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Let's (Not) Talk About Sex: An Exploration of Taboo and Politeness in Modern Peninsular Spanish

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LET'S (NOT) TALK ABOUT SEX: AN EXPLORATION OF TABOO AND
POLITENESS IN MODERN PENINSULAR SPANISH

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ABSTRACT

The social sciences have spearheaded much of the discussion about sexuality in academia, and the various subfields have within them their own versions of sex research that investigate the factors that make up our sexuality. The study at hand unites the field of linguistics with a non-English language, Spanish, to further bridge the gap in sex research. Three primary sources are consulted, a novel; CREA, the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*; and a public sexual education packet to see how the language of sexuality manifests in different types of media. The guiding question for this research is as follows: what do we need to know about the sexual vocabulary of Spanish to understand Spanish sexuality? To answer this question, a qualitative study is conducted on the existing sexual vocabulary of Spanish. It was found that Spanish sexual vocabulary can be analyzed with a schema that presents metaphors for Identity, Risk, Apostasy, Legitimization, and Inclusion. With the presentation of this schema, the field of sexuality studies gains a new perspective and a new way to evaluate attitudes about sexuality. There is a growing need in linguistics for qualitative data, and studies like this one offer a solution to this lack of qualitative information, as well as a methodology designed to handle qualitative data.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the 20th century, and coming into the 21st century, our understanding of sexuality has changed more than in any other period of human history. The advent of technology shrank the world and facilitated the communication of new ideas on a global scale, and has led to more development in the legislation and decriminalization of sexual practices than ever. Imagine, for instance, the first country to legalize marriage between same-sex couples only did so in 2000, but we have since rocketed toward legalization in other countries. The easy sharing of information, coupled with the recent strides made towards the destigmatization of sex in popular culture, means that we now actively study sexuality more than we ever did before. In the world of academia, so much research has been done about sex that a new field of study that handles exclusively "sex research" has emerged out of the collaborations of researchers from nearly every academic discipline.

The social sciences have necessarily spearheaded much of the discussion about sexuality in academia, and the various subfields (psychology, sociology, anthropology) have within them their own versions of sex research that investigate the various factors that make up our sexuality. One field in particular is linguistics, a.k.a. the study of words, their meanings, and how we navigate these to create meaningful conversations. Sex research, most of the time, is conducted in English, considering that English is the language of academia. Recent studies, however, have attempted to branch out from English and publish investigations on non-English-speaking groups of people, such as Ogdoc-Gascon et al's 2015 analysis of the language of commercial sex workers in the Philippines. Arguably, the more we know about sexuality in other cultures, the better equipped we are to understand it in our home disciplines.

The study at hand unites the field of linguistics with a non-English language, Spanish, in an attempt to further bridge the knowledge gap in sex research. In an attempt to get at the

nature of sexuality in the Spanish language, a study is conducted on the actual language that surrounds sexuality in Spanish, Peninsular Spanish to be exact, and the various terms and expressions used in everyday conversation and found in the cultural products of Spain. Three primary sources are consulted, a novel, the CREA corpus (the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*), and a public sexual education packet in order to see how the language of sexuality manifests in different types of media, both governmental and individual, and in formal and informal settings. The guiding question for this research: what do we need to know about the sexual vocabulary of Spanish in order to understand Spanish sexuality? To answer this question, a qualitative rather than quantitative study is conducted on the existing sexual vocabulary in Spanish to analyze the histories and the situations that the terms occur in. in the following sections, we will discuss the existing body of literature, establish a method for gathering, analyzing and interpreting the data, and provide an analysis of the data that gives us more information about sexual terminology in Spanish.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Taboo Language

In a study on how (scientifically and quantifiably) language influences thinking, Bowers and Pleydell-Pearce used electrodes placed on the skin of 24 participants (15 of whom were female and 9 of whom were male, with a mean age of 21 and range of 18 to 26) to measure electrodermal activity changes in response to swear words, euphemisms, and neutral words. Their participants were required to read a list of words that included words of these three types, then respond with a "yes" or "no" in response to whether or not the word they had just uttered was a swear word or a reference to a swear word.

Across the participants, it was found that saying the swear words aloud caused a spike in electrodermal activity; essentially, it was stressing to curse aloud. More fascinating still was the finding that the electrodermal activity between the euphemisms and non-offensive words stayed the same. In other words, there was no significant electrodermal response to saying "C-word", "F-word", and so on, the selected euphemisms for each word.

This study highlights the fact that we have created a way to communicate unsavory ideas in more palatable ways through the use of euphemisms. We can combat the stress of using actual curse words, so much so that it relieves the physical stress of having to make the offending statement altogether. To be clear, it is assumed that the content of a statement can affect the listener and the speaker alike. The question addressed in this study is whether or not the "form" of a statement (vulgar vs. euphemistic) has any effect on the speaker. The answer they endorse is: absolutely.

Taking this notion a step further, the researchers look into the emotions associated with uttering certain words (the swear words, euphemisms, and neutral words we discussed above). They found that "verbal conditioning, with both the semantic content of a word and how we utter it jointly determining our emotional response" (Bowers & Pleydell-Pearce

2011: 4) is responsible for the change in electrodermal activity that was present in the swear words and not in the euphemisms. Even when the intended comment is inoffensive, it is typical behavior for humans to avoid discussing taboo topics due to the risk they run of having to say taboo words. This serves to illustrate one of the purposes of euphemisms: the comfortable communication of uncomfortable ideas; or adversely, the opportunity to verbally address topics that might otherwise be avoided.

For a more neuroscience-based explanation, the researchers make reference to Robinson 1976, in which Robinson argues that there are two centers in the brain responsible for language: an older cingulate gyrus that seems to be involved in what is called "emotive speech" or reactionary speech, and a newer cortical system responsible for "complex (generative) language", or more thought-regulated speech (6). It serves to reason that when an evolutionary miracle like the human brain operates with two distinct language centers, both centers must serve two distinct functions (or at least service two distinct areas of our body). Take, for example, Tourette's. Patients with Tourette's syndrome often have tics that can be either physical or verbal. In some cases of Tourette's, patients will swear involuntarily. It has been found that individuals with Tourette's have a hyperactive cingulate gyrus, the part of the language center that influences swearing. The hyperactivity of this particular section of the language center in the brain is what is involved in the spontaneous swearing, not the entire center. The existence of this center also explains why certain patients with aphasia lose control over nearly their entire lexicon, but still maintain the use of swear words.

Also of note was the researchers' nod to foreign language studies that found that taboo words had a greater effect when spoken in the participants' first languages. For the purpose of my research, this fact was worthy of mention. It lends itself to the realization that even though the messages may be the same, it is the actual form of the words that does the

damage. The researchers call this "form-affect association" (Bowers & Pleydell-Pearce 2011: 9).

Bowers' and Pleydell-Pearce's article is put to use as a foundational article to the current study. The ideas gathered from this study affected the way that the research process is conducted for this project. Acknowledging the import of euphemisms and the influence that they stand to have in communication is no small notion; it is the most important and all too often taken for granted first step toward accepting our sexuality without the need for euphemism or metaphor. The fact that euphemisms have such power over our physical responses and subsequent behavior is the reason that it warrants study in every area once accepted as 'taboo.'

In another paper, "Linguistic Analysis of Commercial Sex Workers' Language of Negotiation" (Ogdog-Gascon et al. 2015), five researchers came together to publish an article that analyzes how particular parts of sexual vocabulary affect the dialectal features of sex workers in Cebu, Philippines. The researchers begin with a nod to the high levels of linguistic influence from invaders and settlers throughout the Philippines' history. They argue that a greater linguistic knowledge of this area will contribute to the lessening of stigma associated with sex work in the Philippines.

The research method they used was qualitative, similar to the design I use in the present research. Their data came from twenty commercial sex workers from the city of Cebu who all agreed to let the researchers record them during pre-service negotiations with their clients. They took steps to identify expressions used consistently across twenty conversations, then collated the expressions of note and organized them into categories befitting their functions.

The rhetorical devices found to be in use more than any other in the conversations are metaphor, more specifically, euphemism. According to the researchers, Euphemisms are the

most used method for discussing sex acts. They comment that "the etymology reveals that the prefix, 'eu', stands for 'pleasant to hear', the root 'pheme' indicates 'to speak', and the suffix 'ism' denotes an 'act or response'" (Ogdoc-Gascon et al: 5). Effectively, a euphemism is simply a pleasant speech act. Additionally, the term itself is a euphemism, as it its etymology never includes mention of intended avoidance of offense.

The researchers conclude with a statement about the strides made toward understanding the uniqueness of this group and Filipino language as a whole. Sexuality studies is a topic that until recently received minimal to negligible coverage in the academic community, whether by direct omission or by avoidance through euphemisms and metaphor. The honesty and candidness with which the researchers approach this study is to be commended.

2.2. Euphemisms and Dysphemisms

The research on euphemisms continues with a set of theses written on both euphemisms and dysphemisms. Dysphemisms, to be clear, are derogatory expressions used in place of neutral ones; a dysphemism is the inverse of a euphemism. Pedro Chamizo Dominguez of the University of Malaga shares nine personal arguments that he makes on the nature, function, and import of euphemisms, and their counterparts, dysphemisms.

He opens with a brief introduction, in which he claims that metaphor, despite its ostensibly minor role as a linguistic device, plays an integral role in our thoughts and actions. Chamizo Dominguez argues that this thinking should be applied to euphemisms. Euphemisms, he argues, are distinct in their importance, because euphemisms "fulfill several social functions that metaphors do not fulfill." (2005: 9) With this he lays the foundation for his proceeding discourse.

He begins his first thesis by establishing an understanding that euphemisms and dysphemisms can both be considered manifestations of metaphor or cases of metaphor. With

this in mind, the rules and considerations that apply to metaphor must also be applied to euphemisms and dysphemisms. Chamizo Dominguez applies Lakoff and Johnson's 1980 exploration of metaphor to metaphor and euphemisms. His second thesis hearkens back to the cognitive effects of euphemisms as explained in the article by Bowers and Pleydell-Pearce when it makes assertions about the effect of euphemisms. He claims, "ambiguity is unavoidable when we speak euphemistically" and confirms the assertion made by Bowers and Pleydell-Pearce in his own words, saying "A euphemism cannot be replaced by any other word and still achieve the same cognitive effects" (2005: 9). He adds to this "'equivalent' taboo terms", saying that they cannot replace other euphemisms and still have the same cognitive effects. He makes a final addition that euphemisms cannot replace other euphemisms. Of course, when we consider examples of metaphors for death such as "passed away" and "was taken from us" as compared to some harsher expressions, we can achieve a similar mollifying effect with either utterance. However, the emphasis here is on the ability to substitute one euphemism for another while maintaining the same psychological effect. While some metaphors can stand in for others, some can not. We cannot replace, as Chamizo Dominguez mentions, the word *prophylactic* for *rubber* or *condom* and still maintain the same effect. While the other points in his argument are sound, the idea that one euphemism cannot replace another, at least with respect to the mental stress it alleviates to use euphemisms, does not hold true here.

Chamizo Dominguez's third thesis lays out what he suggests is the linguistic "life" cycle of the euphemism. The novel euphemism, the first in the cycle, suggests the origin state for most euphemsisms; as lexical and semantic oddities, much in the same way as evolutionary mutations. The second phase is semi-lexicalized, and the third is the building of a conceptual network around those euphemisms. The fourth, of course, is the conversion of a euphemism into a lexicalized, or dead, euphemism. Effectively, we can apply these life stages

to every known euphemism.

The fourth thesis states that "when a euphemism is lexicalized it usually becomes a taboo term", and that it stops being ambiguous from that point on (2005: 11). Additionally, "the lexicalization of euphemisms creates polysemy", or a state of having multiple meanings (11). The fifth thesis states simply that euphemisms can be studied with the same methods as with metaphors, through conceptual networks. He then gives a plethora of examples of this in the subsequent paragraph.

The sixth thesis, being the longest, has arguably the greatest breadth of information. This thesis discusses the social functions relevant to and associated with the use of euphemisms, particularly as they differ from metaphor. A discussion of these functions follows. The first is to be polite or considerate; the second is to give greater dignity to a job or profession deemed to be lowly. The third occurs in the case of word borrowing from other languages, such as those that make the speaker appear more refined or cultured (several French expressions have undergone this borrowing, owing to its pleasant-sounding phonological inventory). There are other purposes, such as "to be politically correct", to manipulate things "ideologically", "to avoid ethnic or sexual slurs", and so on, that explain in more detail the function of euphemisms (Chamizo Dominguez 13-14).

His seventh thesis discusses the origin of euphemisms, claiming that euphemisms come most often from "one (or several) figures of speech." He lists the most common: circumlocution, hyperbole, metonymy/synecdoche, metaphor, antonomasia, irony, meiosis, and alliteration. He changes gears to a more argumentative tone in his eighth thesis, beginning with the claim that knowing the origin of euphemisms helps us to understand what he calls the "speaker's imagination". He then goes on to elaborate that point, arguing that euphemisms are, essentially, organically created. They "help to maintain a language alive", they are "fruits of speakers' imagination", they change with "unpredictability and variability"

from one language to another, and they are essentially rooted in everyday human interaction over time. His ninth thesis and perhaps his shortest, simply quotes Wittgenstein, stating "whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must make a euphemism" (15) He concludes by reasserting his first point that euphemisms (and dysphemisms) have distinct social functions that metaphors do not. He insists that for this reason they must be discussed along with and distinct from metaphors.

This kind of 'philosophy of euphemisms' sheds light on the philosophical considerations surrounding euphemism. I plan to use this source simply as a philosophical secondary source, as it pays no critique to any particular work and yet stands out as an authoritative voice on the topic.

A second philosophy-based discourse on euphemisms and dysphemisms is Eliecer Crespo Fernandez's "Sex-Related Euphemism and Dysphemism: An Analysis In Terms of Conceptual Metaphor Theory" (2008). Fernandez insists that in order to be able to speak upon the workings of euphemisms and dysphemisms, one must first understand them through the lens of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. This theory, coined in Lakoff and Johnson's 1980 publication, *Metaphors We Live By*, is applied to the discussion of sexual metaphor. The current understanding of Conceptual Metaphor Theory is that it is the idea that human thought groups itself into categories, and that every thought we have can be put into a veritable category or belong to a particular concept that can be metaphorized. This applies easily to sex, where metaphors for sex come in the form of recurring images of phallic shapes and thrusting.

Fernandez opens with the argument that sex is one of the most fruitful topics for metaphor creation. "Indeed, sex is pervasive in everyday life, which, as could not be otherwise, is reflected in the tremendously high degree of synonymy in the English vocabulary for genitalia and copulation" (96). He continues with a discussion of conceptual

metaphors as both unidirectional and bidirectional projections, and argues that both are involved in the conceptualization of euphemisms and dysphemisms. He finishes with the assertion that metaphors are worth discussing because they shape the way that euphemisms and dysphemisms are discussed. Both Fernandez and Chamizo Dominguez offer philosophical discussion that bring about a better, more holistic understanding of euphemisms and sex-related language as a whole.

In addition to any philosophical text or linguistic study used in linguistic research, a body of data must also be acquired. In the case of the current study, this body of data must come from a variety of media so that it can best reflect the true dispersal of particular euphemisms. One of the best ways to find these otherwise randomly appearing terms in real speech is to simply Google a list. I found a list of terms put together previously of sexual vocabulary titled "Tactical Spanish Slang & Profanities". Note that this list is not of sexual euphemisms, just sexual vocabulary. This list was created with the expressed purpose of knowing something about the actual taboo words and phrases so as to gain a better insight into where certain euphemisms might arise. The list, on a "psltbiz" web page, lists such terms as *me quiso agarrar*, 'tried to fondle me', *chúpame*, meaning essentially 'suck me off', and even terms used more often with children, such as *colita*, a polite word for 'vagina' that literally means 'little tail'. This list simply gives a list of terms to work with, in addition to some previously known words.

2.3. Euphemisms and Politeness Theory

Throughout the course of this investigation of euphemisms and dysphemisms surrounding sex, a concept known as Politeness Theory surfaced. Bruce Fraser, in a 1990 paper, gives an excellent overview of the theories of Politeness which existed at that time. With "Perspectives on Politeness", he addresses first the concept of operationally defining

Politeness Theory. He argues that much of the current research at the time failed to explicitly define Politeness and in turn failed to offer reliable information on it, saying that "many of the writers do not even explicitly define what they take politeness to be, and their understanding of the concept must be inferred by statements referencing the term" (1990: 219). He begins by rectifying that mistake, supplying his own fourfold definition of politeness.

Fraser explains Politeness Theory through four perspectives that he identifies as the main contexts, that is, the reasons for using politeness: the social-norm view, the conversational maxim view, the face-saving view, and the conversational contract view. First, the social-norm view is aptly named, as it governs the instances of culturally imposed politeness, the kind of politeness that comes in the form of 'good manners.' The idea is that good manners signal refinement, and politeness signals good manners.

The conversational maxim view suggests that there are politeness rules for each speaker in a conversation. Fraser looks to Grice's Cooperative Principle to explain that each utterance in addition to being polite must also be said politely and at a polite time. This is the idea of making polite conversation, or what comes across in someone who is 'easy to talk to.' The face-saving view addresses the individual speaker's attempt to come across in a particular way. In addition to being socially acceptable, speakers want to feel individually accepted as well. This gives rise to negative face, the assurance that a speaker's actions won't have negative consequences, and positive face, the desire that a speaker has to be desired by others. The researchers use data from several languages to ensure that the discussion of face they develop as a result has relevance to speakers from multiple languages. In both cases of negative and positive politeness, and additionally in multiple social contexts across multiple languages, face is something that is maintained constantly by the speaker. The conversational-contract view, the fourth perspective, takes politeness on a conversation by

conversation basis, accounting for the politeness levels that change between two speakers over the course of a conversation.

These four perspectives offer a more concrete conceptualization of politeness through real-world context and the particular breed of politeness required. A more complete exposition of Politeness Theory comes in Brown and Levinson's 1978 essay, "Universals in language use: Politeness phenomena." To date, Brown and Levinson's account of politeness is regarded as the most complete model in the field. Their motivation for the necessity of a universal language of politeness stands on its own: "We believe that patterns of message construction, or 'ways of putting things', are part of the very stuff that social relationships are made of" (1978: 60). In other words, there is necessarily a structure to conversations that underlies its actual lexical structure, a language of social poetry.

One of the first key concepts presented in this paper is the concept of face. In order to work with the concept of face, it has to first be defined. Brown and Levinson define face as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself", the kind of personality constructed from the patchwork of daily interactions that an MP encounters. Face has two facets, negative face and positive face. Negative face is defined as "freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (1978: 66). The desire to more efficiently through conversations appears to be a universal one.

Positive face is more complex, and is given a lengthier definition that includes a "positive consistent self-image" and the desire to be approved of by others. The section on face as wants discusses the fact that this definition of face is dependent upon the notion of desires, the desire to be both unimpeded and approved of. This boils down to a desire for positive recognition as the cornerstone of the motivation of many MPs. The question that then arises is about what both parties—that is, both S and H—want from each other. What these wants are in any given situation are necessarily highly varied among cultures, specific

groups, and ultimately individuals. However, there is still common ground to be found.

In order to be able not only to explain politeness, but also generalize it to more than one language, Brown and Levinson had to create a prototypical interactional agent, which they refer to as the MP, or Model Person. The references made thereafter to an MP refer to any "willful fluent speaker" of a language (1978: 63). The MP has both rationality, the ability to use reason to achieve their purposes in a given conversation, and more importantly, the MP has face. Face is characterized by two parallel, sometimes conflicting desires: negative face, or the desire to act free of imposition, and positive face, the desire to be approved of. The interactions that occur between and among MPs are driven by both forms of face, and conversations become complex as a result of conflicting face wants. To say it with alliteration, conflicting countenance compositions (both negative and positive) create conversational complexity. MPs must consider their audience, and interactions are often a dance between maintaining the face of others and infringing upon the face of others.

Brown and Levinson acknowledge that this model tends to assign intention to speakers, whether fairly or unfairly, when there are so many instances of miscommunication, unintended communication, and other quirks that necessarily negate willfulness. Their claim is not, however, that real humans always operate within this framework; rather, that the sporadic instances in which they do can be measured and discussed. This framework necessarily leaves out such instances of messier communication, and is therefore incomplete. In order to be able to apply theories of face, we must ignore this more varied and complex aspect of interaction in favor of a more compartmentalizable, quantifiable standard. The MP provides exactly that, a model whose actions can be applied cross-linguistically and cross-culturally. One of the first concepts discussed with this in mind is conversational implicature, Grice's 1971 nod to the divide between the actual lexical content of a conversation and its sometimes unrelated actual meaning. A common understanding of the underlying meaning of

an utterance by two or more MPs allows for conversational implicature, or the kind of inferred meaning of the statement, to exist. For example, A can ask "What time is it?", and B can reply with "be patient". The conversational implicature is that A has some awareness of the mental state of B, and therefore some understanding of the true nature of their query. There is also a nod to the social distance between A and B due to the interrogative nature of A's question that is met not with a direct answer on B's part, but with a command.

In order to test these theories, Brown and Levinson directed a study on a small sample of native speakers of three different languages, English, Tzeltal, (a Mayan language spoken in Mexico), and Tamil (a south Indian language from the Coimbatore District of Tamilnadu). Their data comes from these three languages, plus individual tokens from other languages, and aims to hypothesize about universal qualities of politeness. The concept of face is applied to conversation through the analysis of face-threatening, wherein a kind of flow chart is created to judge the potential impact of any given utterance on either the speaker's or hearer's face. S refers to speaker and H refers to hearer. The authors outline their argument with a set of six assertions. The first is the claim that has already been made that all MPs are rational and willful and have both positive and negative face. The term 'rational' is further clarified here as identifying a person who knows how to and can skillfully "choose means that will satisfy their ends" (1978: 64). The second is the remarkable assertion that S's face is intrinsically dependent upon H's evaluation, and that it is in "the mutual interest of two MPs to maintain each other's face" (1978: 65). This creates a kind of co-dependence of MPs on each other, which makes it remarkable that we agree on as much as we do. The speaker is always dependent upon the hearer. By extension, we are dependent upon everyone's evaluation of us; we have to be social in order to survive in a social setting. Therefore, society happens.

The third assertion is that some speech acts are intrinsically threatening to this

constructed 'face', which they thereafter refer to as FTAs ("face-threatening acts"). The fourth assertion is more complex, and addresses the execution of FTAs; "Unless S's want to do an FTA with maximum efficiency (defined as bald on record) is greater than S's want to preserve H's (or S's) face to any degree, then S will want to minimize the face threat of the FTA" (1978: 65). Put simply, it is in S's best interests to either perform an FTA completely bald on record, without apology or preface, whenever possible, or choose the least threatening strategy that still accomplishes the FTA. This is most easily accomplished when both S and H have relatively low social distance between them, but can be applied even in contexts of greater distance as long as the lowest-numbered strategy is employed. The numbers and the strategies they correspond to are discussed in greater detail below.

The fifth assertion addresses higher-numbered strategies for FTAs with greater weightiness. There is an inverse relationship between the level of a given FTA and what the authors refer to as the "estimation of risk of face loss" (1978: 81); the higher the number, the lower the risk of face loss the FTA presents. Brown and Levinson present a graphic that beautifully illustrates the thought process that goes into the choice of FTA and its corresponding minimization strategies. It is recreated below from right to left, with the aforementioned numbers corresponding to each redressive strategy:
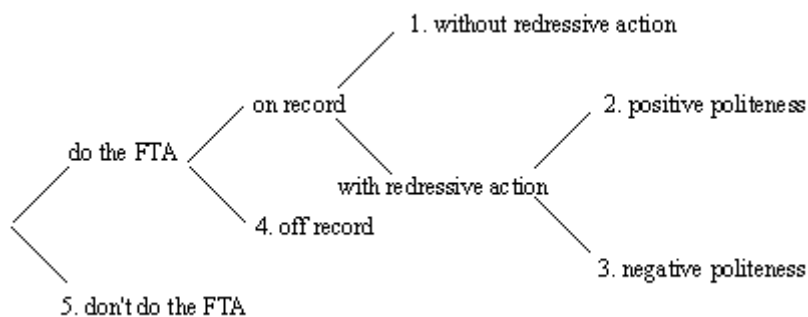
The graphic proceeds from 1. Bald on record, with the least amount of manipulation of the message, to 2. and 3., strategies of both positive and negative politeness strategies, both on

and off (4) the record, and 5. eliminating the FTA. The higher the number, the less risky the strategy. The least risky is the elimination of the FTA, with committing the FTA "off the record" being the second-least risky. The concept of off-record is not exclusive to linguistics, and is often used to refer to any utterance in which S clears themselves of any responsibility associated with making the statement, whether by hedging, ("no offense, but…") or by other redressive actions. The inclusion of the "off the record" option allows for MPs to temporarily suspend the assumption of intentionality and act without fear of redress. The riskier actions are all considered "on record", meaning that S assumes personal responsibility for the FTA in the cases of 3, 2, and 1.

The sixth assertion relies on the operating assumption of both rationality and intention in all MPs. It makes the most sense when presented in its entirety: "Since i-v are mutually known to all MPs, our MP will not choose a strategy less risky than necessary, as this may be seen as an indication that the FTA is more threatening than it actually is" (1978: 65). Assuming, of course, that the first five assumptions can be reasonably made about the MP's operational knowledge, this assumption holds true with remarkable predictability. The common understanding of this might sound like, 'the more you preface it, the worse it sounds.' When a message is too heavily prefaced or hedged, it appears that the message itself must be weighty enough to require such prefacing, and the listener goes on alert. In general, hearing the beginnings of the implementation of a high-level politeness strategy is enough for most MPs to detect that the message may be face-threatening, or that there is an impending imposition awaiting them. Brown and Levinson argue that in general, it is better to perform the FTA as baldly as is reasonable in order to present the least threat to face.

After the six major assumptions are handled, the authors then move to a discussion of rationality as it functions to create and maintain face. Rationality is the fourth and last consideration under Brown and Levinson's discussion of face. Rationality, as they define it,

is the assumption that all MPs apply a certain logic to achieve their conversational goals, that there is a system and that mutual understanding and face work does not occur by happenstance. This assumption can be applied cross-culturally and cross-linguistically, as can the following section on FTAs and the subsequent formula that arises for evaluating FTAs.

The authors begin by outlining certain acts that are considered to be intrinsically threatening to face. Detailed knowledge of these acts is not needed to follow the current investigation. The more important concept is the formula they come up with as a result of all these acts coming together into a succinct statement about politeness. Their formula is as follows: $W_x = D(S, H) + P(S, H) + R_x$.

This formula for calculating the weightiness of a face-threatening act (that is, the level of potential severity of an impending action on either the speaker's or hearer's face), is broken down as such: D= social distance, P= relative power, and R= relative imposition of the speech act in that culture. The S and H are speaker and listener. To read the formula in plain English might sound like: the Weightiness of a face-threatening act is determined through the consideration of the relative Distance and the relative Power differential of the two individuals and of the relative level of imposition that an act may present in a given culture. Brown and Levinson go on to discuss in further detail what constitutes D, P, and R, and elaborate in exhaustive detail many of the specific strategies employed during the construction and maintenance of face (e.g. use in-group identity markers, seek agreement, engage in banter, etc).

The importance of Brown and Levinson's work in the field of Politeness cannot be overstated; their synthesis of three different languages in three distinct cultures and subsequent analysis is considered one of the most complete accounts of politeness to date. This study, though it will not be employing the actual formula used in the Brown and Levinson study, was inspired by its depth of analysis. A more complete account of politeness

comes from a knowledge of the most complete studies done in the area. In addition to an account of politeness, it would be beneficial to consider an account of impoliteness, what it includes, and how it covers ground left untouched by accounts of politeness.

2.4. Impoliteness

Brown and Levinson's work is mentioned in Jonathan Culpeper's "Towards an anatomy of impoliteness" from 1995. He discusses the notion that there are acts that intrinsically threaten face, both the desire to be approved of and the want to be unimpeded. Culpeper argues that there is a void in the literature on the strategies employed to cause disharmony, or to threaten face, and the majority of the literature to date had been geared towards preserving and maintaining face, using the strategy that "weighed" the least. He mentions one such preservativist definition of politeness given by Lakoff in 1989, as "a means of minimizing confrontation in discourse—both the possibility of confrontation occurring at all, and the possibility that a confrontation will be perceived as threatening" (qtd. in Culpeper 350). Culpeper claims impoliteness to be the opposite, "the use of strategies that are designed to have the opposite effect—that of social disruption… oriented towards attacking face" (350). He begins with a discussion of inherent impoliteness, in which he credits both Leech (1983) and Brown and Levinson (1987) for their prior consideration of impoliteness within the framework of Politeness. Culpeper appears to disagree with Brown and Levinson that certain acts are threatening to either one's positive or negative face, as he points out that context is left out of theory and formulas. The idea that certain sentences are inherently more impolite than others is simply a gross oversimplification of the complex process of actual human conversation, which is fraught with miscommunications, double entendre, and emotions.

He also discusses mock impoliteness, also known as banter. The concept of banter

became particularly interesting throughout the course of the research process, as it is a concept that appears to be understood by many, but is not often mentioned or named directly in popular culture. Mock impoliteness, or banter, plays with the idea that certain utterances are inherently rude, and employs such rude statements in a way that is intended not to cause offence, but to build positive rapport and even "foster social intimacy" (Culpeper 1995: 352). Culpeper illustrates this with an advertising campaign slogan "Eat beef—You bastards" used by an Australian meat retailer, in which the banter is signaled by the obvious power and distance differential between customer and retailer. Though Culpeper acknowledges that the MP has an understanding of banter, he also acknowledges that banter, even when done successfully, is an exception and not a rule. The notion of banter as a form of true impoliteness, however, is inherently ambiguous when the aim of banter is to establish and maintain face rather than destroy it, to "reinforce in-group solidarity" rather than alienate (1995: 353).

Culpeper goes on to address the situations that merit impoliteness, such as competition and dominance displays. He organizes these impoliteness strategies inversely to Brown and Levinson's structure for face, opposing it entirely: Bald on record impoliteness, positive impoliteness (attacking H's positive face), negative impoliteness, sarcasm or mock politeness, and withholding politeness. Special attention is given to mock politeness first in explaining the concept of the Irony Principle. Originally proposed by Leech, the Irony Principle states, "If you must cause offence, at least do so in a way which doesn't overtly conflict with the PP [Politeness Principle], but allows the hearer to arrive at the offensive point of your remark indirectly, by way of an implicature." (1983: 142)

The preservation of positive and negative face are powerful motivational factors in human interaction, and even impoliteness strategies often lose to politeness strategies. The last strategy, withholding politeness, often has disproportionately negative effects. Culpeper

quotes Brown and Levinson here to discuss the effect that withholding politeness has: "…politeness has to be communicated, and the absence of communicated politeness may, ceteris paribus, be taken as the absence of a polite attitude." (1987: 5). It appears to be true in cases like forgetting to say "thank you."

Culpeper continues with a discussion of several impoliteness strategies (e.g. ignore/snub, exclude, use inappropriate identity markers, frighten, condescend, etc.) He applies these strategies to a study of an army training camp, and in particular, the treatment of the recruits by their superiors. Culpeper mentions the inequality of power and the particular training philosophy employed by the camps that are rife with impoliteness strategies designed to psychologically manipulate recruits. To put it simply, "impoliteness is used to depersonalize the recruits" (1995: 359).

In another exploration of impoliteness, Culpeper uses an excerpt from Macbeth to discuss impoliteness "as a symptom of a situation of disequilibrium" (1995: 364). Lady Macbeth's strategy in attacking Macbeth's face pushes him to action. Culpeper discusses in further detail the particular strategies Lady Macbeth employs to attack Macbeth's face, and shares a revelation about the story: "one way of coming to terms with the murder he has carried out is to adopt values that make it more acceptable." It is these kinds of judgments that come out of discourse analysis: subjective, yet insightful clues that help to piece together the structure that guides human interaction. Culpeper's exploration of impoliteness is a direct response to Brown and Levinson's strategies of politeness, but is fueled instead by the imbalances that exist in polite societies.

The concept of mock impoliteness, or banter, is particularly fascinating, as it gives the impression of impoliteness without any actual offense. It both comes from and creates rapport between speakers in which light insults can be made without redressive action necessary. "Mock impoliteness, or banter, is impoliteness that remains on the surface, since it is

understood that it is not intended to cause offence" (Culpeper 1995: 352). This banter is used commonly between parties who are separated by relatively little social distance, and who already have an understanding that banter is being used. Banter can also be used between strangers as a way of establishing common ground and creating relationships, such as in the case of flirting. The idea is that the more intimate a relationship is, the less necessary politeness strategies are. This corroborates Brown and Levinson's suggestion that people in general, when given a choice between a higher or lower-numbered strategy, will use the least polite (or lowest-numbered) strategy possible in order to maintain face. When there is less of a need for formality, a greater level of banter can be incorporated into everyday interaction.

2.5. Discourse Analysis

As this study is characterized as being a discourse analysis, it would be prudent to explain exactly what is meant by the term. Discourse analysis operates on two basic assumptions: first, the assumption that there is no text without cultural and linguistic validity for study. This assumption holds true when we observe the plethora of texts available, from novels to pamphlets to images to song lyrics and everything in between. Discourse is simply communication, through conversation or through media. Therefore, any means of achieving discourse is valid. The second assumption is that any aspect of a text can be analyzed, given the right context and intention for the analysis. In "A Layman's Introduction to Discourse Analysis", Longacre and Hwang establish this understanding on the first page, also noting that "any variation in form can be studied with a view to what it implies" (2012: 15). Any variation, one of word choice, order, and/or voicing, can be studied as a means of discovering more of an author's intent or message, as well as the effects, both intended and unintended, on potential listeners. Outside of the rigorously analytical world of academia, the assumption that "everything means something" may come across as over eager, or even presumptuous,

making it appear as though the academic assumes to know the import of a given utterance. While there are cases in which researchers can meet the authors of the works and can directly inquire about intention, these cases of face-to-face interaction between and among academics are few and far between, and are frankly irrelevant to a discussion of true analysis, which mandates both critical thinking and a spirit of exploration rather than explanation. The intention, on the contrary, appears to be to explain the context that surrounds a given text along with the analysis of the unaccompanied text. When discourse analysis is done well, it tends to bring about more questions than it answers.

Longacre and Hwang provide an explanation of what discourse analysis involves by performing it on an excerpt from a Mark Twain novel. Their analysis gives rise to such nuggets of eloquence as "the whole constrains the parts; the parts explain the whole", meaning that the nature of the text determines what it contains, the arguments it makes, the rhetorical strategies employed in the arguments, even the nature of delivery (syntax, lexicon, tone, etc.) (2012: 16). Additionally, "the parts explain the whole" refers to the almost magical phenomenon that occurs when the tiniest details of a text can reveal the most about the author. Longacre and Hwang base their analytical decisions on the text at hand, meaning that rather than diving into the text with a preset methodology and topic for analysis, they tailor their approach and even their tokens for analysis based on the nature of the experience with the text. For this study, Longacre and Hwang analyze verb forms, nouns and pronouns, verb referents, and other items related to parts of speech. In their conclusion they both contextualize their analysis of the Mark Twain excerpt and provide deeper insight into the analytic process. They stress "the matter of how the structure of the text constrains possible interpretations of it", how each text offers different things for analysis, and so carries different considerations (2012: 29). It is wise to acknowledge the considerations that arise with each individual case of analysis. In other words, every discourse analysis looks different

and has a slightly different accompanying methodology.

A discussion of discourse as it relates to gender theory, a subset of sexuality theory, can be found in Paul Baker's aptly named paper, "Discourse and Gender" (2011). Baker offers a study of his own to explain the considerations that come with analyzing gender. He begins by challenging a commonplace practice in the field of discourse analysis, assuming and subsequently analyzing the differences between the sexes. The previous body of research on gender assumes that males and females are intrinsically different and treats them as such, while the currently growing body of research "has helped to formulate an alternative set of research questions, which focus more on how language use helps us to create, reflect, and challenge discourses around gender." (2011: 200). He applies this newer model of gender to his own sample study, an analysis of the American slang term *cougar*. He looks at the cultural context of the term, evident in the redefinition of the older woman, who was before reduced to derogatory terms like *hag*, *spinster*, and *old maid*. Baker then looked to two corpora for instances of this word, the *Longman Spoken and Written Corpus* and another unnamed academic writing corpus, and analyzed the context in which he found it. What he found points to a developing need in American culture to recognize the sexual validity of aging and aged bodies. He acknowledges that there is room to improve the discourse surrounding gender in America because "sexist discourses have not vanished—instead at times they have simply become more sophisticated and… more difficult to attack" (2011: 210). This type of gendered discourse still exists in much of the world and is only just beginning to be challenged in texts like *PornoBurka* that also challenge the rigidness of identity as a whole.

The reconstruction of the conception of gender identity, and by extension sexual identity, is not a phenomenon restricted to one place or time; it pervades all of human existence. Gender and the meaning we construct for ourselves based upon our conceptions of

gender is prevalent in the literature from nearly every country in the world. However, an understanding of gender on its own is not sufficient to fully engage with a text originally written in another language. For a better understanding of the considerations inherent in cross-cultural discourse, we turn to John Corbett's discussion of "Discourse and Intercultural Communication." (2011)

As the texts selected for analysis here are in a different language than the native language of its translator and academic, it is all too important to be aware of the considerations that exist with intercultural communication. Corbett opens by operationally defining culture from the anthropologist's perspective as the customs and practices that come about as a result of common attitudes and beliefs shared by particular groups of people. This poses the question of the existence of cross-cultural values, and whether or not it is possible for people to fully understand each other within and without the cultures that they inhabit and that inhabit them. He makes the distinction between cross-cultural communication and intercultural communication, with cross-cultural communication being "research that compares communication in one culture with communication in another" (2011: 307) and intercultural communication as being "how someone from one culture interacts with someone from another" (2011: 308). Corbett's model of intercultural communication applies more directly to the analysis at hand, considering that the reader comes from a different culture than the culture of publication of the primary texts. There is a coming together of two cultures when the investigator approaches the texts, similarly to the coming together of individuals from two different subcultures in an accidental brush on the sidewalk outside the MACBA.

There is also the intercultural communication between individual (researcher) and text (with much of the same complexity of an individual). Scollon and Scollon sum up this idea: "cultures do not talk to each other; individuals do" (2001: 308). It seems most effective to

consider this way of approaching the text, for two important reasons. First, there are many more similarities to be found between stories (individuals) than between cultures (entire peoples). Therefore, it is necessary to adopt as universal a process as possible to one's evaluation of the text. Second, it is better to consider the analysis from the perspective of the individual analyzing the individual because it allows more of the intricacies of the text to be accounted for. If it is understood that the research process is as organic and pliable as the data and the humans represented by it, then it operates better within the looser framework of individual to individual.

As the researcher is also a merely mortal being, and not a native speaker of the language of the text, there is a need to account for potential miscommunication. One of the primary concerns relevant to intercultural discourse is the identification of cause and effect. Between cultures, it becomes much more difficult to identify who exactly communicates what to whom, and the intention of the message may be completely lost. There may be varying cultural values systems, usually pertaining to certain dichotomies, as referenced in Corbett: "collectivist vs. individualist, degrees of power distance", and "how polite interpersonal relations are established and maintained". (2011: 310) Naturally, there will always be miscommunications and conflict. However, there are three particular kinds of what Corbett calls "conflict talk" that can aid in facilitating understanding.

These three kinds of conflict talk are Focusing Acts, Challenging Moves, and Assessments, and serve to resolve conflict or restore positive face. Focusing Acts are used to control the discourse, essentially re-highlighting the situation's importance. Challenging Moves are utterances that engage directly with another utterance to challenge it. Assessments are explicit utterances of the speaker's position or intention. It is important to bear in mind that intercultural discourse is always "interpreted in relation to divergent values held by different groups", but it is also important to have strategies for reducing the level of

confusion between conflicting parties. The guiding theories from Corbett's article serve to inform the current analysis in both theoretical and cultural ways.

2.6. The Schema

The final concept discussed in this review is certainly not the least important or the least interesting, and was discovered in "How to Reconstruct Schemas People Share, from What They Say", by Naomi Quinn, the author of an excellent anthropological methods book called *Finding Culture in Talk*. The appeal of this chapter is that it is, on one hand, a step-by-step instructional guide for discourse analysis, and on the other, a verifiable study. Quinn emphasizes the necessary inventiveness with which researchers have to approach discourse analysis due to the intrinsically varied nature of every data set. She offers wisdom from her own research, recalling that "the first important methodological lesson [Quinn] learned is not to assume that existing methods define the range of possible ones, and not to shrink from inventing our own ones" (2011: 35). The concept of creating a methodology, as opposed to the rote application of established methods, is subversive. It is therefore intrinsically appealing. Quinn carefully explains her thought process throughout the research process as she details the kind of "organic" analysis she conducts, one in which each phase grows out of the results of the one that comes before it, one in which the researcher approaches the data with a blank notebook, a sharpened pencil and an open mind and allows it to 'speak' to them.

Quinn delineates her method by way of a study on the discourse that surrounds the American marriage. As a result of her own research, she discovered the concept of the schema, a sort of template for lived experience as a result of memories built up around that style or setting of interaction. "To the degree that people share experiences, they will end up sharing the same schemas—having, we would say, the same culture (or subculture)" (2011: 38). The notion of culture being a collection of shared schemas explains a great deal of how

interaction works between members of a given culture. Assuming that the contributors to the conversation have something in common is not new; it is, in fact, the basis for shared experience. However, it does explain phenomena such as inside jokes and banter, and it accounts for the marked fluidity with which people who grow up in the same town interact with each other. As Quinn's research is centered on marriage, there was a need to interview married people. Quinn effectively uses her best judgment, derived from both her education in research and her own common sense, to decide how to perform each part of the process, and as a result ends up with a corpus of recorded interviews and a much more complete schema of the language surrounding American marriage ("marriage as an institution", "marriage as a business exchange", "marriage as an agreement", etc.).

Of course, there is more than one type of schema. Schemas can be social (based on events and the expected behaviors/etiquette associated with them), ideological (based on opinions about or attitudes regarding relevant issues), linguistic (consideration of the words or word connotations that must be understood in a particular way to a particular degree in order to understand how and why words are presented the way they are in a given text, either spoken or written), and more. The current study, in the interest of preserving potential unexpected outcomes, does not differentiate among types and instead embraces the manifestations and implications of any and all potential schemas.

Quinn's study proved to be essential in informing the current analysis, as it employs a similar methodology to the one used here of approaching the texts with no preconceived notions or expected results. The importance of this cannot be understated, as it allows for the data to have autonomy, and allows for the researcher to make decisions based on what is in front of them, rather than precluding potentially revealing results due to too narrow a focus. With an understanding of the topics that fuel this research, we can now move to a discussion of the primary texts

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

This study employed a qualitative, bottom-up or data-driven approach to a synchronic analysis of modern Peninsular Spanish, allowing experience with the data to lead the study toward more organic conclusions. Although 'modern' is understood as a term that generally indicates recency, it is prudent to define what it means for this study. The timeline for the primary sources studied here encompasses just the last two decades (1997 to 2017), while the secondary literature spans from the formation of Politeness theory in the 1970s to up-to-the-minute reimaginings of the theory, published just last year (Bowers & Pleydell-Pearce 2011, Chamizo-Dominguez 2012, Fernandez 2008). A variety of written and oral sources were synthesized to gather information about lexical habits of peninsular speakers. The first was an excerpt from a 2013 novel, written using everyday language and slang. The second was the CREA corpus, and the third was a public service announcement-style publication from the CJE, *El Consejo de la Juventud de España*, or the Youth Council of Spain. The primary texts are discussed in more detail below.

The first primary text used in this study came from a novel that was decidedly on-topic, a chapter from the 2013 novel *PornoBurka* by Spanish author and LGBT activist Brigitte Vasallo. Its analysis started out in a class on Spanish gender theory, and became the subject of a later paper for a discourse analysis class. In truth, the majority of the primary sources used here comes from assignments and readings elsewhere that left an impression on the investigator, then were later recalled for further examination. The original text, written in Spanish, needed to be translated into English to fit the guidelines for this class. To accomplish this, the author consulted a native Spaniard and professor from a neighboring university. An informal unrecorded interview was conducted with the professor in which the two discussed the word choice and potential social context present in the text, and notes were taken during the interview. These notes were used subsequently to inform the translation

process of the text.

The previous paper was a discourse analysis done on the use of gendered words, the copyright symbols, the use of *arroba* (the @ symbol), and the use of religious referents found in the excerpt from *PornoBurka*. All of these together were explored to find out if there was a correlation in terms found in all three sources that could lead to an overarching message or set of rules for usage, known as a schema. The novel selected was chosen for its recency of publication (published in 2013, it falls within the dates of the specified study), coupled with the fact that it was decidedly on topic (the novel handles sexuality and self-exploration and identification, and is fraught with explicit sexual language). The interview conducted with the professor from the neighboring university provided insight into the text that made translation easier for a non-native reader. The excerpt covers Chapter 8 of the novel, and follows the story of one of the novel's main characters, Cookie as she fantasizes about joining an independent studies program at the MACBA, the *Museu d'art Contemporani de Barcelona*, the 'Barcelona Contemporary Museum of Art'. The chapter reads in first person and recalls Cookie's experiences as a human being struggling to define her sexuality and gender expression, and more so, the struggle to find a support system.

Cookie wants to join the MACBA to find that support system, to gain access to that "authentic bunker where between master's and thesis one would construct their future global identity, without ever accessing the world outside" (qtd. In Hachem 2016). For future reference, every translation of *PornoBurka* offered in this thesis is the author's own.

Important considerations for this source are the time and setting of the novel. Sexual identity and gender expression are in the Spanish spotlight, as same-sex marriage was only legalized there in July of 2005, and there is still limited recognition and performance space for those who acknowledge their multifaceted identities. The MACBA provides a space for the young adults in this cultural revolution, and it is necessarily a coveted honor to be part of

this kind of project.

Vasallo, the author of the text, argues in a 2013 interview with *Traficantes de sueños* that the archetypes presented in the text force the Spanish people to rethink their own identities as Spaniards. At this time in Spain's history when same-sex marriage has been legally recognized for over a decade, engaging in self-reflection and identity formation have become paramount. The characters in *PornoBurka* reflect the 21st century human, who is an *assemblage* of merging identities that varies from situation to situation and even from day to day. This avant-garde perspective on identity formation is illustrated in the concept of the Spanish copulas, *ser* and *estar*. In the interview, Vasallo discusses the difference between "el *ser* y el *estar siendo*", the difference between the rigidity of "I am" and "I am being". A brief discussion during the interview of the character Cookie, the protagonist of the chapter, used in the current analysis, explores the character's pliable demeanor. This is a character who changes everything, from her clothes to her preferred name (at times Cookie, at times Lo, and at time Conchita, short for Concepción) in a cycle of constant self-reinvention. Throughout the course of the novel, the character maintains a consistent inner dialogue that mirrors this national trend of embracing new means of self-identification: "Am I man or woman? Am I gay, or straight, or bi(sexual)? Am I a 'real' feminist if I sometimes feel like a man trapped in a woman's body?"

The plot of *PornoBurka* is complicated, as are the characters. Vasallo's interview with *Traficantes de sueños* discusses some of the reasons for the complexity of the characters and of their individual levels of introspection. The discussion of Cookie's character calls for a better understanding of identities that do not fall neatly into the binaries of man/woman, gay/straight, and masculine/feminine.

Before diving into the analysis, it would be wise to consider certain limitations of the transcription. First, there was not a copy to be found of the text that was already in a format

compatible with a word processor. For this reason, the text had to be transcribed from a hard copy bound in a notebook into a word processor. As with any typed-by-hand transcription, this carries the potential for mistakes and inconsistencies, despite even the best efforts to copy the text verbatim.

There was also a need to translate the text into the working language of the paper. It is important to note that the text was translated, or glossed, for the purpose of general understanding of the story. The analysis, however, was conducted on the verbatim Spanish of the original text, on the peculiarities of particular words and expressions and the rich cultural context in which they are steeped.

The primary texts for this study present an extra level of intrigue for the native speaker of English, being written in another language. It is a fact of translation that there is never a simple word-to-word ratio for languages; this is evidenced by the array of vastly different cultures that exist, each with its own distinct experiences from which to form lexicons. Each language develops as a result of the culture within which it operates, and is therefore shaped by the experiences of the people within it. This means, effectively, that any understanding that a native English-speaking researcher has of these texts is a multi-layered one. This understanding includes in turn the understanding of the literal words on the page, the meaning at the sentence level, the overarching connotation or cultural conception of the meaning, and the meaning within the cultural context. A formal education in another language, one that is not immersion-based, falls short of the final meaning-making step in the understanding process, hence the need to reach out to a native speaker for a more comprehensive understanding.

To bridge this gap, the researcher collaborated with a Spanish professor from a neighboring university on the translation of this excerpt in order to better understand some of the unfamiliar expressions and references made in the test. The result of this collaboration

was a translation of the excerpt, one that tries with fervor to preserve the original literal wording whenever possible while still providing thematic equivalents in cases where cultural concepts might not transfer. The glossing is included beneath the text of the original novel, and is lined up with the wording whenever possible. The original text, along with the gloss and several smaller annotations on certain culturally relevant concepts, can be found in the appendix.

The second source for this project was CREA, the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*, which contains over 160 million tokens in total from texts that span the entire Spanish-speaking world. The dates of the corpus range from 1975 to 2004, and include spoken language represented by television and radio transcriptions. It is understood that the dates for the current study are in moderate contradiction with the dates of the corpus, as this study focuses on sources from 1997 to 2017. As such, the corpus only provides representationally accurate data from 1997 to 2004. However, with the addition of other primary sources, the study still lends itself to providing a viable snapshot of the sexual language of the last 20 years. It was decidedly more important to use a corpus with spoken language tokens that covers a relatively recent range of years as opposed to an older corpus like the CORDE, the Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual.

The tokens for this corpus include a list of over 100 words and short, 2-5 word expressions (e.j. *placer anal, "al huerto", "de la acera de enfrente")* taken from a combination of the primary sources for this study, results from various online searches, the interview with the aforementioned professor, and the investigator's own inventory of sexual terms, gathered from years of exposure as a student of Spanish. The intention behind this decision was an attempt to provide a well-rounded list of terms, both derogatory and neutral, some with heavy connotations (e.g. *muerde almohadas*) and some thought to be linguistically free of superfluous connotation (e.g. *homosexual*). Words that are intrinsically associated

with sex were included (e.g. *felación, autoplacer, joder*), while words that have multiple

possible non-sexual connotations (e.g. *hombre, embarazo, deseo*) were not included so as not

to clog up the results with irrelevant tokens. The majority of the terms, however, fell in

between these two camps as either standard, technical terms or polysemous, slang terms.

The use of corpus data for this study came with a set of considerations. First and

foremost was the fact that the corpus is a mechanical resource, and is therefore outside the

realm of ambiguity and approximation. All searches had to use exact morphology for search

terms; nouns with both masculine and feminine endings had to be searched independently,

and all verbs were searched in the infinitive form. As of yet, there is no feature in CREA that

allows for select verb forms to be included in the results, which for future studies could prove

an excellent asset to the corpus research process. I made this decision because trying to

account for every instance of a verb, in every possible form, would have afforded more

tokens but would have taken much longer. This, of course, severely limits the volume of

results. This study, which explores connotation in addition to instantiation, finds limitation in

a corpus that can only provide numbers. The CREA corpus, along with others, is also not

designed to seek out figures of speech with non-literal meanings. This includes euphemisms

and other manifestations of metaphor in written and spoken data. All expressions had to be

searched for explicitly and exactly. There is simply no good way to verify, scientifically or

otherwise, with 100% certainty that one has 'found' an instance of a euphemism or

connotation. It is, in fact, a subjective conclusion made individually that with enough group

consensus becomes expected by members of that group. Bearing this in mind, the researcher

then uses their own judgment, relying on the old cliché that they will "know it when they see

it."

In reality, it turned out to be exceedingly difficult to find words related to sex that

only referred to sex (words that did not also refer to non-sexual things (e.g. *amanerado/a,*

mariposa, entender)). This level of polysemy was at first unexpected, but made sense when considering that a great deal of the language surrounding sex will (regardless of the language) be filled with double entendres, euphemisms, and other devices designed to make meaning ambiguous, since sex itself is a subject that can merit a certain degree of self-censoring. Also of note is the fact that the corpus itself is structured so that tokens must be applied exactly; each entry must be exactly worded, which does not bode well for polysemous words or words with multiple possible spellings (this includes, among others, verbs and adjectives with distinct gendered morphological forms). The necessarily limited technology used in corpus research translates to a limited range of results. In this case, the results were so limited as to be nearly or entirely absent for some terms. The necessarily sparse results for certain adjectives were mitigated by putting both masculine and feminine forms on the list (e.g. *hijaputo* and *hijaputa*, *desprotegido* and *desprotegida*). Verbs like *joder* and *follar*, however, were only run through as infinitives.

This list was then run through the CREA corpus, which specified only results from Spain and only those between the years of 1997 and 2004. The raw results were reported in an Excel spreadsheet to allow for easy permutation, or ordering, of the figures. As the connotation, not the raw counts, contains the most information, the most frequent terms were further investigated to explore the context of each use. The 15 terms with the greatest number of corpus entries were scrutinized, and the individual results for each term were explored.

The third and final source for this study was discovered during the research process. With the *PornoBurka* excerpt and the CREA corpus as primary sources, the addition of a source which utilized more politically correct sexual vocabulary was needed. The Youth Council of Spain published a sexually educational public service document called "Seducción Redonda: Condonéate" or roughly, "Round Seduction: Use a condom." The packet a total of 37 pages and contains a plethora of authentic, yet formal sexual terms (e.g. educación sexual,

fecundación, etc.) and appears to focus on the prevention of HIV/AIDS in the youth of Spain. This source was chosen as a complement to both the *PornoBurka* excerpt and the corpus research, as there was a clear need for data from a more authoritative source, or one that at least utilizes more formal terminology and tone. To be clear, this text was chosen for the absence of slang terms in favor of more standard ones. Together, the three primary sources form a triangle of formal sexual language, explicit and colloquial sexual language, and corpus data regarding sexual language.

Before diving into the analysis of this text, a secondary source was consulted. James Paul Gee, author of the 2014 book *How to Do Discourse Analysis*, provides a list of tools in the appendix of his book for conducting an analysis. These tools provide suggestions for the kinds of things that one can explore critically when analyzing a text. These include, but are not limited to, the Deixis tool (the spatial, temporal, and social words that take on specific meanings in specific contexts, like "you", "me", and "here"), the Subject tool (subjects of specific sentences), the Identities Building tool (the words used to create or acknowledge certain identities), and so on. Another research aid that proved useful during the analytical process was SOAPSTone, a system used in many AP English classes that calls attention to the text's speaker (S), the occasion (O) or the time and place, the audience (A) or intended audience, the purpose (P), the subject (S), and the tone (T) or delivery of a given text for analysis. Both Gee's toolbox of analysis strategies and the concept of SOAPSTone provided inspiration for the subsequent structuring of the analysis of Seducción Redonda: Condonéate.

Considering that the *PornoBurka* excerpt pertained to a class taught in English, it was necessary to create a full translation of the text. For the Seducción Redonda: Condonéate packet, however, this was unnecessary, and as such, no translation beyond that of quoted material is provided. In fact, many of the notes and ideas about the social context of the

PornoBurka excerpt can be applied to a discussion of Seducción Redonda: Condonéate. For example, the climate for sexual revolution and change is apt at this point in Spain's history, considering the recent legalization of same-sex marriage in 2005, and the even more recent law passed in November of 2006 permitting transgender persons to register under their preferred sex on public documents like birth certificates, identity cards, etc.

Seducción Redonda: Condonéate handles the topic of HIV/AIDS and its prevalence in the youth of Spain through the lens of sexual education. The packet is comprised of three major parts: the informational content of the packet, the exploratory activities in the back of the packet, and several artists' depictions of AIDS-themed symbols and figures (e.g. needles, cityscapes, infected body parts, etc.) interspersed throughout the packet. The analysis here consists of a closer examination of two notable facets of this publication: the images and the stories they tell, and the markedly frequent use of the pronoun "we" throughout the packet. The SOAPSTone tool is utilized for the language that it affords the analysis: a discussion of the tone, prospective audience, purpose, etc. of the packet affords greater efficiency to discussing the images and to the discovery process as a whole. Of Gee's list of tools for analysis, the Identities Building Tool best lends itself to a discussion of the pronoun "we" and its prevalence in the packet. The text of the entire packet, plus the individual images to be analyzed, can be found in the Appendix.

CHAPTER 4. ANALYSIS

The analysis will handle each primary source in its own respective section. The method of analysis used for the current study is data-driven, similar in style to one adopted by Naomi Quinn in "How to Reconstruct Schemas People Share, from What They Say" (2005), in which the data (text or tokens) precedes the conclusions. Though each text has its own distinct features for analysis, the schema constructed as a result comes from and applies to all three portions of the corpus. Based on the findings for all three, a schema will be constructed that can explain the presentation, events, and findings regarding sexuality in each text.

The three-page excerpt from the novel *PornoBurka* is the first to be analyzed here. It would be prudent to mention that the findings for this text also appear in another paper written by the researcher with the same goal of schema construction. As it was intended to become part of this larger work from its conception, the findings in this source are applied directly to the current study. The researcher analyzed three salient features of the text in more detail: the use of gendered words, (including the marked usage of the arroba, or "@" symbol in English), the copyright symbols, and the use of religious referents. For this analysis, each feature is operationally defined; given background where the import of each feature is explained; instances of the feature are quoted in the text; and finally, preliminary interpretations are given in each category.

This section discusses both gendered words, which exist as a linguistic function of Spanish in many more contexts than in English, and the @ symbol that appears in the place of *o* or *a* in some of the words that contain gendered endings. They are referred to as "gendered words" here, regardless of their part of speech, due to the myriad manifestations of gender in the Spanish language. English does not apply gender to concrete nouns such as table, book, chair. However, gender is highly present in Spanish, applying to concrete nouns as well as adjectives, articles, and even nouns of profession. In total, words where gender has

to be indicated occur over 300 times in the *PornoBurka* excerpt, including the instances where @s replace certain letters.

To understand the use of the arroba (@) in Spanish, it is important to know how gender functions in the Spanish language. In languages such as English, gender is confined to proper nouns (names) and nouns directly associated with the indication of biological sex (that is, nouns like "girl" or "boy"), with rare exceptions like like the pronoun "she", used often in reference to ships and in such regional variations as "take her easy" as opposed to the more standard "take it easy". Other nouns are considered ungendered and are paired with gender-neutral articles like *a, an*, and *the*. In Spanish, however, commonplace nouns also have gender (*la mesa, el libro, la silla*). This gendering, of course, does not indicate an actual conception of gendered common nouns. No one would claim that a table-- or a book or chair-- is intrinsically male or female, and no one appears to associate certain objects with any kind of intrinsically masculine or feminine traits. Despite the seemingly arbitrary assignment of gendered articles to common nouns in Spanish, there are certain cases in which the indicated gender of a noun does, in fact, carry a gendered connotation. In English, for example, the slang term *cougar* (discussed in greater detail in Baker's 2011 paper, "Discourse and Gender") typically only refers to members of the female sex, more specifically women of advanced age. In this case, there is a greater gender distinction made when the term has sexual connotations; in this case, *cougar* refers to an older woman who seeks out sexual experiences with younger men.

In Spanish, this distinction is made with greater frequency, and therefore merits a greater level of recognition. When talking about groups of people in Spanish, gender has to be indicated, either with –os or –as. When two men form a group, they are referred to with *los* (e.g. *los pensantes*, "the thinkers"). Despite "thinker" being a genderless noun, we still understand that the group consists solely or mainly of males. When two women form a group,

they are indicated with *las* (e.g. *las pensantes*, which can also be translated as "the thinkers"). However, when there is a mixed group of both males and females, the grammatical mandate is to use *los* to refer to the whole group. This means that there can be a group of five females (referred to with *las*), but if even a single man joins the group, the required referent changes to *los*. This creates a kind of sexism that permeates every grammatical structure of the language.

In response to this gendering of the language, a phenomenon has emerged among Spanish sociologists, feminist activists, and other individuals with the use of the arroba. In place of *o* or *a*, which assumes something about gender, the @ symbol is used instead as a means of affording ambiguity to the once-gendered referent (instead of "*los pensantes*" or "*las pensantes*", we now see "*l@s pensantes*"). Despite its potential for revolutionizing the Spanish grammatical system, it has yet to catch on in other contexts aside from feminist literature and feminist academic discourse. As for the text of *PornoBurka*, the @ symbol occurs in 13 separate cases. In every case, the symbol appears in the context of the MACBA program, to the members, usually of the advanced group. It is fitting, seeing as the MACBA, or Museu d'art Contemporani de Barcelona, is regarded as a playground for gender revolution and the expression of non-binary identities. One striking instance can be found on page 40 of the text, in which Cookie refers to the students coming out from inside the museum as the thinkers, "*L@s pensantes, sorprendid@s por el golpe de realidad*". In addition to the incorporation of the @ in the word *los*, it is also added to the word *sorprendidos* to further reinforce the intended ambiguity of the group of people, and of their ability to transcend normal gendered language. When Cookie has her culminating encounter, in which one of the members of this group accidentally runs into her, she is seen referring to them as "*un@ de ell@s*". But why?

The @ has emerged in more recent Spanish texts due to an upsurge in the desire to be

politically correct and gender-inclusive and abandon the arguably sexist grammatical rules of Spanish. When understood in the context of how the grammar works, it makes sense how this kind of symbol arises. In this text, the narrator's concentration of these symbols around members of the academy at the MACBA seem to point to her association of the MACBA with this same sort of gender inclusion. Her respect and admiration for this group is also reflected in her treatment of the physical collision with one of the members as a positive rather than negative experience. In the understanding (the schema) of this narrator, any contact with the MACBA is positive and represents the opportunity, to whatever extent, to join a group of people that value inclusion. Cookie's character has been explained by author Vasallo to be one that is pliable, yet complex, one that craves acceptance and freedom of expression equally, one that questions and reinvents itself constantly, and seeks out kindred spirits who do the same. She is intimately familiar with the multiplicities within herself, and sees the MACBA as the kind of organization that values diversity. She uses the @ in contexts of the group that she associates with that same inclusion in order to represent inclusion, a place in the sexual revolution.

The use of the other gendered words in the text is also essential to understanding Cookie's character. One case in particular stands out. At about the midpoint of the chapter, the students at the MACBA are coming out of the building en route to another, undisclosed location, when one of them bumps into Cookie. In a show of aggression, the person yells "¡aparta, hijaputa!", which translates to "get away, motherfucker!" Noting the gender of this word *hijaputa* proves to be conducive to an intriguing analysis. The term comes from a more popular Spanish term, *hijo de puta*, meaning "son of a bitch." When broken down, *puta* is actually a term typically reserved for a whore or prostitute, and in any case carries a female referent. Its counterpart, *puto*, is a derogatory term for a male homosexual, and in many cases is used as a synonym of "coward". Even in the same word, a change in the gender of the

word (from *puta* to *puto*) changes the meaning and can even alter the effect that the word has on the audience.

The use of "*hijaputa*" has the original connotation of being insulting, and in most cases is seen as such. Calling someone "*hijo de puta*", son of a bitch, is offensive. However, we see in the story that the opposite happens when one of the students from the MABCA uses this term to insult Cookie. Instead of taking the surface meaning of the insult, she looks instead to the gendered referent that lies just underneath the surface of the insult. To call someone *hijo de puta* implies that the person being referred to is male, regardless of the sex of the actual "motherfucker" in question. To call someone "*hijaputa*", however, is to indirectly label them as feminine. *Hijo* is a masculine child, whereas *hija*, used in any context, indicates a female child.

The simple distinction between a masculine and a feminine version of this insult makes all the difference to Cookie's character. As a person who positions themselves outside of the confines of binary masculinity and femininity, Cookie encounters a problem when gendered language inevitably turns up. To understand the gravity of this statement, we must understand that the MACBA, despite its inclusive appearance, only accepts women into their program. As Cookie is more inclined to embrace "man trapped in a woman's body" to describe herself, she feels she lacks the necessary qualifications to become part of the organization that she so idolizes. In order to be able to fit in, she must also be recognized as female by other characters. The use of "*hijaputa*", despite being an insult, actually affirms her desire to be recognized as feminine. *Hijaputa* means something like "daughter of a bitch", and implies that the human referent is female. Her excited reaction to hearing this insult makes sense, because it also represents an affirmation that she is worthy of becoming a member of this group.

Another way to consider this insult is by attributing it to banter. Banter, as we have

discussed, is the sharing of surface insults designed to build rapport and strengthen social relationships. In addition to recognizing her femininity, it is possible to read the use of "*hijaputa*" as an expression of banter, designed to bring Cookie closer to the people of the MACBA. This interpretation is less likely, considering that the utterance is described as coming from a "furious" -speaker who subsequently punches her in the arm.

Regardless of whether or not the statement "*hijaputa*" can be considered as banter or a simple insult, the effect is the same when we consider the outcome of the chapter. At the end, Cookie gains access to the MACBA when a group from another division sees what has happened and asks her what the person has just called her. Her utterance of "*hijaputa*" then becomes the key, her point of access to the MACBA. Similarly to the use of @, the gendered word "*hijaputa*" becomes associated with inclusion, the inclusion that Cookie seeks in the MACBA.

This section discusses the use and potential import of the inclusion of copyright symbols in the *PornoBurka* excerpt. In the world of modern consumerism, copyright symbols are everywhere, often going unnoticed by the average reader. They legally mark, or brand, protected phenomena, and can designate specific brands, names of processes, and products. Copyright symbols are designed to indicate ownership, and can apply not just to the products of major corporations, but also to individual patented items. Copyright symbols in most modern usage, however, tend to be associated with legality, formality, and industrial production, and less associated with individual ownership.

The aforementioned copyright symbols occur in only two places in the *PornoBurka* excerpt; however, their placement in the text gives them a great deal of analytical significance. Both uses of copyright symbols occur in conjunction with a term coined by the text, *feminista-de-verdad*, which becomes "true feminist" when translated to English. In both cases where this phenomenon occurs, we see the term marked with the symbol as though it

were a real, patented product rather than a concept arbitrarily posited by… whom? It is even unclear as to who is responsible for this newly coined term. There is no direct mention of the MACBA in association with this term, meaning that it is not the MACBA who is responsible for this standard. To the outsider, this term appears to have an official source, but upon further inspection, we realize that it is someone else entirely who is responsible for this dramatic display of demarcation.

The conjunction of the term *feminista-de-verdad* with the copyright symbol functions here as a kind of deixis, an insider term used to refer to the imagined 'desired candidate' of a MACBA member rather than the reality of the actual candidate. The inclusion of the copyright symbol lends a kind of undeserved professionalism to the term, making it seem more official than it actually is. It becomes clear, once we realize that while the MACBA is not responsible for this term, Cookie is. Both mentions of the term can be found on page 39 of the original text:

> "Llegué a ell@s cuando volvía a ser mujer, después de comprender que no podía tener alma de hombre y ser una feminista-de-verdad®. Tuve que escoger y, obviamente, sacrifiqué mi alma. El problema era entonces descubrir otra fórmula que me convirtiese en una feminista-de-verdad® sin cambiar nada, sin ir demasiado a los cimientos y, sobre todo, sin poner en juego el precario equilibrio con Buenaonda."
> (Vasallo 2013: 39)

The translation for this segment, provided by Hachem in an earlier paper, is given here:

> "I came to them when I decided to call myself a woman again, after realizing that I couldn't have the soul of a man and also be a "feminista-de-verdad®" ("real" feminist). I had to choose, and obviously, I sold my soul. The problem, then, was discovering another formula that would make me a "real feminist" without changing anything, without hitting too close to home and, above all, without upsetting the precarious

equilibrium I had with Buenaonda." (Hachem 2016).

The application here of a symbol that usually denotes legally patented items serves to create greater tension in Cookie's search for meaning. The term *feminista-de-verdad* is not an official classification given by the MACBA, and is instead a term made up by Cookie to refer to the set of implicit rules for being a feminist, without which one is not legitimate, not credible enough to have a copyright symbol in the label one creates for oneself. The author relies on the fact that there is a shared notion here of the copyright symbol affording legitimacy. Cookie is expressing her true disdain for the idea of being a "real feminist" by giving it an ostentatious, legal-looking presence in the text. There is a hint here surrounding the legitimacy and validation of identity associated with these copyright symbols.

The fact that the ostensibly legal term associated with the MACBA is actually a product of Cookie's imagination tells us something important about the role of inclusion in the creation of Spanish sexual identity. The desire for her inclusion into this program as part of her process of sexual discovery points a finger at an underlying need for structure, one that becomes an important clue in navigating the labyrinth of Spanish sexuality.

The final textual phenomenon relevant to the *PornoBurka* analysis is the use of religious referents. This category of items is intentionally broad in its scope, and therefore vague in its language of description. Religious Referents is confined to intertextual references to any and all publications and versions of The Holy Bible, references to holy figures, objects, or beings, and any references to virginity as they relate to the religious associations with virgins. While the first two are obvious, the third takes the specificities of Spanish culture into account, as the connotation cluster that surrounds the term *virgen* is much larger in Spanish due to its inextricable link with religious language.

The utilization of religious referents in this text is important to the current analysis for two reasons. The first, as hinted at in the previous paragraph, comes with the recognition of

the importance of religious references in a Spanish text. The Catholic Church has, until very recent years, dominated schools of thought in every public institution: education, health, recreation, etc. For centuries, religion has pervaded the everyday lives of the people of Spain (with the exception of the majority of the Basque country, which for reasons of linguistic division has been largely unaffected by the cultural changes that have taken place in Spain over the course of its history). It seems inevitable, then, that religious references should appear in texts about nearly everything, from history books to television to novels about sex.

There are three major instances of religious referents in this text that will be analyzed for commonalities. The first is on page 39, in which Cookie discusses not being able to be a man and still be a 'real feminist'. She says, "*tuve que escoger y, obviamente, sacrifiqué mi alma*"; "I had to choose and, obviously, I chose to sacrifice my soul". She decribes the act of avoiding this masculine side of herself as like sacrificing her soul, as the necessary termination (or at least, distancing from) of a piece of oneself. This sacrifice is of dire importance; Cookie must satisfy her need for inclusion by giving up her multifaceted identity.

The second is on page 41, and describes the scene in which the members of Group A from the MACBA come running out into the rain "*como un auténtico coro de cuerpos celestiales celebrando la lluvia*", "an authentic choir of celestial bodies celebrating the rain". Cookie once again ascribes a religious referent, the "choir of celestial bodies", to members of the MACBA, describing them as angelic, heavenly, or more so like model human beings. This begins to point to a pattern of attributing religious qualities to the MACBA.

The third and final instance is also found on page 41 of the text, and comes out in the sentence, "*Yo, que apenas era más que una chica buscando la luz*", "I, who was no more than a girl searching for the light". It becomes obvious when we consider the English expression "to see the light" that Cookie in this quote is referring to the light of sexual discovery, but she describes it with the language of religious awakening. She describes her encounter with the

mariposa as a kind of spiritually illuminating experience. It seems that the common associations people tend to make with happiness are positive religious experiences (e.g., the words *ecstasy, divine, sinful*, and other words commonly associated with intense happiness). As a girl "looking for the light", Cookie is also searching for the fulfillment that she associates with the MACBA, as she may believe that it will fulfill her emotional desire for inclusion. A schema appears to grow out of this analysis, one that positions the MACBA at the source of Cookie's sexual fulfillment. This schema includes metaphors for religion, identification through branding, and legitimization.

As we have discussed, schemas are essentially templates of expected shared values systems that beget subsequent behaviors for given experiences in given contexts. Schemas help outsiders figure out why people act the way they do in certain situations because they define the parameters that the conversational operators (or as Brown and Levinson would say, the MPs) leave unspoken, ones that nevertheless dictate how and in what manner they behave. Schemas define which concepts and connotations are most important to the people contributing to the conversation. When we know and understand the schema for a given situation, the language and cultural barriers that once existed no longer present any threat to understanding, as we can analyze the text with a filter that accounts for cultural differences. In the case of Cookie in this chapter, we are presented with a schema of what the MACBA represents to Cookie: inclusion, validation, and fulfillment—essentially that she associates the MACBA with sexual fulfillment and happiness. The arroba, or the @ symbol, represents the inclusion that the actual symbol offers to members of both sexes. The copyright symbol denotes legitimacy. With the ascribed legitimacy that comes with being a *"feminista-de-verdad"* comes the validation through the legal symbol. Also, the MACBA appears to represent the emotional fulfillment often associated with religious experiences such as "finding the light".

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With a better knowledge of the ideological connections that exist among all these textually-driven factors, we can approach the story with a better understanding of why the events unfolded the way they did. This is the essential function of a schema, to help the outsider to understand, to see through the eyes of the narrator from another culture. Cookie, who sees the MACBA and all its associates as a chance at inclusion, validation, and emotional fulfillment, sees any contact with anyone associated with the organization a glorious step in the right direction. The schema that determines that only females are allowed to be feminists is confirmed when Cookie gains access to the Group after they hear the word "*hijaputa*" used addressed to her. This means that there must be conflicting schemas at work. There is one for inclusion, the (@) to convey that everyone is accepted at the MACBA. But the copyright symbol that accompanies the term supplied by Cookie points to a standard of a certain level of legitimacy. There exists a condition for this validation in the form of the copyright symbol. It becomes clear that the conflicting schemas point to a potential conflict imminent in the text: a conflict between faces, between Cookie's desire to be included and her desire to be validated. Granted, the observations made reflect a single perspective on Cookie's experience; yet, their validity does not falter in the face of potential opposing readings. The sense of dramatic irony is tactile when Cookie experiences the rush of excitement to be accepted into the Group, only to be required to suppress the very part of herself that desires inclusion, which relates to her more global search for identity, and shows us a potential parallel between Cookie's character and the author's construction of Spanish sexual identity as a whole.

The corpus research conducted for this project consisted of approximately 100 terms and short Spanish phrases that were determined to be inextricably linked to sexuality. The terms were compiled from the two other primary sources for this study (the novel excerpt and the public sex education packet), along with the vocabulary learned during the interview with

Professor Baena, and in addition to the lexicon already possessed by the student as a result of several years of having formally studied Spanish. Each term was run individually through the corpus, and it was determined that the following 15 terms had the greatest overall number of appearances in the corpus: *no seas maricón, entender, sexual, sexo, VIH, coger, sexualidad, semen, puta, culo, virgen, SIDA, pene, preservativo,* and *paja.* The number of tokens was recorded for every single entry on the list, and analyzing the entire list as opposed to the top 15 terms can arguably present a different perspective on the schema. That is, it can allow for the inclusion of more culturally significant tokens that occur a smaller number of times in the corpus. However, it was determined that using the terms with the highest instance in the corpus would yield more generalizable conclusions about the relationship of the data with the greater schema of sexual language. The 15 terms with the highest token counts from the corpus were compiled into one list, and the resulting counts were further broken down to determine the sources of the greatest percentages of tokens. In addition, the complete list of terms was broken down into a separate list of both "slang" and "standard" terminology (both of which are operationally defined in greater detail in the Results section), and raw token counts were taken in order to be able to observe the overall discrepancies between the two.

The images in this packet were paintings of HIV and AIDS-related themes and situations. It is unclear who the contributing artists were for this publication, as there are no acknowledgements and no names on most of the artwork. We can assume that the pictures, regardless of their source, were chosen for their thematic relevance to the content of the packet. The first image for analysis is the cover picture.

The colors in the images provide us with more information than can be provided with just the content of the images. We begin with the black background. The logos for the contributing organizations are at the bottom, and the CJE logo is in the bottom right hand corner. The title, "Seducción Redonda: Condonéate" is at the top. Overlaid in the center is a

yellow circle with a black outstretched hand holding a white circle representing a condom. The yellow circle takes up most of the frame, with the title appearing small in comparison. The color yellow grabs the reader's attention, draws them in, and directs them to the hand that holds the condom. The hand is solid black, and the condom is depicted as a single, hollow white circle. There is no packet or labeling information, not a hint of rubber or other materials.

From the very beginning, the influence of the CJE is minimized in the packet. The logos for the contributing organizations take up less space, which has the effect of minimizing the authoritative tone that could so easily dominate such a publication. The title is also small in comparison to the hand in the center. This seems to say that the title is less important than the message; the authors understand that it is the symbol that stays in the mind of the reader even after the words have left. The color yellow signals alert, and serves well to trap the attention of the audience. In the center of the yellow circle we find the most salient aspect of this image: the hand holding the condom.

The hand is black, not as a way to signal race, but more likely the opposite: to establish visual contrast. There is no necessary racial identity attached to this hand, meaning that it could belong to anyone. It is uncertain whether this hand belongs to the CJE, in which the CJE is offering up the condom, or whether the hand belongs to the intended recipient, into which the condom has been accepted. In either case, the hand signals the passing of the knowledge associated with the condom use from one person to another. The condom, a hollow white circle, stands out against the blackness of the hand. The white is associated here with sterility, practicality, and a logical approach to contraceptive practices as part of a more holistic treatment of sexual expression; this befits the informative tone of the packet. The fact that there are no obvious markers or labels of the condom means that we are not seeing a simple marketing ploy to sell more condoms. The authors are not endorsing a particular

condom brand, so much as the concept of using condoms.

Many of the images featured in the packet were shown in sections, in which part of the image was featured earlier in the packet, and the full image was included at the end of the packet. One image in particular stood out in this lineup, as it appears to give different suggestions depending on whether it is seen by itself or put in the context of the entire piece. The image for consideration was found on the page after the Table of Contents. It was impossible to recover the artist's name, but it was discovered that there is a small insignia on the bottom left hand corner of the image with the name "Aylo", most probably the original artist's nickname.

The image is mostly shadows with gradients of black and grey forming a masked figure in the center. The mask is white, and vaguely resembles a tribal mask with black featherlike projections coming off of it. The white mask here signals anonymity, and even a level of innocence and purity. Considering the stigma that has surrounded HIV for so long, it seems important to mention the use of a color with such a loaded association with purity, innocence, even cleanliness. This could be interpreted as an attempt to "absolve" HIV/AIDS victims of stigma by affording them the whiteness of purity and anonymity.

There are 3 needles filled with blood in this image, one plunged into either eye, and one in the nose area of the mask. The number and placement of needles is intriguing here, and brings up several questions. First, why are there three? This has a potential connection to the Christian Holy Trinity, in which Christ manifests in three parts. If this is the case, it brings up the question of the placement of the needles. Why are they in the eyes and nose, and not the eyes and mouth, or elsewhere in more common injection sites, such as the crooks of the elbows?

Another question arises when we consider the needles, one that perhaps we would never think to ask given another context. Considering that the packet centers on AIDS

prevention and awareness, and considering that the artist's rendition of the figure depicts the

needles entering the figure's face, the question comes: is the blood clean? The notion of

uncleanliness is connected to Brown and Levinson's discussion of face threatening. When we

have to ask this question, we incriminate and potentially corrupts the positive face of the

subject we are questioning. There is not enough information to give us a definitive answer.

Regardless, the fact that we must ask ourselves this question means that we are now thinking

a little more like a sufferer of AIDS ourselves, in which the question *is the blood clean?* is a

necessary one. We are also necessarily threatening our subject's negative face, which the

authors attempt to right with their messages of inclusion and non-judgment.

There was another version of this image at the back of the *Seducción Redonda:*

Condonéate packet that zooms out from the masked figure on the left side to include a

depiction of a city on the right. This cityscape looks like a cross between a piece of graffiti

and a contraption resembling a pocketknife with the cityscape painted onto it. The image

looks dangerous in a metallic way, and imbues in the viewer a sense of unease.

Now that we have the complete mural in front of us, we see that the needles are

attached to something. In fact, the two needles that protrude into the eyes are attached to the

figure's hands, and the third appears to be connected to this "city" contraption. Now we see

that the figure's arms control two of the needles; the pain in this image is self-inflicted.

The answer to the question *is the blood clean?,* then, is a resounding "no". When we

see that one of the needles is connected to the city, it becomes obvious that the blood is most

likely contaminated. It is contaminated with all the violence and danger of the city, and is

entering into what we could consider to be an innocent host. But how can we say that the

figure in the image is "innocent" at all, if it is controlling the needles? If HIV is a self-

inflicted disease (here referring more to the cases of sexually transmitted HIV, and not

counting the many cases of HIV that are passed from mother to child, the sufferers of which

are blameless), can we still be compassionate? Can we call them "victims" of STDs when sex is a conscious, actionable choice?

To answer these questions, we recall the acronym SOAPSTone, used to create meaning in analysis and make connections within the text that may otherwise go unnoticed. The Speakers here are the Youth Council of Spain, along with the Ministerio de Sanidad y Consumo, or Health and Consumption Ministry of Spain. The Occasion, or the situation that surrounds this packet, is in fewer words the current sexual climate in Spain, which we have established is ripe for the publication and subsequent reception of an informative packet on sexual practices. The Audience is at once the youth of Spain, the "*población juvenil*", the teachers who conduct the activities, and the general public of Spain. Though there may arguably be a "gay" audience for this publication, as there is an emphasis on condom use to prevent HIV, it is decidedly irrelevant to consider only one group of people in the analysis of the audience as a whole unit. The Purpose, or the goal of the source, is without question to educate. The CJE, to quote the website, seeks to

> *contribuir a la aceptación y normalización del uso del preservativo; sensibilizar a la población juvenil acerca de la importancia de la VIH/SIDA; y fomentar la negociación del uso del preservativo en las relaciones sexuales para prevenir la transmisión del VIH y otras infecciones de transmisión sexual.*

----- "To contribute to the acceptance and normalization of condom use; to raise awareness in the youth about the importance of HIV/AIDS; and to promote condom use during sex to prevent the transmission of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections."

The second S is for Subject (SOAP**S**Tone), and clearly refers to the subject of the packet, which at its heart is sex education. The Tone, however, is less obvious and must be gleaned from the various factors for analysis. The cover image helps set the tone for the packet, which appears to promote inclusion, and is at times professional and clean, and at others visceral and sharp.

The pronoun "we", in Spanish, "*nosotros*", as well as the "*nosotros*" form of several

verbs, occurs in multiple places in the Seducción Redonda: Condonéate packet (note: there were a total of 9 occurrences of the term "*nosotros*" and 5 occurrences of "*nuestro*", "our", in the packet). It is interesting to note here the marked absence of either the arroba (@) or the "x" as a means of excluding gender distinction, in which terms that typically utilize gendered endings use instead an "x" (e.g. "*señorxs*" in place of "*señores y señoras*"). Whereas the *PornoBurka* excerpt makes use of the avant-garde terminology that is so prevalent in the social sphere, the packet takes a more traditional approach in its use of the more standard "os/as" distinction.

The pronoun "we" used in any text is powerful because it both establishes a close relationship between speaker and reader and because it places the reader within the text, rather than out of or unaffected by it. The first example of this comes from the "Introducción" section in which the authors establish the purpose of the packet. They communicate the importance of sexual knowledge, and indicate that "**consideramos** *de especial importancia tener claros diferentes conceptos que tienen relación y forman parte de la sexualidad*" (15), that we consider it especially important to understand the relationships between the different parts that make up our sexuality. The notable use of "*consideramos*", "we consider", indicates homogeneity on the part of the speakers, and serves to include the audience in this consideration.

A second example of "we" comes on page 17: "*La sexualidad no solo se encuentra en* **nuestros** *genitales, como* **consideramos** *de forma errónea, sino que está en todo* **nuestro** *cuerpo, del que forman parte* **nuestros** *genitales*." This essentially translates to, "sexuality is not just found in our genitals-- we consider this notion erroneous-- but in our entire bodies, of which our genitals form just a part." There is a wide variety of use in this example, with "*nuestro/nuestros*" appearing several times. The first example shows us the authors' position, whereas the current example situates the authors and readers in the message itself, insisting

on the "us", on the fact that sexuality is a universal phenomenon of which everyone is part. The authors subsume the audience here, and become part of the youth of Spain.

A third and final example comes from page 18. The following quote was chosen for its frequent use of the "nosotros" form, but also because it makes an excellent argument about the necessity of sexual education. "*Si **hacemos** educación sexual, **estamos** hablando de hombres y mujeres completos, que son sexuados, que se viven como tales y expresan su erótica de una manera determinada.*"; "When we discuss sexual education, we're talking about complete men and women, *sexuados* (similar in meaning to "sexualized", but with more of a connotation of conscious choice rather than an evaluation imposed by another party), who live as such and who express their sexuality in their chosen way." This emphasis on identifying and describing what knowledgeable sexual beings look like serves to further establish an identity of the audience. The statement above refers not to a particular person or type of person, but to "complete men and women", in which the authors both acknowledge and bolster the sovereignty of their readers. In this way, the "we" in this example refers to an even greater "we" than the first two examples: the "we" of the human race, full of beings capable of making their own decisions about sex.

Gee's Identities Building Tool proves useful when applied to a discussion of pronouns in this text. To use the Identities Building Tool, we consult Gee's commentary:

For any communication, ask what socially recognizable identity or identities the speaker is trying to enact or to get others to recognize. Ask also how the speaker's language treats other people's identities, what sorts of identities the speaker recognizes for others in relationship to his or her own. Ask, too, how the speaker is positioning others, what identities the speaker is "inviting" them to take up (Gee 2014: 202).

Gee's suggestions for what to look for in the text make it easier to move through the analysis with greater efficiency. There is a great deal of identity formation happening in this text that mirrors the formation of the current Spanish identity with regard to sexual self-education and awareness. The first example uses the word *consideramos* to designate the

authors as the "we", the disseminators of the text. The referent for the word "nosotros" appears to grow with each new mention in the text, and the sense of inclusion grows with it. A second "we" emerges in the second example, in which the authors reinforce that our genitals do not dictate our sexuality and in which "we" becomes the youth of Spain. In the last example, the "we" refers to people who implement better sexual education practices, both the ones that exist and the ones yet to come. This "we" appears to encompass the human race.

Schemas, as discussed above with the *PornoBurka* excerpt and in Quinn's "How to Reconstruct Schemas People Share, from What They Say", are a kind of template for a lived experience that helps to explain the presentation and even content of a text. In this text, we are presented with a schema of sexual education and how it functions in Spain, with an emphasis on inclusion, acceptance, sexual fulfillment, and more specific to this text, safety. The solid black hand on the cover suggests a lack of racial bias, and represents the inclusion of all races and creeds in the discussion of healthy sexuality. The condom in the outstretched hand represents the passing of the message from the authority to the global recipient, and the fact that the condom is white and unbranded signals a purity in the message; it is obvious that this publication is not just trying to sell condoms, but the knowledge and safety associated with condom use. The figure with the white mask can be anyone, as anyone can be affected by AIDS, but also as anyone can make the effort to educate themselves. The pronoun "we" conveys that we are all affected by sex, and no one, not even the CJE, is exempt.

We then approach the packet with a deeper, more nuanced understanding of the presentation. The CJE is taking the role of public educator and is trying to establish a public of educated adults by constructing a schema that simultaneously prizes self-education and global inclusion. There is no emphasis on one particular group; the packet does not gear its message toward just gay, lesbian, trans, or straight people, or toward black, white, or other races, but rather insists that everyone has an equal part to play in global self-education. This

is especially true when we consider that the packet was published in 5 separate languages, Spanish, Euskera/Basque, Catalan, Galician, and Arabic. This means that the identity of the intended audience of this packet is not just Spanish-speaking Spaniards, but all Spaniards regardless of language. This packet is important because it helps aid not only in breaking down the stigmas of talking about sex and STDS, but also because it helps aid in the creation of an identity: a better informed, more sex-positive Spanish citizen.

CHAPTER 5. RESULTS

5.1. The Schema in the *PornoBurka* Excerpt

Cookie's character appears to represent the youth of Spain, a part of Spain's population targeted by organizations that preach inclusion, yet still not fully recognized as having as valid a sexual and/or gender identity as their adult counterparts who arguably are less in need of the information. The MACBA represents what Cookie wants: inclusion (the @), validation (the copyright symbol), and the emotional fulfillment that being a member represents (also that of being validated as a real feminist). However, the very reason she admires the Group is for their message of inclusion of those very same people who do not fall easily into these categories (the *feminista-de-verdad*s). One can conclude that there is a message here, that there is still tension between those who claim to be inclusive and subversive, yet adopt a rigid set of rules.

The schema that appears to exist in the *PornoBurka* text is one of ostensibly unconditional acceptance (portrayed by the @ and the religious references) with actual real exclusion (as evidenced by the copyright symbols), that surrounds and pervades all other discourses about the MACBA in this text. As the narrator, Cookie, supplies these terms herself, we find that she is in fact aware of this schema and decides to operate within it anyway. This reminds me forcibly of a passage from Baker's essay: "sexist discourses have not vanished—instead at times they have simply become more sophisticated and… more difficult to attack". (Baker 2011: 210) This seems to be the case as well here, even in the sexually forward-thinking global city of Barcelona, Spain.

5.2. The Results of the CREA Corpus

The second set of results comes from the approximately 100 raw tokens compiled for the corpus research. To reiterate, the CREA corpus was consulted with the results tailored to

the years 1997 and 2017 and limited to the country of Spain. The following paragraphs go into greater detail about the following: 1. The 15 terms with the highest number of tokens, along with a brief breakdown of each term; 2. The similarities and differences between results for terms classified as either 'slang' or 'standard'; and 3. A look at a few instances of terms with novel results that didn't make the top 15. Then, the most noteworthy results will be used to help develop the construction of a preliminary schema.

The 15 terms with the highest number of occurrences in the CREA corpus can be seen in figure 1, in descending order. For each entry, a brief explanation of meaning will be provided, along with a breakdown of the genres of each result. Each term was searched under the filter "*erotismo, sexología*", which is a genre that deals with documents of all types that contain sexual content or discussion. If this genre contained the majority of tokens for the term, it was said to be viably sexual. If not, then the genre with the highest number of tokens was noted to determine the kinds of genres these words are found in most often.

No seas maricón. First, the presence of a periphrastic token in the first position is remarkable. This term, *no seas maricón*, translates to "don't be a faggot" in English. However, there appears to be a less intense connotation with *maricón* than with its English equivalent, which is widely considered to be highly offensive in most places where English is spoken. The term *maricón* appears to have a similar connotation and impact to the term *sissy* in English.

Also, the fact that a term considered to be slang made the top spot is noteworthy. Considering the restrictive search engine of the corpus, it would be expected to see fewer tokens once the terms exceed one word in length. To think that a three-word phrase secured the top place means that it is particularly common in most everyday speech. Unfortunately, no breakdown of the results was supplied for this term, given the high volume of results. It seems that this number merits further investigation, considering that the term *maricón* by

itself only yielded 33 total tokens.

An excellent example of *maricón* comes from the CREA corpus, from the 2004 *Periódico Mediterráneo*, in a discussion about the *presidente de telefónica*, a position of great exposure in Spanish television. The discussion here features the term *maricón* in reference to the potential candidate, *"si les parece que el presidente de Telefónica (el primer anunciante del país) es **maricón** o no? A ésa yo no me apunto, porque me es igual"*; "Do you think the president of *Telefónica* (the first announcer of the country) is a faggot or not? I do not personally mind, it does not matter to me." The emphasis here appears to be not on the derogatory connotation of the term, but rather putting the term in a context where the term is merely descriptive rather than derogatory. Cases of these terms in contexts like the one above are common, since they position the taboo term within a framework deliberately designed to avoid offence.

Term	No. of Instances	Term	No. of Instances
1. *no seas maricón*	24, 313	8. *semen*	355
2. *entender*	2,346	9. *puta*	340
3. *sexual*	1,682	10. *culo*	337
4. *sexo*	1,631	11. *virgen*	228
5. *VIH*	839	12. *SIDA*	220
6. *coger*	482	13. *pene*	193
7. *sexualidad*	373	14. *preservativo*	179
		15. *paja*	176

Figure 1. Number of Tokens for Top 15 Corpus Terms

Entender. The term *entender* comes with its own novelty, as it is typically used as a verb that means "to understand". In some parts of Spain, particularly in more LGBT-friendly cities, the verb doubles as a covert way to ask a stranger if they are gay, or otherwise not

completely heterosexual. For example, if one orders a beer in Granada and a stranger comes up and says, "*me entiendes*?", it may be safe to reason that they're inquiring about sexual orientation. This puts a poetic spin on an otherwise potentially imposing question, asking someone what their sexual orientation is. *Entender* then becomes a euphemism in this context, wherein one can only answer "yes" if they understand the double meaning.

Entender had results befitting its polysemy, as the highest number of tokens came from a genre in the corpus called "*ciencias sociales, creencias y pensamiento*", meaning social sciences, beliefs, and thought. As the lexical meaning of the word is a word of understanding, it is fitting that the largest portion of the results (around 22%) would fit into the category of thought and beliefs. However, this study looks for instances of the term used in a sexual context, for the aforementioned function of asking about sexual orientation. As such, the results for all Top 15 terms were filtered through the corpus for a genre that most directly relates to sexual topics, "*erotismo, sexología*". *Entender* was run through this filter, yielding 2 results, neither of which provided any meaningful examples.

Entender was perhaps the most difficult term to find examples for, as the sexual referent implied by the term is often so well hidden in the wording of the sentence that the unaware reader would totally miss it. *Entender* is considered slang, and as such will be found mostly in unrecorded communication. There was one token that was believed to be a case of *entender* used in context in a sex-friendly magazine called *Identidades*, under the genre "*erotismo/sexología*". In order to fully experience the effect of the euphemism, we look at the entire surrounding paragraph,

*Ponte en sus zapatos: muestra interés en lo que la otra persona siente (emociones) cuando conversa contigo. Trata de ponerte en su lugar, en su situación y házselo saber con las palabras, por ejemplo: creo **entender** cómo te sientes..., me siento a gusto cuando...,etc. También puedes acompañarlo con el cuerpo: mirar a los ojos, mover la cabeza afirmativamente, ofrecerle un abrazo, tomarle la mano, etc. Lo que no se debe hacer es despreciar los sentimientos de la otra persona, criticarla negativamente y enjuiciarla.*

A translation of this text might look like the following: "Put yourself in their shoes: show interest in what the other person feels when they speak with you. Try to put yourself in their place, in their situation and let them know with your words, for example: I believe I understand how you feel,... I like it when... etc. You can also incorporate body language: look in their eyes, nod affirmatively, offer a hug, offer a handshake, etc. What you should not do is belittle the feelings of another person, negatively criticize them or judge them."

Even when seen in context, the reference is not obvious. But when we consider the genre, the type of publication and its prospective audience, we can see how a seemingly innocent verb choice becomes an inkling of sexual preference. It would be wise to note the discrepancy between the assumed widespread usage of the term *entender* and the actuality of very few tokens. In cases like this one where tokens for certain terms are so sparse, it is reasonable to assume that the explicit nature of many of the terms helps account for their absence in the corpus. In other words, it makes sense that some of the more explicit terms (e.g. *beso negro*, etc.) did not show up in the corpus because they are taboo terms. When the referents are taboo, the explicitness suffers as a result.

Sexual. The term in the third spot was *sexual*, with 1,682 instances in the corpus. This term is a ringer for its twin in English, and while explicit, refers to both topics related to sexual intercourse and topics related to biological sex. As such, the majority of the results were in "*salud*", or the health genre of the results (37.6%), with only 55 tokens found under "*erotismo, sexología*" (about 3% of the results).

Sexo. Sexo, like *sexual*, is a cognate for its equivalent in English, an explicit term that has two common possible connotations, one with sexual intercourse and one with biological sex. Unfortunately, the instances in "*erotismo, sexología*" only numbered 70 (4% of 1,631 total tokens), whereas the majority of results fell again under "*salud*", with 530 tokens (32%).

VIH. VIH is the Spanish equivalent of HIV, and stands for "*virus de imunodeficiencia*

humana", or Human Immunodeficiency Virus. HIV is a sexually transmitted disease that affects the immune systems of its sufferers, and it is the topic of choice for a number of public education organizations in Spain today, such as the Ministerio de Sanidad y de Consumo. It is fitting that both *VIH*, along with its counterpart, *SIDA*, occur in top spots on the list. As expected, the majority of the tokens came from documents in the "*salud*" genre (559 out of 839 total tokens). Results under "*erotismo, sexología*" were sparse, with only 2 tokens in a single document, a segment in an edition of *El País*, a Spanish global magazine that covers many topics of everyday interest.

Coger. 6th on the Top 15 list, *coger* comes in as the first swear word, meaning both "to take" in some parts of the Spanish-speaking world, and "to fuck" in others. The prevalence of either meaning depends on the origin of the speaker, but the word itself is polysemous, and therefore has a slightly higher rate of usage in everyday speech. There were a total of 482 tokens of *coger* in the corpus, and a surprising 0 were to be found under "*erotismo, sexología*", with the majority of tokens coming from "*ficción*" (115 tokens). This brings about an interesting dilemma to the corpus usage: when results are categorized into genres, they become much more difficult to find, considering the intrinsically subjective nature of genre classification, and the fact that any system that employs genre as a method of classification necessarily has overlapping contents, as there can easily be works of fiction that fall under "*erotismo, sexología*" that also show up in other genres. It is unclear whether the documents in the results contain *coger* used as a curse or as a reference to taxi patronage. In one source, however, *coger* was found to be used in the searched for context, in an interview titled, "Faro de Vigo, 03/07/2001 : *Ramón Arangüena - periodista y presentador de televisión*", where *coger* is clearly used with a human referent. "*Sorprendido. Sabíamos que Máximo se iba a marchar, pero se barajaban dos opciones: **coger** a una persona de fuera o **cogerme** a mí. Llevo tres años en "Lo + plus" y sabía su mecánica.*" This passage translates

essentially to "Surprised. We knew that Maxwell was leaving, but it was a fight between two options: fuck a stranger or fuck myself. I've been dealing with the "*Lo + plus*" for three years and knew his methods". This use of *coger* demonstrates the variety of appearances of the verb, and shows us both the searched term and a variation of the search term that can be interpreted as "to fuck myself". In this example, we have a first-person account in which *coger* is used freely by an interviewee during a discussion of his plans. The effect here is not condemnation, rather commentary.

Sexualidad. 7th on the list, *sexualidad* is the near-exact equivalent of the noun "sexuality" in English. *Sexualidad* had 373 tokens in the corpus, with 55 (15%) falling under "*erotismo, sexología*", and being therefore considered viable sexual referents for the purposes of this study. The majority of tokens, however, fell under "*ciencias sociales*" (41%). It seems that there is a pattern emerging, when we consider that even a term like "*sexualidad*", which has no other widely acceptable connotation other than in direct relation to sex, yet still only contains 15% explicit sexual references.

Semen. Semen, a direct Spanish equivalent of the English term referring to male ejaculatory fluid, came in 8th on the list of tokens with 355. Of these, only 6 were found in the genre of "*erotismo, sexología*", less than 1% of the results. The greatest percentage of tokens for these results were found in the genre "*ciencia y technología*", a total of 251, or 70%. It seems likely that the token dispersal for this term is due in part to its monosemous nature. The term *semen* is technically a direct sexual referent, yet it tends to be used in primarily scientific contexts, such as those typically designated for authentic, anatomical terminology. Similarly to the treatment of the term semen in English, *semen* is usually reserved for the medical and scientific sphere, with slang terms like *cum* and *jizz* dominating more colloquial settings.

Puta. The term *puta* in Spanish, which literally translates to "bitch" in English, has a

variety of uses and forms that would rival those for the term *fuck* in English. For example, to say that something is "*de la puta madre*", or literally "of the bitch mother", is to say that it is very good, even the best. The English equivalent that best exemplifies the connotation of "*puta madre*" is when one calls something "the shit", implying that it is the best or most preferable. The term is not necessarily only sexual in nature, and was included on the original list for reasons of curiosity. Though it is not a direct sexual referent on its own, it tends to appear with greater frequency in documents with either explicit sexual language, explicit cursing, or both. It is unsurprising, then, that of the 340 total tokens found in the corpus for puta, 0 were under the "*erotismo, sexología*" genre; in actuality, the majority of results for this token were under "*ficción*" 203 out of 340, or about 60%.

An excellent example of the use of *puta* was found in the CREA corpus. *Puta* was seen twice in one document in the context of the phrase "*puta madre*", a synonym for something very good. These two cases were found in a publication called *El País,* in a 2004 edition titled *El País de las Tentaciones,* in reference to a young subject discussing the prospects for their future, "*Y conozco a gente de **puta madre** en América, Japón, Australia o España. Luego vuelvo a casa y alguien me da un cheque por millones de libras y lo pongo en el banco. Es de **puta madre**. Éste es el mejor trabajo en el puto mundo*."

Another, more relevant example from the corpus for *puta* was found in a 2004 edition of *El País*, a popular Spanish news source, in a discussion of author Dan Brown, and his approach to religious figures, *"Los personajes de Dan Brown, entre asesinato y asesinato, van desentrañando el enigma y en el camino se enteran de que Jesucristo, en la última cena, pone a su lado a María Magdalena. En agosto la revista Time dedicaba un largo artículo a la condición de María Magdalena. ¿Santa o **puta**? Se venía a preguntar";* "The characters of Dan Brown, between assassins, figure out the mystery and on the way enter with Christ, during the last supper, and sits next to Mary Magdalene. Is she a saint or a whore? One would

come to ask." In this case, *puta* is used in the context of a religious comparison, in which the figure of Mary Magdalene is either pious or sinful, saint or whore. This is exemplary of the types of religious referents made in so many sexual terms.

Culo. The 10th most popular term on the Top 15 is *culo*, a widely used slang term that means "ass" in English. As with the term *puta*, and as is often the case with most swear words, *culo* is thought to accompany contexts of explicit sexual reference. As the results of the corpus reveal, however, there was not a single result under the genre "*erotismo, sexología*". The majority of the results for *culo* fell under "*ficción*", with 202 out of 337 total tokens, or about 60%, coming from fictional sources.

Virgen. Out of the 15 highest-token terms, the results for the term *virgen* were perhaps the most intriguing. Considering the analysis of the excerpt of *PornoBurka*, the use of religious referents with regard to sexuality is highly prevalent in peninsular Spanish, and as such we could expect to see a high number of tokens with a high percentage of tokens in the "*religión*" genre. In reality, however, there were only a total of 228 total tokens. Of those, the highest percentage of results came from the "*ocio, vida cotidiana*", or "leisure and everyday life" genre, about 21% (or 48 tokens). There was not a single token to be found under either "*erotismo, sexología*" or "*religión*".

An excellent example of *virgen* that was technically found outside the corpus came from a section of the novel *PornoBurka* which did not form part of the present focus. The virgin here is in reference to a "*virgen montañera*" imagined by Cookie: she describes the *hijaputa*, the word used by the person she bumped into as a kind of brush with glory, which she likens to a "*revelación de labios de una virgen montañera*" a prayer spoken from the lips of a virgin of the mountain. The example here is clearly a use of sexual metaphor, and how sexual metaphor makes use of religious referents in Spanish.

SIDA. *SIDA* is the Spanish equivalent of the English AIDS, which stands for

Autoimmune Deficiency Syndrome. There were a total of 220 tokens for *SIDA* in the CREA corpus, with the majority of these tokens (169, or 77%) falling under the "*salud*", or health, genre. There was a single result under the "*erotismo, sexología*" genre, which came from a 2004 edition of the *Heraldo de Soria*, a local newspaper from the northwestern region of Spain.

The origin and the greatest concentration of *SIDA* was found in the public education packet *Seducción Redonda: Condonéate* in conjunction with most mentions of *VIH*. The term *SIDA* in this text is a central part of the content of the packet, as the packet's purpose is directed toward the prevention of VIH/SIDA in young adults.

Pene. With 193 total tokens, *pene* comes in at 13th on the Top 15 list. *Pene* is the Spanish word for penis, and is considered a non-slang, technical term. As such, the majority of results for *pene* in the corpus were under "*salud*", with 60 tokens (or 31% of the total tokens). However, the results under "*erotismo, sexología*" composed around 12%, a significantly higher number than most of the results for the other Top 15 terms.

Preservativo. *Preservativo* is a euphemism of the Spanish word *condón*, or condom. In total, there were 179 tokens for *preservativo* in the corpus. Unfortunately, a mere 3 tokens were found under the "*erotismo, sexología*" genre, all in separate editions of *El Pais*, a Spanish newspaper. The highest percentage of tokens for this term came from the "*salud*" genre (153, or 85%).

Paja. The final term on this list was *paja*, a small word with many connotations in Spanish. A word that is typically translated as "beverage straw", *paja* can refer to straw, or dried grass, hay, and in some cases can refer to a lie when used in the expression *pura paja*. In most parts of Spain, there is an additional meaning of *paja* when used in expressions like "*hacerse una paja*", which translates to something like "jerking off" or "pleasuring oneself". *Paja* was included in this list for its added connotation in peninsular Spanish. Unfortunately,

however, the results of the corpus contradict these suppositions. There were a total of 176 tokens for *paja*, none of which were found under "*erotismo, sexología*". The majority of tokens for *paja* were in the "*ocio, vida cotidiana*" genre (40, or 23%). This means that despite the supposition that *paja* has a sexual connotation in Spain, the actuality of the corpus results suggests that it is scarce or even nonexistent, except in cases of everyday, unrecorded language use.

There was a small number of instances of true sexually explicit usage in the corpus. One such example was found in a novel by Manuel Longares titled *Romanticismo*, in a discussion between two principal characters: "*Y también español, yo me doy por enterado y te digo, Monjardín, allá tú. Y no hay nada personal por mi parte, pero me vas a permitir que mientras tú te quedas aquí yo salga por donde he venido y en la primera esquina me haga una **paja***." Later on in the same text, we can see another example, "¡*Una **paja**, Monjardín! ¡Yo, mecagondiós, ugeté del cincuenta y seis, me hago una **paja**!*" Here we see an example of the explicitness afforded by many literary works. In truth, some of the more explicit tokens come from the works of literature.

In addition to finding the terms with the greatest overall frequency in the corpus, the list of sexual terminology needed to be explored with more attention to the interplay of colloquial and formal use. After finding the raw token counts for each term on the list, the list was then divided up into Slang and Standard terminology. For the purposes of this study, terms where the referent matched its definition (e.g. *pene, orgasmo, masturbación*) for which there was no other underlying meaning were considered standard, and terms whose referent did not match (*plumillo* in reference to *pene*, *tenía pluma* in reference to "was gay") were considered slang. In total, there were 52 terms considered to be standard, and 58 considered to be slang. In total, the tokens of all 52 standard terms numbered 7,346. The tokens for all 58 slang terms numbered considerably higher at 28,787. When we consider the abnormally

disparate result for the slang phrase *no seas maricón* (which incidentally produced more tokens on its own than the combined tokens from the rest of the list). When the tokens for *no seas maricón* are taken out of the summation, there remain only 4,474 tokens for slang terms and 7,346 tokens for standard ones. A table depicting the distribution of slang and standard terms across the corpus results can be found in the Appendix in Fig. 2.

So far, we have seen the results of the top most identified terms in the list and a distribution of slang vs. standard terminology within the list. Now, we will discuss some of the more notable singular events, in which several terms that did not make the top 15 still provided interesting results.

Puta vs. *puto*. For the majority of the terms with both masculine and feminine forms, token counts were moderately unbalanced (*afrancesada*, or "frenchified", in reference to the perceived delicate manners of the French) returned 5 tokens, whereas *afrancesado*, the male equivalent of the same meaning, returned 20; *reproductivo*, or "reproductive" had 34 whereas *reproductiva* had nearly twice as many at 63; *desprotegido*, or "unprotected", returned 24, and *desprotegida* only returned 13 tokens). As these terms are all cases of adjectives that change morphology (but not meaning), it is unnecessary to consider these instances as relevant to the analysis at hand. With the case of *puto* and *puta*, however, we have nouns that vary in meaning based on gender. The meaning of *puto* varies from "male prostitute" to "fucker" (male) to "faggot" depending on the context, but always refers to a male subject. *Puta* is the version that refers to female subjects, and is exclusively taken to mean "bitch" in most contexts. In this case where gender makes meaning, *puto* returned only 39 tokens, whereas *puta* returned 340, creating a considerably higher discrepancy.

Anilingus. The term *anilingus*, the technically accurate term for the act of oral sex performed on the anus, was included here since it is one of few examples in this list of a term that is both standard and truly monosemous (not polysemous) in nature. *Anilingus* returned 3

results, all found in the same document called "*Prevención del VIH/SIDA y otras infecciones*." These results were found under the "*salud*" genre in the corpus. Another term worthy of mention here is *beso negro*, a kind of slang variant of *anilingus* that translates to "black kiss". Despite sharing essentially the same meaning, *beso negro* returned 6 tokens, the majority of which fell into the "*literatura*" genre. Granted, the number of tokens for both terms is unlikely to be significant. Yet it is intriguing to consider the differences in genre, and more generally, in the context that surrounds the two terms.

De la acera de enfrente. The expression *de la acera de enfrente* is used when referring to a gay person or persons who are said to be "from the other side of the street". This particular expression is highly euphemistic, as it contains no explicit referent to sexual orientation or to anything sexual at all. And yet, it bears remarkable similarity to the English saying "plays for the other team". Considering how implicit the expression is, it is nothing short of astounding that it has such a close equivalent in another language. As it was the longest of the terms on the list, it was unexpected that *de la acera de enfrente* would return many results. In fact, it only returned one, found in a novel called *La sombra del viento*, and the term was used in reference to American actor Cary Grant.

Echar un polvo. The expression *echar un polvo*, literally meaning "to shake off the dust" or "to kick up a powder", is a euphemism that refers to the act of having sex. *Echar un polvo* returned 9 tokens in all, 7 of which were found under the "ficción" genre. *Coitos*, or coitus in English, is the standard, medically sound term for the same act in Spanish. A search of *coitos* in the CREA returned a surprising 26 tokens, 17 of which were under the "*bioquímica*" genre, in a single publication from the *Ministerio de Sanidad y Consumo*, or the Spanish Department of Health and Consumption.

A beautiful example of this came from a corpus result from a publication by Oberon, Grupo Anaya, called "*Escuela de mujeres*", and uses the euphemism to its fullest. "*Puede*

variar el orden de los factores, sí, pero en ningún caso altera el producto. Es decir, la mujer,

por propia iniciativa y por verdadero placer, realizará cualquiera de las actividades

*mencionadas antes que **echar un polvo**. Otra cosa pueden ser los **polvos** extramaritales*";

"The order of things can vary, yes, but in no way alter the product. That is, the woman, by her

own initiative and for the sake of true pleasure, will complete any one of the activities

mentioned before "kicking up the dust". Another option could be an extramarital "dusting" of

sorts".

We can clearly see the full expression in use in this example as a referent to sexual

activity. We see the same concept used a second time where *polvos* is used to replace the

word affair, another case of poetic metaphor.

Coño and *culo*. These terms are featured together here due to their similarities. First,

both *coño*-- a slang term for the female genitalia that roughly translates to "pussy"-- and *culo*,

meaning "ass", are considered slang terms as well as actual curse words. *Culo*, of course, has

been mentioned already, as it made the 10th spot on the Top 15 list. *Culo* had 337 tokens, and

coño returned 136. The greatest similarity between the two was that despite the difference in

number of tokens, the majority of the tokens for both terms came from the "*ficción*" genre;

202 of 337 tokens, or 60%, for *culo*, and 86 of 136 tokens, or 63%, for the term *coño*.

It was noted after conducting the corpus analysis that one aspect of the corpus made it

more difficult to isolate tokens. The CREA's use of genres (e.g. "*ficción*", "*bioquímica*", etc.)

as a means of classifying the results proved to be more of a drawback than an asset during the

corpus analysis. The researcher was concerned with finding the great number of tokens for

each term. The use of genres to further classify the results only led to results disappearing

from the list. In the future, it would be prudent to revisit the use of genres in the method or to

do away with it entirely. It is also wise to note the marked lack of corpus results for some of

the terms on the list. Considering that the majority of terms on this list were explicit sexual

referents, it makes sense when we encounter so few results in the corpus of real usage. More than anything else, this result serves as an example of what happens to explicit referents to taboo subjects; they disappear.

5.3. Potential Schemas in the *Seducción Redonda: Condonéate* Packet

Schemas, as discussed above with the *PornoBurka* excerpt and in Quinn's "How to Reconstruct Schemas People Share, from What They Say", is a kind of template for a lived experience that helps to explain the presentation and even content of a text. In this text, we are presented with a schema of sexual education and how it functions in Spain, with emphasis on inclusion, acceptance, sexual fulfillment, and more specific to this text, safety. The solid black hand on the cover signals a lack of racial bias, and represents the inclusion of all races and creeds in the discussion of healthy sexuality. The condom in the outstretched hand represents the passing of the message from the authority to the global recipient, and the fact that the condom is not branded signals a purity in the message; it is obvious that this publication is not just trying to sell condoms, but the knowledge and safety associated with condom use. The figure with the white mask can be anyone, as anyone can be affected by AIDS, but also as anyone can make the effort to educate themselves. The pronoun "we" signals that we are all affected by sex, and no one, not even the CJE, is exempt.

We then approach the packet with a deeper, more nuanced understanding of the presentation. The CJE is taking the role of public educator and is trying to establish a public of educated adults by constructing a schema that simultaneously prizes self-education and global inclusion. There is no emphasis on one particular group; the packet does not gear its message toward just gay, lesbian, trans, or straight people, or toward those of any particular race, but insists that everyone be responsible. This is especially true when we consider that the packet was published in 5 separate languages, Spanish, Euskera or Basque, Catalan,

Gallego, and Arabic. This means that the identity of the intended audience of this packet is not just Spanish-speaking Spaniards, but all Spaniards regardless of language. This packet is essential because it helps aid not only in breaking down the stigmas of talking about sex and talking about sexually transmitted diseases, but also because it helps aid in the creation of an identity: a better informed, more sex-positive Spanish citizen.

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION

After synthesizing the results of the excerpt from *PornoBurka*, the results of the

corpus investigation, and the *Seducción Redonda: Condonéate* packet, a preliminary schema

was constructed to help improve an outsider's understanding of Spanish sexuality. With a

schema, we can begin to understand the events of the novel, the presentation of the packet,

and the results of the corpus.

The schema utilizes concepts from all three primary sources, and helps us to

reconstruct the experience of sexuality through metaphor. For instance, sexuality as a

metaphor for identity becomes manifest in the top of the corpus search, the term *no seas*

maricón. This term is one of identity in that it uses the term *maricón* to illustrate sexuality as

a masculine phenomenon, one in which there is a distinct discrepancy between acceptance of

homosexuality and a lingering *machista* attitude in Spain's sexual culture.

The forthcoming schema posited here is broken down into five basic metaphors for

sexuality: 1. Sexuality as identity, 2. Sexuality as Risk, 3. Sexuality as Apostasy, 4. Sexuality

as Legitimization, and 5. Sexuality as Inclusion. In order to understand the layout of the

schema, we must have an understanding of these metaphors and how they were chosen. The

following paragraphs discuss each metaphor, how it was constructed, and how it fits into the

current schema. A visual representation of the schema is provided in the appendix.

1. Sexuality as Identity. Sexuality as Identity was heavily manifest in every source:

the copyright symbols in the novel, the "we" in the public education packet, and even the

terms of the corpus search. One of the examples we have mentioned already is the term "*no*

seas maricón". The metaphor here seems to be that sexual identity, at least the prototypical

sexual identity as ascribed by society, has an aversion to the feminine. There is a

disproportionate vilification of the female in terms like *puta*, the ninth most popular search

term in the corpus, where its equivalent, *puto*, didn't make a Top 15 slot at all, and in fact

returned only 39 tokens in the face of *puta*'s 340. The struggle for identity establishment in Spanish sexuality is clear, considering the majority of the corpus terms were nouns with derogatory connotations (e.g. *tortillera, mariquita, mari, bollo, maricón*, etc.) the metaphor of Identity works in conjunction with the metaphor of Legitimization, discussed in greater detail below. There was another example of Identity in Cookie's perspective. When we consider that the excerpt from *PornoBurka* is written in first person, it becomes clear that Cookie is the first-person narrator. In this context, anything that happens in the text happens to us through Cookie's eyes.

2. Sexuality as Risk. Sexuality as a metaphor for Risk is present when we consider the terms often associated with sexuality in any language that have to do with danger: HIV/AIDS, prevention, safe sex. Sex is intrinsically an act that carries risk, the risk of pregnancy or disease should the parties participating fail to be aware of and prevent such risks. This becomes obvious when we consider that both *VIH* and *SIDA*, two terms that refer to related sexually transmitted diseases, were both found in top spots on the corpus list; *VIH* had the #5 spot with 839 tokens, and *SIDA* had the #12 spot with 220. Words associated with risk and danger are popular throughout the PSA packet (*prevención, riesgo*, etc.), and much of the emphasis is on the mitigation of this risk through the use of… what else?... condoms. Incidentally, the term *preservativo* made the #14 spot on the Top 15 list with 179 tokens. In Quinn's 2012 paper, she also discusses the metaphor of risk in the American marriage. Phrases like "playing the odds" and words like "betting" imply a kind of gamble when it comes to marriage, and the same concept of weighing risk and reward applies directly to the act of sex when we have to consider the risks associated with every time we have sex.

3. Sexuality as Apostasy. Sexuality as a metaphor for apostasy was perhaps one of the most eye-opening concepts that came out of this schema. Apostasy, an abandonment or renunciation of some sort of principle, is evident in both literary sources. Apostasy of the

church is perhaps the most salient here, and is demonstrated by a phrase found on a piece of artwork for the PSA packet, *el uso del preservativo es blasfemar contra Dios*"; "to use a condom is to blaspheme against God". The public education packet, which advocates for the consistent use of condoms, flies in the face of the mandate of the church. The church, commonly seen as the moral authority on sexuality, becomes the source of a dangerous stigma associated with the proper use of contraceptives. For this reason, the wisdom of the church is necessarily abandoned.

Considering the vast and continuing influence of the Catholic church in Spanish sexuality, it is important to note the role the church has in this discussion. Consider the term *virgen* in Spanish, which refers commonly to the various virgin saints in the Catholic tradition. The term *virgen* in this study, referring to both males and females who have yet to become sexually active, came in the #11 spot on the Top 15 list in the corpus with a total of 228 tokens. In a study on sexuality, the search for sexual identity as well as the search to validate that identity, the church occupies the place not just of religious authority, but of moral evaluation that must be circumvented in order to get at the often conflicting morals associated with healthy sexuality.

There is also an element of apostasy of stigma here, as evidenced in the PSA packet. The aim of the packet is education, and as such contains no slang terms or terms associated with the stigmatization of certain sexual orientations or practices. It demonstrates knowledge, authority, and morality without being clouded by stigma. This can also be evidenced by the relatively even token counts for both the slang and standard sexual terms in the corpus. The metaphor of sexuality as Apostasy ties into the metaphors for Inclusion, Risk, and even Legitimization as the new models for sexuality that have come about in recent years creates a rift between the old traditions and the new.

4. Sexuality as Legitimization. The metaphor of sexuality as Legitimization can be seen in the text of the novel. The copyright symbols associated with the MACBA also tie in with the Sexuality as Identity metaphor, as the authenticity we associate with copyright symbols serves as a kind of legitimization of identity. Legitimization is distinct from Identity in that it goes beyond simple self-identification and becomes a question of the social acceptability of such identification.

5. Sexuality as Inclusion. Sexuality as a metaphor for Inclusion is intimately related to the metaphors of Identity and Legitimization in that it goes even further than either identification or legitimacy and comments on the incorporation, or failure to incorporate, certain facets of Spanish sexuality into Spanish society. The metaphor of Inclusion is frequent in all three primary texts. In the excerpt of *PornoBurka*, the @ is used in place of the traditional "os/as" distinction to include persons who aren't covered by the traditional distinction. Inclusion is found in the terms of the corpus with the word *entender. Entender*, "to understand", returned the second highest token count of any term on the list. In this context, *entender* has an especially rich meaning, considering the additional connotation it carries for establishing whether or not a person is a member of the LGBT community. Where the existence of entender is not uncommon, the use of a verb implying understanding being used to signal sexual consensus creates a bond between the speakers, and creates a sentiment of being part of something larger and of belonging. The metaphor of inclusion is also present in the public education packet in the prevalence of the "we" pronoun to refer simultaneously to the authors and the audience of the publication. The metaphor of Inclusion ties into the metaphor of Legitimization when we consider the concept of inclusion vs. exclusion. While the copyright symbols can signal legitimization for anyone who is part of the MACBA, they signal exclusion for everyone else. Depending on the perspective, one could argue that Inclusion is at odds with Legitimization when it comes to how to evaluate it.

At this juncture, it is important to understand the necessary limitations of the schema created here. First, as any schema arises out of conclusions made in the data rather than speculation, the schema itself is limited to what one researcher gleaned from three unrelated documents, and does not allow for the inclusion of metaphors not explicitly present in the texts. Granted, the existence of any schema, however preliminary, helps to augment understanding, and the layout of the schema makes the future addition of new metaphors and terms relatively simple.

Naomi Quinn 2012 details the struggle of so much qualitative research to defend its own process in what she calls "The Methodological Challenge" (37). The findings of this study suggest, however, that despite the struggle to defend methodologies, there is merit to the creation of schemas for the various facets of human existence. In fact, much of the inspiration for the Methodology of this study came from the process described in the Quinn paper. As with the metaphors for sexuality discussed here, Quinn found several metaphors that surround the American marriage (sharedness, compatibility, risk). As no schema of this kind has yet been posited in linguistic research, the schema in progress offers an innovative view of Spanish sexuality, one where the words are the determining factors that shape our understanding of the whole discourse, in which, as Longacre and Hwang remind us, "the whole constrains the parts; the parts explain the whole" (2012, 16).

There is, of course, more than one way to interpret the results of this study, and multiple potential analyses that were left out of the Discussion. Considering the nature of the Methodology, another researcher could conduct the same study with the same primary texts and, while finding the same corpus tokens, could create a different schema based on different themes for analysis found in even the same texts. Another researcher could also create a different list of terms to search in the CREA corpus, or could use another corpus altogether. A corpus such as the CORDE could be used, and the time parameters of the study could be

expanded to include a wider range of years. Any changes made to the Method could yield new and exciting results. The key to the validity of the current study is the validity of the schema that is produced as a result. Another researcher could replicate these efforts and perhaps posit another schema that handles Spanish sexuality as well. In fact, any replication of this study would likely lead another researcher to different conclusions. Yet, considering that schemas are psychological constructions, it is understood that they themselves change and update with each new piece of information presented. No two schemas, even those created for the same situation, are exactly alike, and necessarily so. Of course, as more schemas are posited and old ones are modified, our understanding of sexuality only grows with it. Each new potential schema provides more insight and can only aid in the search for significant cultural meaning-making.

In the sciences, there is an understandable dominance of quantitative, numerical data and studies that attempt to be as replicable as possible, a response to the desire for external validity. In the social sciences, however, the subjects are people, and as such researchers must handle both quantitative and qualitative data. There is a growing need in linguistics for qualitative data, and studies like the present one offer a solution to this lack of qualitative information. The schema constructed as a result of this study can be applied to any further study of Spanish linguistics with regard to sexuality, whether by translators, educators, or even traditionally quantitative researchers. Moreover, the applicability of these findings can extend even into other fields, and can easily be appropriated into anthropological studies, psychological research, and most other fields within the social sciences. Further research may handle this schema's applicability to other sources, its ability to explain the events in certain texts, and may even call for the addition of new sources in order to expand the pre-existing schema. With the presentation of this schema, the field of sexuality studies as a whole gains a new perspective and a new way to evaluate the language that surrounds sexuality.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

While the question of sexuality and how it fits into cultural meaning-making is still unanswered, we have more information now than when we began. We now have a schema, a tool, which helps us put the vocabulary of sexuality back into the context of what it does in a society. We now understand that schemas can help the people from one culture understand the things that motivate the values and behaviors of the people in another, by putting them into the language of more universal themes. We know that Spanish sexuality can be analyzed with a schema that presents metaphors for Identity, Risk, Apostasy, Legitimization, and Inclusion, and that understanding these metaphors provides insight into the reasoning that guides the development of Spanish sexuality.

The current study offers a means to develop a better methodology for analyzing qualitative data in the social sciences, in part by creating, implementing, and modeling the methodology in question. It is hoped that the methodology for the current study will set a trend for searching out and inventing new research methodologies. Another strong contribution made by this study is in the area of sex research. Considering that the majority of research in this budding field is conducted both in English and using English data, the current study provides a valuable alternative perspective by using data from the Spanish language. More than perhaps any other, the contribution made by this study is a conceptual one. When we set aside our old methodologies and templates in search of new ones, we are making valuable strides toward a better research process, more informed by data and less clouded by past structures.

We can continue to develop our understanding of human sexuality in the future by creating new and better schemas, adding to existing ones, or coming up with still new ways to qualitatively analyze sexual vocabulary. Further research in linguistics can shed more light on the verbal components that make up our understanding of sexuality, and further sex research

in other fields can contribute to the body of knowledge we possess about our sexuality.

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APPENDIX

Term	No. of Instances	Term	No. of Instances
1. *no seas maricón*	24, 313	8. *semen*	355
2. *entender*	2,346	9. *puta*	340
3. *sexual*	1,682	10. *culo*	337
4. *sexo*	1,631	11. *virgen*	228
5. *VIH*	839	12. *SIDA*	220
6. *coger*	482	13. *pene*	193
7. *sexualidad*	373	14. *preservativo*	179
15. *paja*			176

Figure 1. Number of Tokens for Top 15 Corpus Terms

Standard Term	No. of Instances	Slang Term	No. of Instances
annilingus	3	*afrancesada*	5
asexual	20	*afrancesado*	20
autoplacer	0	*agarrar*	38
bisexual	8	*al huerto*	7
coital	6	*amanerada*	6
coitos	26	*amanerado*	6
cojones	112	*barbilindo*	0
cunnilingus	6	*bardaje*	0
dante	0	*beso negro*	6
desprotegida	13	*bollera*	2
desprotegido	24	*bollo*	18
desviación sexual	1	*bufo*	9
erección	106	*carajo*	43
erótica	86	*chingar*	6
erotización	2	*chúpame*	0
eyacular	12	*chupar*	27
fecundación	171	*coger*	482
felación	19	*colita*	2
gay	94	*comepollas*	0
genitales	137	*coñazo*	16
heterosexual	53	*coño*	136
homofobia	9	*culo*	337
homófobo	5	*de la acera de enfrente*	1
homoparentales	1	*echar un polvo*	9
homosexual	137	*encuerada*	0
lesbiana	23	*encuerado*	0
LGTB	0	*entender*	2346
masturbación	51	*follar*	53
medidas preventivas	103	*hacerse una paja*	0

monogamia	12	*hijaputa*	0
orgasmo	91	*hijaputo*	0
orientación sexual	35	*joder*	89
pansexual	0	*joto*	2
pene	193	*machona*	0
placer anal	2	*mari*	2
poligamia	17	*marica*	17
preservativo	179	*maricón*	33
relación sexual	60	*marimacho*	2
reproductivo	34	*mariposón*	0
semen	355	*mariquita*	12
sexo	1631	*mojar el churro*	0
sexuación	0	*mondrigón*	0
sexual	1682	*muerde almohadas*	0
sexualidad	373	*no seas maricón*	24313
SIDA	220	*paja*	176
sodomita	1	*palomo cojo*	3
tomante	0	*pechitos*	0
transexual	10	*pechuga*	40
vagina	156	*plumillo*	1
VIH	839	*puta*	340
virgen	228	*puto*	39
X	X	*tenía pluma*	1
X	X	*tetas*	77
X	X	*tiene vena*	0
X	X	*tiene vena marica*	0
X	X	*tortillera*	1
X	X	*trucha*	64

Figure 2. Number of Tokens for All Corpus Terms

Translation of *PornoBurka* Excerpt

> *Que quede claro, antes que nada, que borrachos no son. Paco las llama así porque les tiene*
> Let it be known, first of all, that they are not drunks. Paco calls them that because he hates

> *manía, al no disponer no tod@s junt@s de una sola gota de glamur. Para él todo se mide así, no le*
> them, so as not to provide them with a single drop of glamour. He measures everything in glamour;

> *importa nada más. Me aconseja que hable con El Equipo para librarse de mí, pues sabe*
> he cares about nothing else. He advised me that I should speak with The Group[1] to get rid of me, but

> *perfectamente que es El Equipo quien me ha metido en este lío, quien me ha llevado por caminos*
> he knows perfectly well that it is precisely The Group that got me in this mess, that have sent me on

> *tan retorcidos que ni yo misma me aclaro. Llegué a ell@s cuando volvía a ser mujer, después de*
> paths so twisted I thought I'd never find myself again. I came to them when I decided to call myself a

> *comprender que no podía tener alma de hombre y ser una feminista-de-verdad®. Tuve que escoger*

woman again, after realizing that I couldn't have the soul of a man and also be a

y, obviamente, sacrifiqué mi alma. El problema era entonces descubrir otra fórmula que me
"feminista-de-verdad®" ("real" feminist). I had to choose, and obviously, I sold my soul. The problem,

convirtiese en una feminista-de-verdad® sin cambiar nada, sin ir demasiado a los cimientos y, sobre
then, was discovering another formula that would make me a "feminista-de-verdad®" without

todo, sin poner en juego el precario equilibrio con Buenaonda. ¿Y qué mejor lugar para encontrar
changing anything, without hitting too close to home and, above all, without upsetting the

fórmula revolucionaria, me dije, que un museo de arte contemporáneo, una auténtica máquina
precarious equilibrium I had with Buenaonda[2]. And what better place to find a revolutionary formula,

de innovación ideológica? El MACBA y su fauna serían mi nueva tribu. Mis borrachas, que dice Pack.
I told myself, than a museum of modern art, an authentic machine of ideological innovation?
The MACBA[3] and all its fauna would be my new tribe. My drunkards, as Pack says.

Tengo que reconocer que nunca tuve acceso a El Equipo A (de Avanzadas) por razones
I realize that I never gained Access to Team A (for Advanced) for purely monetary reasons.

puramente crematísticas. Yo era de las que se quedaban en el bar esperando, mirando con ansiedad
I was one of those who stayed at the bar waiting, watching with anxiety and ecstasy the white door

Y arrobo la puerta blanca de la sala de conferencias de museo. Un zulo, ¡qué digo!, un auténtico
of the conference room of the museum. A "zulo[4]", imagine it!, an authentic bunker where between

búnker donde entre másters y tesis se cocía el futuro de identidad mundial, sin acceso alguno al
masters' and thesis one would construct their future global identity, without ever accessing the

exterior más allá de aquella puerta sellada, si un solo rayo de luz natural que entrase a perturbar la
world outside of that sealed door, as if a single ray of light would enter to perturb the electrical

brillantez eléctrica de los cerebros que desde allí nos pensaban. Nunca hasta esos momentos entendí
brilliance of the minds that thought from there inside. Not until those moments did I understand

a la gente pobre de espíritu que hace cola durante días para ver al Papa o a Letizia de lejos. Y sin
people poor in spirit who would wait in line for days to see the Pope or Queen Letizia from afar. And

embargo, allí también estaba yo, esperando como en éxtasis, especulando qué estaría sucediendo
waiting as if in ecstasy, speculating about what might be happening inside, feeling anxiety every time

dentro, sintiendo ansiedad cada vez que la salida se retrasaba unos instantes. (¿Habrían llegado a
they let out a few moments late. (Had they come to a conclusion? Were they performing a decisive

alguna conclusión? ¿Estarían realizando un debate decisivo que me obligaría a cambiar de nuevo mi
debate that would require me to change yet again my way of being?) And finally the door would

modo de ser?) Y entonces la puerta se abría de par en par, majestuosa, y toda esa gente tan
open with them coming out in pairs, majestic, and all those marvelously handsome people would

maravillosamente guapa iba saliendo a borbotones como una nube de mariposas para colorear el

come bubbling out like a cloud of butterflies to color the world. Such envy! Such crests! Such

mundo. ¡Qué envidia! ¡Qué crestas! ¡Qué plataformas! Comparadas con ell@s, quedaba bien claro
platforms! Compared to them, it was pretty clear why Matilde and the rest of us were only in the

por qué Matilde y las demás éramos sólo la segunda división de la performatividad. Mirando sus
second performance division. Seeing their bodies and ours, their bags and ours, their smiles (with all

cuerpos y los nuestros, sus bolsos y los nuestros, sus sonrisas (con todos los dientes) y las nuestras,
their teeth) and ours, there was only one possible conclusion: a "torn[5]" shirt and a "torn" shirt are

sólo había una conclusión posible: no es lo mismo una camiseta rompida que una camiseta rota. No
es lo mismo y nunca lo será.
not the same thing. They're not the same and they never will be.

Nosotr@s, las que no pertenecíamos, las periféricas, veíamos pasar a El Equipo A que llevaba
Those of us who didn't belong, the periphery, watched El Grupo A pass by the Gran Maestr@

a la Gran Maestr@ casi en volandas hacia otro lugar secreto en el que seguir deliberando, entre gin
  with great haste toward some other secret location where they would continue deliberating,

tonics tal vez. En ocasiones, algun@ nos miraba de reojo y nosotras reteníamos esa mirada como el
perhaps over gin tonics. Every so often, one of them would look at us sideways and we would eat it

alimento que nos daría fuerzas para luchar en nuestra pequeña guerra de memorización de Los
up like the sustenance that would give us the energy to fight in our own small battle of the

Textos. L@s veíamos pasar, nos llenábamos de su beatitud y acto seguido El Equipo C (de Cutre)
memorization of the Texts. We'd watch them pass, we'd gorge ourselves on their beattitude and

pagaba sus consumiciones y desaparecía también. Solo nos quedábamos en el bar las aspirantes de
conduct while El Grupo C (for "Cutre[6]") paid their tabs and would disappear too. Only we would
remain

tercera, las peores, la purria misma, solas y en silencio, soñando con el momento en que seríamos
at the bar, the candidates of Group 3, the worst of the worst, alone and silent, dreaming of the

aceptados por Matilde y empezaríamos el ascenso en la jerarquía del anarquismo de las camisetas
moment when we would be accepted by Matilde and we'd begin to climb the hierarchy of anarchism[7]

rompidas.
of the "torn" shirts.

Mi oportunidad llegó con la lluvia.
My opportunity came with the rain.

Era una tarde de tormenta y las cortinas de agua dificultaban mi avistamiento de la Gran
It was a stormy afternoon and the curtains of rain impeded my view of the Gran Maestr@ through

Maestr@ a traves de los ventanales del bar. Salí a la terraza a esperar la aparición, cubierta por un
the windows of the bar. I went out onto the terrace to wait for the apparition, covered by a beautiful

hermoso paraguas de la Hello Kitty recuperado de las basuras de dos barrios más allá. El barro y las

Hello Kitty umbrella I'd rescued from the dumpsters two neighborhoods away. The mud and the

cloacas desbordadas creaban un magma repugnante contra el que luchaban las personas atrapadas
overflowing sewage created a repugnant magma that the people who were trapped out in the

por el aguacero. Se abrió la puerta. L@s pensantes, sorprendid@s por el golpe de realidad,
downpour had to contend with. The door opened. The academics, surprised by the slap of reality,

analizaron un instante la situación. Yo miraba todos sus gestos consciente de estar presenciando un
sized up the situation in an instant. I watched all of their movements, conscious of being presented

espectáculo único, un momento de deliberación en vivo. Después del turno de palabras, votación.
with a unique spectacle, a living moment of deliberation. After a turn of words, a vote. They'd come

Habían llegado a un consenso. Al grito de tres, salieron corriendo como gallinas despavoridas en
to a consensus. On the count of three, they came running out like headless chickens in all directions:

todas las direcciones: crestas, zapatos de leopardo, piercings genitales, tatuajes holográficos, todo
crests, leopard-print shoes, genital piercings, holographic tattoos, all in a beautiful collage by the light

ello en un bellísimo collage a la luz de los relámpagos, como un auténtico coro de cuerpos celestiales
of the lightning strikes, like an authentic choir of celestial bodies celebrating the rain. And singular in

celebrando a lluvia. Y en su carrera singular, llena de gracia, una de ellas me rozó. Chocó contra mí.
their mission, one of them brushed against me. She crashed into me. She pegged me on the left

Me pegó un hostión en toda regla en el hombro izquierdo y me gritó, enfurecida, <<¡aparta, hijaputa!>>
shoulder and yelled, furious, "get away, motherfucker![8]"

No sé describir la huella que su gesto dejó en mi alma.
I have no words to describe the impression that her gesture left on my soul.

Hijaputa. Yo.
Motherfucker. Me.

A mí.
Me.

Yo, que apenas era más que una chica buscando la luz.
I, who was no more than a girl searching for the light.

Yo, que no llegaba ni a tercera división, que apenas podía acceder a Los Textos, que aún no
I, who had neither made it to the third division, nor could I access the Texts, who had not yet

había logrado aclararme ni con mi propio nombre… De repente recibía un <<hijaputa>> de los labios
been able to redeem myself even with my own name… I was suddenly receiving a <<motherfucker>>

de un@ de ell@s como otras reciben una medalla en manos del rey o una revelación de labios de
from the lips of one of them like others receive a medal from the hands of the King or the revelation

una virgen montañera.
of a "mountain virgin[9]".

<<¡Gracias!>> grité a lo lejos. Pero ya no me oyó.
"Thank you!" I yelled. But she couldn't hear me anymore.

La mariposa había volado para coger un taxi.
The butterfly had flown to hail a taxi.

<<Gracias, mariposa>>, susurré, completamente emocionada.
"Thank you, butterfly", I whispered, completely emotional.

Ese fue uno de los grandes momentos de mi vida, mi Dirty Dancing, con mi imaginario
This was one of those grand moments of my life, my *Dirty Dancing*, with my imaginary little

vestidito rosa y mi faldita de princesa, el pelo al viento (agitando a la derecha, agitando a la
red dress and my princess miniskirt, my hair in the wind (flowing to the right, flowing to the left),

izquierda), agarrada por la cintura por ese <<hijaputa>> como la copa de un pino que me subió en
taken by the waist by this "*hijaputa*" like a glass of pinot that would carry me away from this world of

volandas sobre este mundo de mierda, sobre la mediocridad, sobre el sudor y la mugre. Por fin I've
shit, away from mediocrity, away from the sweat and the grime. Finally *I've had the time of my life*!

had the time of my life! *¡Por fin yo era algo!*
Finally, I was someone!

Y es así que fui aceptada en El Grupo C.
And this is how I was accepted into Group C.

Salieron en tromba del bar como las mariposas de luz habían salido minutos antes del zulo,
They came out of the bar the same way the light butterflies had left minutes before from the

me rodearon y gritaron a una <<¡¿Qué te ha dicho?!>>
zulo, they surrounded me and yelled, "What did she call you?!"

Hijaputa.
Motherfucker.

Y esa fue nuestra consigna, el password que me abrió la puerta a las sesiones.
And this was our agreement, the *password* that opened the door for me to the sessions.

Figure 3. *Seducción Redonda: Condonéate* Cover Image

Figure 4. *Seducción Redonda: Condonéate* Mask Image- Partial

Figure 5. *Seducción Redonda: Condonéate* Mask Image- Complete

VITA

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