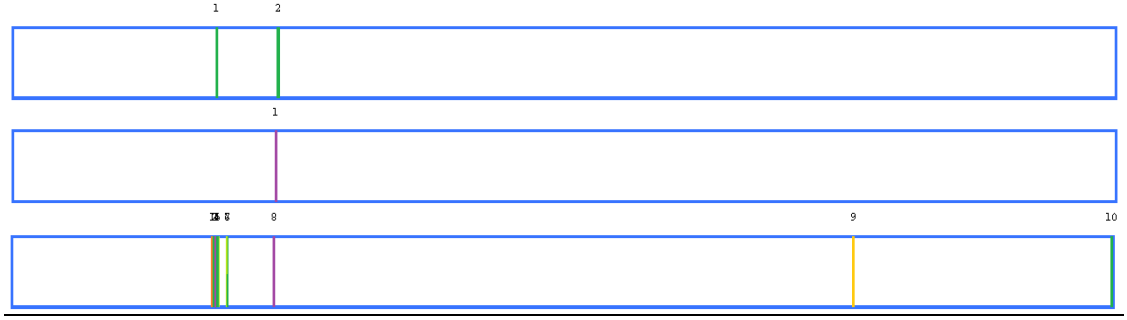


Figure 37 Narratorial self-identification with LESBIAN, QUEER and GAY in 365Days

LESBIAN and GAY in the sequel to 365Days

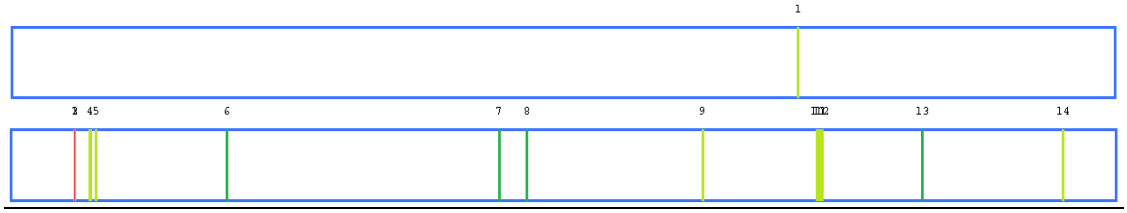


Figure 38 Narratorial self-identification with LESBIAN and GAY in the sequel to 365Days

Appendix 4 – Token-Cluster Passages

A4.1 Passages Identified

The table in this appendix lists the 37 passages identified as token-cluster passages (TCPs). The fifteen selected (see sub-section 5.2.3) are highlighted in colour:

- orange for the first set (analysed in 6.2),
- green for the second set (analysed in 6.4), and
- purple for the third set (analysed in chapter seven).

For each TCP, the table on the following pages lists:

- the number of the plot in which it occurs (corresponding to the display in Appendix B) together with the ordinal of the TCP within that plot,
- the ordinals of the first and last concordance line contained in the TCP (for cross-reference with the display in Appendix B),
- the types of cutting point which form the start and end boundary of the TCP (see below),
- the length in word tokens of the passage,
- the total number of instances of search terms within or liminal with the domain of sexuality (DoS-tokens) in the TCP,
- the resulting ratio of DoS-tokens to word tokens in it (words per DoS-token),

- the number of tokens of each label (including its variants, if any) in the TCP,
- the novel's file name and a description of the TCP's content.

In the last column, N refers to the character-narrator of the novel, who is always female.

The types of boundary used are as follows (see also section 4.2.5); the underlined word is used in the table:

- chapter boundary,
- section marker,
- change in spatial setting,
- break in temporal flow,
- change in characters present, and
- break in activity.

Plot#.##th TCP	From Hit	To Hit	Start Boundary	End Boundary	Passage Length (word tokens)	DoS-Tokens	T/W ratio	LESBIAN (& variants)	DYKE	GAY	QUEER	STRAIGHT	HETERO(SEXUAL)	HOMO(SEXUAL)	BI(SEXUAL)	Novel (Title Code)	scene narrated: key element as to SI(Ls)
1.1	1	8	activity/ character	activity	508	8	63.5	4	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	Crush 2006	N meets lesbian couple
2.1	16	23	spatial	spatial/ temporal	1334	8	166.8	1	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	TQWithin	N's counsellor comes out to her
7.1	1	19	chapter	chapter	1438	19	75.7	9	1	9	0	0	0	0	0	KissingK	N overhears homophobic use of *lesbo*
9.1	3	14	section	section	608	12	50.7	4	4	3	0	0	0	1	0	WhoI Am	N reflects on being called a *dyke*
12.1	10	16	activity /spatial	activity /spatial	2214	7	316.3	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	1	Inferno09	N talks to female friend about her boyfriend calling N *queer*
13.1	1	8	activity/ character	activity/ character /spatial	843	8	105.4	4	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	MyILife	N confronts sister about a lesbian-themed book

Plot#.##th TCP	From Hit	To Hit	Start Boundary	End Boundary	Passage Length (word tokens)	DoS-Tokens	T/W ratio	LESBIAN (& variants)	DYKE	GAY	QUEER	STRAIGHT	HETERO(SEXUAL)	HOMO(SEXUAL)	BI(SEXUAL)	Novel (Title Code)	scene narrated: key element as to SI(Ls)
13.2	26	33	activity/ character	activity/ character	612	8	76.5	6	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	MyILife	Sister dares N to come out as a *lesbian*
13.3	59	68	activity /spatial	activity /spatial/ temporal	791	10	79.1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	MyILife	N tries to make sister admit she is a *lesbian*
13.4	85	92	spatial/ temporal	chapter	433	8	54.1	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	MyILife	N chats with acquaintance about SILs
13.5	94	102	chapter	activity /spatial/ temporal	1159	9	128.8	5	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	MyILife	N updates sister on experience as an out-lesbian
14.1	14	20	activity	activity/ spatial	353	7	50.4	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	QaU_ Devon	N thinks about deceased grandma's attitude
19.1	14	20	chapter	spatial/ temporal	529	7	75.6	4	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	SkyAHills	N is called a *crotch-muncher*

Plot#.##th TCP	From Hit	To Hit	Start Boundary	End Boundary	Passage Length (word tokens)	DoS-Tokens	T/W ratio	LESBIAN (& variants)	DYKE	GAY	QUEER	STRAIGHT	HETERO(SEXUAL)	HOMO(SEXUAL)	BI(SEXUAL)	Novel (Title Code)	scene narrated: key element as to SI(Ls)
19.2	28	40	chapter	chapter	695	13	53.5	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	SkyAHills	N observes acquaintance being called a *dyke*
20.1	7	16	chapter	spatial/ temporal	1295	10	129.5	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	Sugar Rush	N internally discusses polysemy of *gay*
22.1	30	36	activity/ spatial	activity/ spatial	499	7	71.3	1	0	5	0	1	0	0	0	Keep_YaS	student council discussion over application for a gay club
23.1	13	37	activity	activity	1057	25	42.3	2	0	8	1	1	0	13	0	Pink2009	N in conversation over types of gay people and *homo*
23.2	56	62	chapter	chapter	1849	7	264.1	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	Pink2009	girlfriend outs N to friends at new school
23.3	73	82	activity/ spatial	chapter	1511	10	151.1	5	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	Pink2009	N talks to male friend/love interest about her SI

Plot#.##th TCP	From Hit	To Hit	Start Boundary	End Boundary	Passage Length (word tokens)	DoS-Tokens	T/W ratio	LESBIAN (& variants)	DYKE	GAY	QUEER	STRAIGHT	HETERO(SEXUAL)	HOMO(SEXUAL)	BI(SEXUAL)	Novel (Title Code)	scene narrated: key element as to SI(Ls)
24.1	23	35	section	chapter	2430	13	186.9	0	0	11	0	2	0	0	0	MeAt You_	N comes out to (straight) online acquaintance
25.1	4	10	chapter	chapter	540	7	77.1	1	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	365Days	N comes out to herself
26.1	12	18	spatial/ temporal	spatial/ temporal	1809	7	258.4	0	0	3	1	3	0	0	0	PYouLoveM	N talks to gay male friend about falling for straights
26.2	26	32	spatial/ temporal	spatial/ temporal	655	7	93.6	0	2	4	0	1	0	0	0	PYouLoveM	N visits a park which is a gay meeting place
26.3	42	49	spatial/ temporal (section)	chapter	605	8	75.6	0	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	PYouLoveM	N comes out to herself
27.1	31	40	chapter	chapter	901	10	90.1	0	0	6	0	4	0	0	0	A365 Days	N's parents talk about same-sex marriage
28.1	7	20	chapter	temporal /spatial	858	14	61.3	4	0	3	0	2	4	1	0	Hello G	N elaborates on why she does not come out

Plot#.##th TCP	From Hit	To Hit	Start Boundary	End Boundary	Passage Length (word tokens)	DoS-Tokens	T/W ratio	LESBIAN (& variants)	DYKE	GAY	QUEER	STRAIGHT	HETERO(SEXUAL)	HOMO(SEXUAL)	BI(SEXUAL)	Novel (Title Code)	scene narrated: key element as to SI(Ls)
28.2	24	30	activity/ temporal	activity	1378	7	196.9	2	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	Hello G	N observes homophobic incident
28.3	37	48	activity/ character	activity/ character	1183	12	98.6	5	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	Hello G	N has to explain about gay male character on TV to younger sister
28.4	73	79	character	temporal	1319	7	188.4	2	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	Hello G	N comes out to father
29.1	15	25	activity	activity	702	11	63.8	5	0	3	0	1	0	2	0	Down ToTB	Conversation about exposure of N's same-sex relationship
29.2	32	38	activity	chapter	1369	7	195.6	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	Down ToTB	N oversees workers, one of whom insults another as *bi*
29.3	61	84	chapter	chapter	4705	24	196.0	9	0	8	0	5	0	0	2	Down ToTB	N visits a club for LGBT+ people
29.4	87	96	character	chapter	2077	10	207.7	6	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	Down ToTB	N falls for a waitress at an LGBT+ restaurant

Plot#.##th TCP	From Hit	To Hit	Start Boundary	End Boundary	Passage Length (word tokens)	DoS-Tokens	T/W ratio	LESBIAN (& variants)	DYKE	GAY	QUEER	STRAIGHT	HETERO(SEXUAL)	HOMO(SEXUAL)	BI(SEXUAL)	Novel (Title Code)	scene narrated: key element as to SI(Ls)
29.5	104	111	activity	activity	845	8	105.6	0	0	5	0	2	0	0	1	Down ToTB	Conversation about women's and LGBT rights
29.6	112	127	character	chapter	2760	16	172.5	3	0	5	0	4	1	0	3	Down ToTB	Conversation about N pretending to be straight
29.7	139	146	activity	activity/ character	953	8	119.1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	Down ToTB	Conversation with love interest about N's relationship status
29.8	153	167	activity/ character	activity/ character	806	15	53.7	3	1	5	0	5	1	0	0	Down ToTB	Gay man offers marriage to N, who declines
31.1	1	8	spatial/ temporal	chapter	911	8	113.9	0	0	7	0	0	0	1	0	Torn2 010	Conversation about “what are you” (as regards N, racially)

Table 18 Token-cluster passages identified

A4.2 Select Token-Cluster Passages: Part One

A4.2.1 Only passage in *Quite an Undertaking*

QaU_Devon @ 29-30% (Clanton, 2009, n. p.)

[1] I got up, took my new earrings out of their small plastic bag, and then took off my gold ball earrings. [2] I lifted the lid to my jewelry box and laughed. [3] I'd have to ask Mom for a grown up jewelry box for Christmas this year. [4] The cheesy Howe Caverns stamp on the top of my current one reminded me of the car trip Missy and I took with Grandma and Grandpa to the Finger Lakes when I was ten. [5] Amazingly, I didn't choke up at the memory. [6] Maybe I was making progress.

[7] I carefully put on my new hoops. [8] They were only about a half inch in diameter, but still, I'd never worn any kind of hoops before. [9] I felt grown up all of a sudden. [10] With my new earrings and new highlights, maybe Rebecca would look at me the way I wanted her to. [11] Not just as a friend, but something more.

[12] I sighed and gently placed the earrings that Grandma had given me in the cedar box and then shut the lid. [13] There was no way I could have told Grandma that I was gay. [14] She had been old-fashioned, but maybe she knew now. [15] Maybe she looked down from heaven and was okay with me. [16] Grandpa, too. [17] Maybe they'd both know that being gay wasn't a choice or something I randomly decided to be. [18] Maybe they would understand that I wasn't some evil horrible person, and that it was something I figured out about myself in eighth grade. [19] My crush on Marcy Berger didn't last long, but the deep attraction I had for her back then woke up something inside me. [20] When Missy wasn't around, I secretly searched the Internet for anything gay-related and discovered a whole world of gay people. [21] They called it "the gay community" on a few websites. [22] I didn't know if Grasse River had a "gay community," but I hoped someday I'd find one somewhere if it existed. [23] Those websites were right. [24] I wasn't gay because I chose to be. [25] I just was.

A4.2.2 First passage in *Hello, Groin*

HelloG @ 15-16% (Goobie, 2006, n. p.)

<chapter chapterTitle=Chapter Five>

A4.2.3 Third passage in *Hello, Groin*

HelloG @ 56-57% (Goobie, 2006, n. p.)

A4.2.4 Only passage in *Kissing Kate*

KissingK @ 42-44% (Myracle, 2003/2007, pp. 83–87)

<chapter chapterTitle=CHAPTER 12>

</chapter>

A4.2.5 Only passage in *Who I Am*

WhoIAm @ 17-18% (Rice, 2011, n. p.)

*

*

A4.2.6 Only passage in *365 Days*

365Days @ 18-19% (Payne, 2011, n. p.)

<chapter chapterTitle=Sunday 11 March>

</chapter>

A4.2.7 Only passage in *The Questions Within*

TQWithin @ 89-95% (Schaeffer, 2008, pp. 132–140)

A4.2.8 Third passage in *Pretend You Love Me*

PYouLoveM @ 78-79% (Peters, 2014, pp. 232–234)

</chapter>

A4.3 Select Token-Cluster Passages: Part Two

A4.3.1 First passage in *Pink*

Pink2009 @ 21-23% (Wilkinson, 2009, pp. 69–74)

A4.3.2 Third passage in *Pink*

Pink2009 @ 96–99% (Wilkinson, 2009, pp. 303-310)

</chapter>

</body>

A4.3.3 First passage in *Down to the Bone*

DownToTB @ 14-15% (Dole, 2012, n. p.)

A4.3.4 Seventh passage in *Down to the Bone*

DownToTB @ 87-88% (Dole, 2012, n. p.)

A4.3.5 Fourth passage in *My Invented Life*

MyILife @ 42-43% (Bjorkman, 2009, pp. 97–98)

</chapter>

A4.3.6 Fifth passage in *My Invented Life*

MyILife @ 46-47% (Bjorkman, 2009, pp. 106–110)

<chapter chapterTitle=Chapter 13>

A4.3.7 Only passage in *Sugar Rush*

SugarRush @ 28-30% (Burchill, 2004/2005, pp. 79–84)

<chapter chapterTitle=7>

Appendices on CD-ROM

A – Excel List Table: Characteristics of the Corpus Texts

B – PDF file: Cluster Identification Display

Author's Last Name	Title Code	Full Title	Year of First Publication	Year of Edition obtained	Setting (1=Yes)	No. of Pages in Original Book	Hundred-Log-Plus-Alpha Thousands of Characters	Tokens (syntax file	Types (in plaintext)	Primary Mood of Publication	First person narrator character name(s)	Notes on Narration	Author last name, other names	Author sex	Author's nationality / country of origin	Author's country of residence	Setting-Culture (most prominent social environment)	Subject Matter of Novel as regards Sexuality (with spoilers)	Source of Identification	Other Secondary Literature cited	r rect (1 = yes, 0 = no)	Summary in Front Matter (FM) or Back Matter (BM)	Pictorial Appendix #
Adams	Sparks_D	*Sparks: the epic, completely true blue, (almost) holy quest of Debbie*	2011	2011	2011	256	303	58,755	4,447	LS	Debbie		**Adams, S. J. [pseudonym of Selsor, Adam]**	M	American/USA	**USA**	school, white	Debbie gets involved in a pseudo-religion while trying to come out to the conservative Christian friend whom she has a long-held crush on	Chapman		0		16
Argo	GIveRunAW	*Girls I've Run Away With*	2013	2013	1995	263	461	88,465	7,169	LS	Lo(rena)		**Argo, Rhiannon**	F	?	**?**	various	Lo has several same-sex relationships during her adolescence, her mother takes measures to make her straight but she repeatedly runs away with her girlfriends continuing a "gay lifestyle"; she tries having sex with males but define herself as lesbian, one girlfriend is portrayed as bisexual	LeeWind		0		30
Bigelow	Start_ER	*Starting From Here*	2012	2012	2012	282	298	57,789	5,604	LS	Colby (colb33)	Includes chat lines (\\\Name:...\\\)	**Bigelow, Lisa Jenn**	F	American/USA	**USA**	various	Colby gets dumbed by her girlfriend at the start of the novel and it follows her journey to trusting people again; they are in a gay-straight alliance in school, there are minor LGBTQ characters	Chapman		0	FM: Sixteen-year-old Colby is barely hanging on with her mother dead, her long-haul trucker father often away, her almost-girlfriend dumping her for a boy, and her failing grades, when a stray dog appears and helps her find hope.	15
Bjorkman	MyTiLife	*My Invented Life*	2009	2009	2009	240	296	55,960	7,032	LS	Roz (Rosella) (rav)	(chat lines and other such: //name: .../// story-now>speaker-now (present tense)	**Bjorkman, Lauren**	F	American/USA	**USA**	school, white	Roz suspects her sister has an affair with a girl and comes out as a lesbian to support her while being jealous of her including wanting her boyfriend; from descriptions and reviews it seems that both girls explore their sexuality and the novel's message is that sexuality is fluid	Chapman		1	FM: During rehearsals for Shakespeare's "As You Like It," sixteen-year-old Roz, jealous of her cheerleader sister's acting skills and heartthrob boyfriend, invents a new identity, with unexpected results.	13
Bloss	BandGOut	*Band Geeked Out*	2009	2009	2009	276	308	58,529	4,639	LS	Ellie (TRUMPETGIRL)	narrator "questioning character" (chat lines: //NAME: ...///	**Bloss, Josie**	F	American/USA	**USA**	school, white	sequel to *Band Geek Love*, in which Ellie falls for a boy two years younger than her; in this he's her boyfriend and she intended to stay close when going to college but is tempted move to a college very far away; she meets another girl there when on a visit and she questions whether her attraction to her is sexual	Chapman		0		18
Burchill	SugarRush	*Sugar Rush*	2004	2005	2004	300	326	61,946	7,154	UK	Kim	past tense (mainly); unspecified speaker-now	**Burchill, Julie**	F	English/UK	**United Kingdom**	school, various (UK)	When Kim's mother runs away with a younger man, her father sends her to a non-pay school where Kim meets "Sugar", who toys with Kim (including sexually); Kim eventually goes back to pay school and starts a same-sex relationship with her former best friend there	Epstein Book		1		20
Calin	BetweenYM	*Between You & Me*	2012	2012	2012	256	217	41,608	4,027	LS	Phyre	script-style narrative; direct speech in script format; also direct speech in running text with no quotation marks	**Calin, Marisa**	F	English/UK	**USA**	school	a friend of Phyre, whom she kisses in the end, is addressed in her narrative only as *you* so it is unclear whether that person is male or female; Phyre is also attracted to a female teacher - they have an affair	Amazon		0	BM: Phyre, sixteen, narrates her life as if it were a film, capturing her crush on Mia, a student teacher of theater and film studies, as well as her fast friendship with a classmate referred to only as "you."	-
Clanton	QaU_Devon	*Quite An Undertaking: Devon's Story*	2009	2009	2009	160	297	57,374	4,461	LS	Devon	past tense: story-now>speaker-now	**Clanton, Barbara L.**	F	American/USA	**USA**	school, various	at the funeral of her grandmother Devon falls for an "ebony dancer" ("a black girl"), she has a supportive older sister and a best female friend	Chapman		1		14
Cronn-Mills	SkyAllLie	*The Sky Always Hears Me And The Hills Don't Mind*	2009	2009	2009	221	316	62,285	5,209	LS	Morgan		**Cronn-Mills, Kirstin**	F	American/USA	**USA**	rural, white	Morgan has a boyfriend and is also attracted to another guy but has shared a kiss with the out lesbian of her school; her Dad is an alcoholic, he was beaten by his mother, who confesses to Morgan that she hit her once (suffering from premenstrual syndrom) and that that is the underlying cause of Morgan's mother's fatal car accident	Chapman		0	FM: Sixteen-year-old Morgan struggles with her growing attraction to a coworker, her unsatisfactory relationship with her boyfriend, and with her own sexual orientation after a girlfriend is rumored to be gay. / Earlier in FM: Sixteen-year-old Morgan lives in a hick town in the middle of Nebraska. College is two years away. Her mom was killed in a car accident when she was three, her dad drinks, and her stepmom is a non-entity. Her boyfriend Derek is boring and her coworker Rob has a very cute butt that she can't stop staring at. Then there's the kiss she shared with her neighbor Tessa. / But when Morgan discovers that the one person in the world she trusted most has kept a devastating secret from her, Morgan must redefine her life and herself.	19
Dole	DownToTB	*Down to the Bone*	2008	2012	2008	261	456	89,539	7,361	LS	Shai	progressing speaker-now: present tense and past tense story-nows (single quotes for quotes within quotes)	**Dole, Mayra Lazara**	F	Cuban American /Cuba	**USA**	Cuban community in Miami	expanded edition of novel published to great acclaim because (at least then) only YA FSSA novel with Latina main characters; Shai gets thrown out of her house and school for seeing her girlfriend in class; though she does not reveal her girlfriend's name, the latter eventually is married off in Puerto Rico; Shai tries falling for a guy but eventually starts a relationship with an out Caucasian girl	Chapman		1		29
Goobie	Hello11e9	*Hello, Groin*	2006	2006	2006	292	446	84,619	5,955	Can	Dylan	past tense: story-now>speaker-now	**Goobie, Beth**	F	Canadian	**Canada**	school, white (Canada)	Dylan is in the closet at first (holding onto her popular boyfriend) but eventually faces up to liking girls (in particular her long-term best friend) and finds her friends and family supportive (author wrote about choosing to portray a positive environment @ http://www.orcabook.com/client/client_pages/hellogroin.cfm)	Chapman	Stein	1	FM: Dylan discovers that friendship can get in the way of love.	28
Hoblin	A_sneaky13	*archenemy*	2013	2013	2013	112	76	14,740	2,020	LS	Addie		**Hoblin, Paul**	M	?	**?**	school	Addie, the first-person narrator, and Eva play for the soccer high school team as defenders and both are lesbian - Addie is out generally and Eva to Addie having a crush on her; when Addie tells her that she isn't attracted to her, Eva turns mean	LeeWind		0	Back Cover: As a defender for the Fraser High girls soccer team, Addie used to be ready for anything. There was no play she couldn't shut down. But now the biggest threat on the field is one of her teammates ... who is also Addie's former best friend. / When Eva Riley moved to town, she and Addie became super close. But when Eva wanted to be more than friends, Addie put soccer first instead. Suddenly Eva's sending Addie mean notes. Then she's screwing up Addie's plays. After a while, Addie's not sure she even wants her friend back. She has to worry about other things - like keeping her spot on the team after Eva's latest act of sabotage ...	-
Horniman	AboutAG	*About A Girl*	2010	2010	2010	204	240	45,846	4,838	Aus	Anna		**Horniman, Joanne**	F	Australian	**Australia**	rural	Anna, the first-person narrator, has depression and Flynn, the female she falls for has a past that threatens her and their relationship (her brother Simon died in an accident)	Chapman		0		5
Jahn-Clough	CGCSLir1	*Country Girl, City Girl*	2004	2004	2004	192	250	48,434	4,345	LS	Phoebe	narrated by the country girl of the title throughout, who is visited by and then visits the city girl	**Jahn-Clough, Lisa**	F	American/USA	**USA**	rural and urban, white	Phoebe questions whether her attraction to the city girl of the title is sexual	Cart & Jenkins		0	FM: When thirteen-year-old Melita, the sophisticated daughter of a New York actress, comes to visit Phoebe, who has been raised by her father on a farm in Maine, Phoebe discovers she has confusing feelings about their developing friendship.	-
Knowles	LfaDGir1	*Lessons From A Dead Girl*	2007	2007	2005	215	216	42,860	3,491	LS	Laine	Laine reflects on her relationship with another girl who is now dead but used to "practice" with her in a closet (Chapman describes it as "about lesbian sexual abuse, but also includes positive depictions of lesbianism"), a male friend turns out to be gay	**Knowles, Jo**	F	American/USA	**USA**	school, white	Laine reflects on her relationship with another girl who is now dead but used to "practice" with her in a closet (Chapman describes it as "about lesbian sexual abuse, but also includes positive depictions of lesbianism"), a male friend turns out to be gay	Chapman		0	BM: After her former friend Leah dies in an automobile accident, Laine remembers their troubled relationship, dating back to elementary school when Leah convinced Laine to "practice" in the closet with her, and Leah controlled her every thought.	4
Lehman	Tom2010	*Torn*	2010	2012	2010	404	703	133,030	8,249	LS	Kris(ta)		**Lehman, Amber**	F	American/USA	**USA**	school, various (FPN is "part black")	Kris, a 14-years old, goes from a Catholic school to a public high school in California; her half-brother calls what happens with a new friend, Carrie, "dyking out with"; both girls question their sexuality following the incident; Kris asks their male friend Brandon, who is out as gay, to sleep with her; he does and in the end starts a relationship with Kris deciding that as it comes to attraction what matters is the person, which may mean that he is defined as bisexual	Chapman		0		31
Mac	Crush2006	*Crush*	2006	2006	2006	112	91	17,787	2,656	Can	Hope		**Mac, Carrie**	F	Canadian	**Canada**	summer (spend in NYC)	Hope is sent by her parents from their commune to live with her sister while they do humanitarian work abroad; she becomes a nanny for a lesbian couple who help her understand a crush she gets on another girl	Chapman		1	FM: During a summer in New York, Hope falls in love with another girl and must decide whether she is gay.	1
Meade	Flick2011	*Flick*	2011	2011	2011	277	307	61,040	3,973	Ire	Flick (Felicity)		**Meade, Geraldine**	F	Irish	**Ireland**	urban, white (implicitly set in Ireland)	Flick falls for her brother's girlfriend, they kiss but at a party the older girl laughs at Flick and Flick thereupon tries to act straight taking drugs - she gets raped; when a photo of her kissing (the girl) is put on facebook, she tries to commit suicide; in therapy she meets another girl who comes out to her but turns out to be the therapists daughter; they reconcile in the end and Flick's best friends are supportive - one identifies as either-sex oriented	my BA dissertation		1		17
Myracle	KissingK	*Kissing Kate*	2003	2007	2003	208	255	49,027	4,736	LS	Lissa	past tense: story-now>speaker-now	**Myracle, Lauren**	F	American/USA	**USA**	urban, white	Lissa questions whether she is gay following a sexual incident with her best friend, Kate, at a party; since then, Kate shuns her; an outsider girl from school who becomes a co-worker also becomes her new confidante	Cart & Jenkins	Wickens	1	FM: Sixteen-year-old Lissa's relationship with her best friend changes after they kiss at a party and Lissa does not know what to do, until she gets help from an unexpected new friend.	7
Payne	365Days	*365 Days*	2011	2011	2007	234	382	73,010	5,574	LS	Clemmie (Clementine)	diary format (one calendar year)	**Payne, K. E.**	F	English/UK	**United Kingdom**	school (UK)	Clemmie has a crush on a girl whom she refers to as *I*; she dates a boy (Ben) whom she is not interested in; when a new girl (Hannah) shows interest in her, they start a relationship but Clemmie remains closeted	AuthorWebsite		1	FM: One mixed-up girl, one dull boy, two hot distractions. How does one figure it all out?/ Life sucks when you're seventeen years old, confused about your sexuality, and the girl of your dreams doesn't even know you exist. The sudden entrance of a hot new emo at school only adds to the confusion./ Clemmie Atkins thinks she's in love with her school friend, the mysterious and alluring J. Devastated that J doesn't even seem to know she exists, Clemmie tries to escape her feelings by dating the nice but dim Ben. Unfortunately for Clemmie—and Josh [sic]—J just won't leave her head, or her heart./ Until .../ In walks sexy new-girl, Hannah Harrison. Before long, dreams of Hannah begin to eclipse the impossible thoughts of J and the boredom of Ben. Clemmie has exactly 365 days to discover herself, and she's going to have a blast doing it!	25
Payne	A365Days	*Another 365 Days*	2013	2013	2008	248	431	83,456	5,389	LS	Clemmie (+)	diary format (one calendar year subsequent to *365 Days*)	**Payne, K. E.**	F	English/UK	**United Kingdom**	school (UK)	Clemmie is sick of hiding her same-sex relationship but does not dare to come out except for gradually to some select peers and her sister; during a break up with Hannah, she has an affair with a long-term female friend but later reconciles with Hannah and gets engaged to her at the end of the year	AuthorWebsite		0	FM: Life's sweet when you're seventeen and in love, right? Clemmie Atkins certainly thinks so! She's still madly in love with her girlfriend, the hot and super-confident EMO, Hannah Harrison, and her irritating sister, HRBH, will soon be leaving home to go to university./ But just when it seems that life is finally pretty darn cool, a new distraction at school threatens to upset everything, and the return of the enigmatic and sexy J with a startling confession confuses things further .../ Clemmie has another 365 days to try to get her life back on track...but will it be enough?	27
Payne	MeAtYou_	me@you.com	2012	2012	2012	253	375	72,074	4,362	LS	Imogen / Immy (Bernaby Rudge)	first person with the chat lines given (\\\\Name: ...\\\\) also at least a couple of emails reproduced (which talk about Immy in the third person) and other electronic communication which is not marked up formally	**Payne, K.E.**	F	English/UK	**United Kingdom**	UK, with online acquaintances including two love interests	Immy discovers another side of herself when she start engaging with the online fan community of a show which features a lesbian couple, she sleeps with her boyfriend but then decides to break up with him and meet a female online acquaintance for real, Fickle turns out to be fickle but Immy's school friends and another female online acquaintance make her look for another girlfriend (in the latter)	AuthorWebsite		0	FM: Is it possible to fall in love with someone you've never met? Imogen Summers thinks so because it's happened to her./Immy is a normal eighteen-year-old, with a normal life, a normal family, and a normal boyfriend. But when she finds herself falling for a girl on an Internet message board, a girl she knows only as the mysterious Fickle, her so-called normal life is suddenly turned on its head./ As her relationship with Fickle develops into more than just friendship, Immy finds another message board friend, the sweet and lovely Freddie, the perfect person to confide in. But can Freddie stay out of it when she starts to fall for Immy herself? Things are about to get complicated...	24
Peters	Keep_YaS	*Keeping You a Secret*	2003	2014	2003	256	334	63,433	8,043	LS	Holland		**Peters, Julie Anne**	F	American/USA	**USA**	school, white	Holland discovers her own same-sex sexuality when an out-lesbian, Cece, transfers to her school; they start a relationship but Cece is anxious about Holland keeping their relationship a secret (it turns out because when her last girlfriend joined Cece's lesbigay group she left her for another girl in it); when Holland's mother finds out about their relationship, she throws Holland out of the house	Cart & Jenkins	Wickens, Jones, Gillingham	0		22
Peters	PFouLoveAt	*Far From Xanadu (Pretend You Love Me, 2011)*	2005	2014	2005	288	418	80,337	7,019	LS	Mike (Mary Elizabeth)	past tense: story-now>speaker-now	**Peters, Julie Ann**	F	American/USA	**USA**	rural, white	crush on straight girl; Mike is quite masculine in appearance but at the beginning of the second chapter she says she does not want to be a guy (that is, cisgender female first-person narrator); Mike's best friend, Jamie, is an all-out gay boy	Epstein Book	Gillingham	1		26
Peters	R_ALove0	*Rage: A love story*	2009	2009	2009	304	332	64,222	5,920	LS	Johanna		**Peters, Julie Ann**	F	American/USA	**USA**	urban, white	Johanna has a same-sex relationship with Reeve but trying to help Reeve with her family troubles ends in disaster; Johanna also has a close female friend, Novak, they kiss when Novak breaks up with her boyfriend and Reeve becomes physically violent when she finds out; Novak leaves and writes to Johanna that she's with another girl	Chapman, AuthorWebsite		0	BM: At the end of high school, Johanna finally begins dating the girl she has loved from afar, but Reese is as much trouble as she claims to be as she and her twin brother damage Johanna's self-esteem, friendships, and already precarious relationship with her sister.	21
Rainfield	Scars2010	*Scars*	2010	2010	2010	248	277	55,190	4,087	LS	Kendra		**Rainfield, Cheryl**	F	Canadian	**Canada**	various	Kendra tries to deal with the sexual abuse she suffered as a child when her abuser (who turns out to be her father) tries to make sure she doesn't tell; she gets support from her therapist, a male gay friend of her mother and a girlfriend	Chapman		0	FM: Fifteen-year-old Kendra, a budding artist, has not felt safe since she began to recall devastating memories of childhood sexual abuse, especially since she cannot remember her abuser's identity, and she copes with the pressure by cutting herself.	11
Rice	WhoIAm	*Who I Am*	2011	2011	2011	189	266	50,906	5,263	LS	Devin	past tense: story-now>speaker-now	**Rice, M. L.**	F	American/USA	**USA**	school	Devin has lost her air-force father and moves (again) to a new high school; she is bullied but defended by the bully's sister, Melanie - they become friends and girlfriends; Devin's mom accepts her daughter's same-sex relationship but Melanie's parents and twin brother do not; they reunite in college	Chapman		1	FM: Devin Kelly—Air Force brat. Band nerd. Bookworm. Loner. After the death of her father, she and her mother move to Los Angeles to start a new life. Devin is "welcomed" to her new school by Jason, an arrogant bully who promises to make the rest of her senior year miserable. Things turn around, however, when beautiful, intelligent Melanie Parker, who happens to be Jason's sister, comes to her rescue. Devin is inspired by her new friend, and for the first time, begins to excel in school and is able to nurture her inherent musical talent. As Devin's and Melanie's relationship grows, Devin finds herself becoming increasingly drawn to her new friend's vivacious spirit. Devin's newfound confidence is severely tested, however, when Jason's bullying takes a violent turn...and she realizes that her feelings for Melanie are more than platonic.	9
Ryan	Empress_W	*Empress of the World*	2001	2001	2001	224	246	47,446	4,704	US	Nic(ola)	Includes field notes, that is, Nic setting down her thoughts on her social environment in a similar manner to an archeologist on past cultures	**Ryan, Sara**	F	American	**USA**	summer school (for gifted youth - academic programmes)	Nic's relationship with Battle is strained by Nic trying to analyse Battle; both girls resist being labelled lesbians/dykes; Nic is portrayed as not attracted to a particular sex	my BA dissertation	Wickens, Jones, Kneen	1		6
Schaeffer	TQWithin	*The Questions Within*	2008	2008	2007	144	118	23,250	2,148	UK	Constance	past tense story-now framed/interspersed by present tense story- and speaker-now	**Schaeffer, Teresa**	F	American/USA	**USA**	school, white	Constance feels different and outcast questioning whether she is lesbian; she gets help from a counsellor, who is in a lesbian relationship; her best friend Kara dates another girl; her mother is her only family and she feels rejected by her due to her nonconformity to heteronormativity	Chapman		1		2
Stevenson	Inferno09	*Inferno*	2009	2009	2009	240	282	55,299	4,360	Can	Dante	present tense	**Stevenson, Robin**	F	Canadian/UK	**Canada**	school, white	Dante hates school, her best female friend who unbeknownst to everyone else had been more than a friend moved away over the summer and back at school she meets a girl, Parker, whom she falls in love with and gets involved with her anarchist activist group; Parker has a boyfriend	Chapman		0	FM: Dante is disillusioned with school and wishes she was able to be open about her sexuality, but her new friends make life even more difficult.	12
Stevenson	GoOutSec	*Out of Order*	2007	2007	2007	232	267	52,199	4,245	Can	Sophie		**Stevenson, Robin**	F	Canadian/UK	**Canada**	school, white (Victoria, presumably Canada)	Sophie is happy to move as she was bullied as an alleged "dyke" at school; at the new school she becomes friends with Zella and Mac; the latter girl is a horse-rider, like Sopie; Zella tells Sopie that Mac is "a dyke"; the girls reconcile in the end, as does Sopie with her sexuality, which she has yet to discover	Chapman		0	FM: Sophie sees her move to Victoria as a chance to start over and leave her old self behind.	10
Watts	FindingHF	*Finding H. F.*	2001	2011	2001	151	258	51,949	4,400	US	H. F. (Heavenly Faith)	first page has address to the reader (you) by I (H. F.)	**Watts, Julia**	F	American	**USA**	road trip (small-minded town versus gay communities elsewhere)	H.F. was raised by her Christian grandmother in a small town as her fifteen-year-old mother left following her birth, in high school she is at first rejected by her new friend Wendy after they spend a passionate night together but after H.F. drives with her male gay friend Bo to find her mother in Florida, they reconcile and go to college as lovers	Cart & Jenkins, Chapman, Epstein Book	Epstein article, Wickens	0		8
Wilkinson	Pink2009	*Pink*	2009	2009	2009	310	343	64,485	6,133	Aus	Ava	past tense: story-now>speaker-now	**Wilkinson, Lili**	F	Australian	**Australia**	school, white Australian	Ava is out as a "lesbian" to her family and the social environment she shares with her girlfriend; she changes schools as she wants to date a guy and questions her sexuality	Epstein Book	Epstein article, Kneen	1		23
Wyeth	OrpheaP	*Orphea Proud*	2004	2004	2004	208	200	38,917	3,813	US	Orphea	frame of stage performance of telling story > retrospective narration is interspersed with present events	**Wyeth, Sharon Dennis**	F	American /AfricanA	**USA**	rural, black	Orphea learns to cope with the death of her best friend (in a way it is a love story but more of an ode to a loved one than a romance in the sense of the type of narrative); her brother, who has raised her, sends her to live with a couple of aunts after discovering Orphea in bed with her best friend, who thereupon has a car crash	my BA dissertation	Wickens	1		3
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	M	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	

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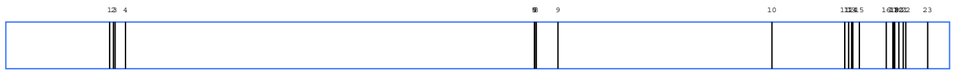

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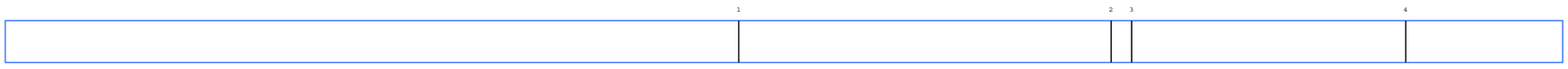

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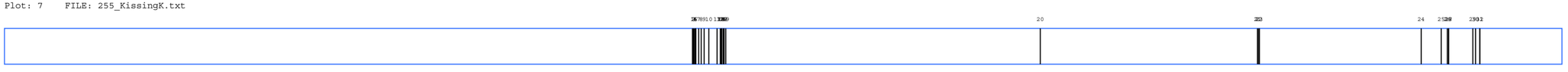

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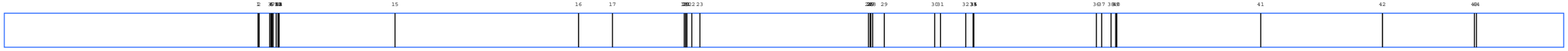

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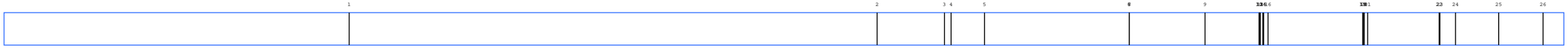

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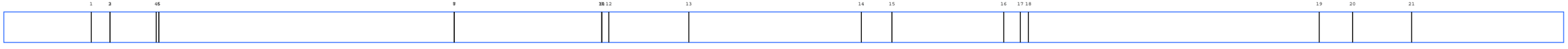

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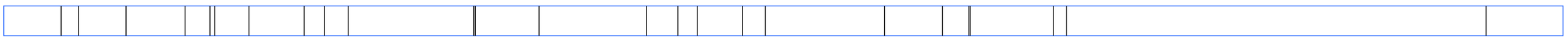

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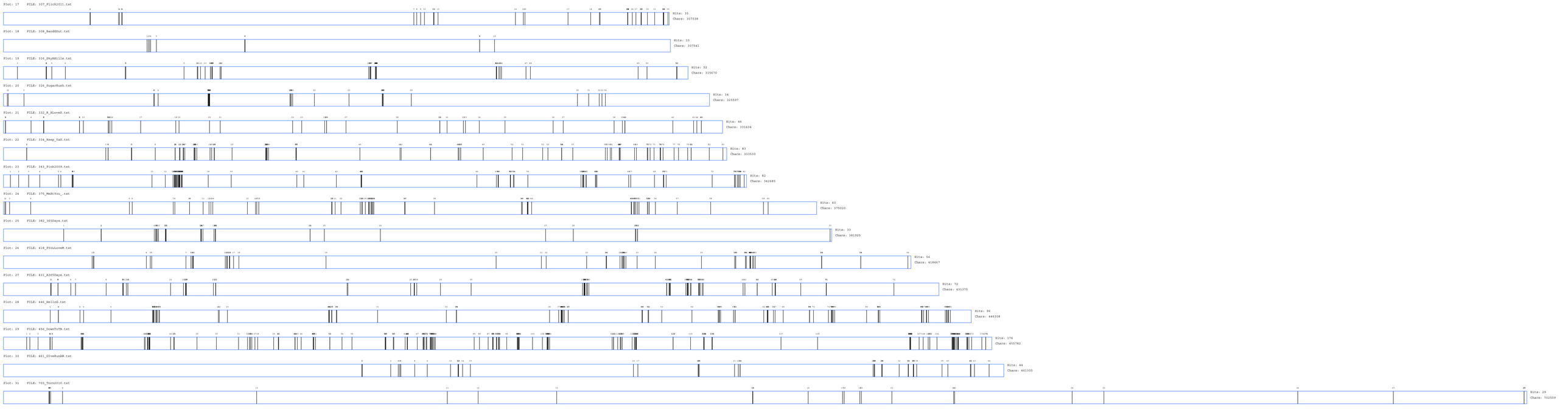
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