Men's identities and sociolinguistic variation: The case of fraternity men[1]

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ABSTRACT

The variation patterns of the variable (ING) in an American college fraternity are explained by analyzing individual men's contextualized discourse. While most of the fraternity men predictably use a lower rate of the 'vernacular' variant in weekly meetings, several men use a higher rate. I argue that all of the men index alignment roles associated with power, but that these alignment roles are powerful in different, specifiable ways. Qualitative discourse analysis shows that the men with high rates of the vernacular variant use (ING) to index working-class cultural models and confrontational stances, as part of identity displays based on physical, rather than structural, power. Thus, the variable has several potential abstract social meanings, but specific interactional meanings can only be constructed in contextualized practice.

KEYWORDS: Gender identity, power, masculinity, (ING) morpheme, sociolinguistic variation, discourse analysis

1. INTRODUCTION

The 'sex pattern' in language variation, in which men use vernacular variants of stable sociolinguistic markers more than women, has proven to be one of the most widespread phenomena in variation research.[2] While many explanations for men's linguistic behavior have been proposed, few have been based on in-depth social science research, and even fewer on research on men's identities. Because people communicate identity through language use, it is important to consider research on identity when constructing explanations for language use. When studying the sex pattern and men, then, we should ask what it is about men's identities that leads them to value aspects of established vernacular language varieties.

We need to ask about men's *gender*, as a social construction added on to biological sex, and its relationship to language. In addition, we need to understand that men's gender is only one part of a complex set of behaviors we experience as identity (defined as the display of a person's social alignment relationships). Most importantly, we need to explore these identities in context,

in the everyday lives of men: how do linguistic choices in specific conversations lead to the patterns that variationists have found over the last thirty years? In this paper, I investigate language use in an American college fraternity, and connect men's everyday identities, the surrounding cultural forces helping to shape those identities, and their use of the vernacular variant of the (ING) variable.

By connecting these local identity constructions with more global concerns, I suggest that the explanation for the fraternity men's language use could form the basis of a general explanation for men's patterns of language use. Men use (ING) to index prototypical cultural models and community positions, which help them create stances in conversations, allowing them to add to their identity qualities associated with these *alignment roles* (the models, positions, and stances). Both structurally powerful identities (connected with standard language use) and physically powerful identities (connected with vernacular language use), among others, are culturally ratified men's identities.

While cultural models are *general* sources from which speakers piece together identities, speakers put these pieces to use at the *local* level of discourse within a community of practice (see Lave and Wenger 1991; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992). Although only one variable is investigated here, it is not the only variable, nor the only social practice, involved in the complex display of social identity. Linguistic variables, dress, comportment, etc., combine to form an ever-changing performance of identity (see California Style Collective 1993 for a discussion on this process). While this article is primarily concerned with one variable, the variable's 'meaning' will only become clear by recognizing its interaction with other forms of social display, including other linguistic variables.

2. POWER, MEN, AND LANGUAGE

Research on language and gender – and gender studies in general – suggests that power is central to men's identities. This research is compelling enough for us to assume that power is fundamental to our understanding of men's linguistic behavior. For example, in her synthesis of research on gender differences in language, Tannen (1990) suggests that men tend to see conversation as a contest. Because the display of powerful relationships and dominance is an important component of men's identities, men's language should be intimately involved in this display (see also Gal 1992).

But how do we find power in language? Let us assume that at the most basic level, power is simply action that affects other actions. Let us further assume, however, that this abstract power is experienced by people as more concrete relationships among speakers (including those not present in a conversation). I will refer to all types of these social relationships as alignment roles.[3] These alignment roles are derived from several interrelated contextual levels. First, roles are available from a person's previous relationships within a community. Second, *stances* are alignment roles available from the current activity type (Levinson 1992) or frame (Goffman 1974; Frake 1977; Tannen 1979). Third,

the community's structure may provide different roles for a speaker, including formal roles such as 'class president,' and informal roles such as 'class clown.' Finally, the culture and social structure provide (and restrict) alignment roles available to speakers, especially for ascribed characteristics such as sex, age, and ethnicity (see Holland and Quinn 1987).

Power is displayed when speakers connect to alignment roles that have the capacity to affect actions of other alignment roles in a particular social alignment.[4] Specifically, these alignment roles are *indexed* through identity displays: in dress, comportment, and language (see Goffman 1959, 1963). Ochs (1992) shows that language is used to index women's identities indirectly through the maternal alignment role, by connecting cultural differences in the alignment role to cultural differences in 'femininity.' Differences between the ways a woman mothers in middle-class, white American society and in Samoan society lead to differences in the ways women use language. Mothering is thus characterized by different linguistic strategies in the two cultures, and these linguistic strategies become associated with women's identities in each culture. Ochs shows that roles such as 'mother' mediate the direct indexing of stances, acts, and activities and the indirect indexing of gender. Thus, we would expect that men are also connected to certain alignment roles (such as 'father'), and that they connect their identities to their language through these alignment roles.

Speakers also directly index various culturally- and community-based alignment roles, but do so metaphorically. The indexes Ochs refers to are closest to non-referential, creative indexes, in Silverstein's (1995) terms. *Metaphorical indexing* is different: An aspect of language 'points to' a specific prototypical entity that is not an aspect of the speech event (i.e. a community- or culturally-based alignment role). This 'pointing' allows qualities of the indexed entity to be attached to the speaker. Not all of these qualities need be taken on by the speaker – which ones are incorporated into his or her identity will depend on the context of the index, including interactions with other indexes.[5] This process is similar to musicians who insert others' melodies into their own music, thus adding a 'flavor' of other musical genres.[6] Metaphorical indexing is similar to the sociolinguistic process described by the California Style Collective (1993) as *bricolage*, in which a speaker chooses among bits of linguistic practice from various sources and recombines them in order to create a 'style,' or identity.

Men strive for (and hold) powerful alignment roles because of a societal ideology of *hegemonic masculinity*. As outlined by Connell (1987, 1995), this ideology is based on a hierarchy of dominant alignment roles, especially men over women, but also men over other men. The white, corporate, wealthy heterosexual cultural model tops this hierarchy. Although most men do not attain this 'top' model, hegemonic masculinity nevertheless pressures men to try to attain the highest possible position.[7] Alignment roles that place a man at the top of any hierarchy are therefore highly valued, so men wish to create identities that are based on these powerful roles. Moreover, other men's claims to powerful alignment roles are resisted if there is a culturally approved basis for

resistance, leading to 'competitive' strategies in men's discourse (see Tannen 1990, Kiesling 1996a).

The culture and the community determine alignment roles and their values. In addition to the power-suited chief executive, other important cultural alignment roles include the father and the physically powerful man (see Hearn 1992, Morgan 1992, and Connell 1995 for further possible cultural models for men). Whether or not it represents reality, the father alignment role in American culture remains that of the man who represents the family in the public economic arena, primarily through work. The physically powerful man has two manifestations, both based on a man's ability to earn a living by using his body (see Kaufman 1994): the blue-collar laborer and the sports star. These roles are often identified with each other, as in the Rocky film character. They are powerful because of the power of their bodies, not because of a place in a formal hierarchy, technical skills, or knowledge (as is true for white-collar workers). In practice all these roles are abstractions, prototypes from which pieces may be taken and used; there are very few, if any, real Rockys.[8]

By focusing on power, rather than prestige, I am following Eckert (1989), who suggests that 'not prestige but power is the most appropriate underlying sociological concept for the analysis of gender-based linguistic variation' (1989: 250). In her discussion of variation in a Detroit-area high school, Eckert argues that men's and women's places in the marketplace are different (1989: 256).

> A women's worth is based on her ability to maintain order in, and control over, her domestic realm. Deprived of power, women can only gain compliance through the indirect use of a man's power or through the development of personal influence . . . women must satisfy themselves with status.

Eckert's use of the term 'compliance' here falls under our definition of power: the ability to affect another's action is basically the same as gaining compliance. We might understand, then, that men and women use different kinds of power, or different kinds of powerful alignment roles. Following Eckert's argument that men and women compete more within their gender than across, we might think of men and women's social alignments as being quite different (although by no means independent). Thus, women's power is limited to relationships not related to a place in the labor force. Men, on the other hand, compete in the marketplace, and a man's position in the labor force is thus an important source for a powerful identity.[9] Eckert points out that 'gender differentiation is greatest in those segments of society where power is the scarcest,' so that men in higher socioeconomic classes are likely to be more 'effeminate,' which might be thought of as 'a rejection of physical power by those who exercise real global power' (1989: 257).

Eckert's comments surrounding behavior that marks gender are particularly relevant. Gender relationships differ from those of race or class in that members of each group are (generally) attracted to each other, and interact frequently. Eckert notes that, given these unique relationships, gender marking is 'more a

device for competing with others in the same category and creating solidarity with those in the other category . . . Differentiation on the basis of gender might well be sought within, rather than between, sex groups' (1989: 254). She goes on to show how these within-group differences work within the high school, where the differences between social groups is greater among the girls than the boys, so that 'girls are asserting their category membership more than boys' (1989: 265). We will see below, however, that the fraternity men do differentiate themselves through language use, especially during an activity type in which status is at stake.

3. THE FRATERNITY

In her study of Texas sorority speech, McLemore (1991) showed that single-sex college social clubs are well-suited to studying the interaction between language and culture, especially the influence of gender within groups. Following McLemore's lead, I identified a college fraternity as a site to investigate how men use language. As a member of the same national fraternity, I easily gained entree. Over one year I audio-recorded 37 hours of interaction: 15 hours of meetings (11 different meetings), 11 hours of interviews (nine different interviews), and 11 hours of socializing.

Fraternities are social and service clubs which select their members from male undergraduates at U.S. universities. For many members, the fraternity becomes the center of social life in college: members live with each other, take classes together, and organize social functions together. In many ways, the fraternity is organized like a family, to the extent that members are officially known as 'brothers.' Gaining fraternity membership requires men to successfully negotiate 'rush', in which current members meet prospective members at organized social functions and socialize informally in unorganized ways. Prospective members gauge whether they want to be a part of the fraternity, while current members consider whether they want to invite the prospective members to join. While these functions are ostensibly for interaction with rushes, they are more often about displaying traits that the fraternity believes the rushes will find valuable, and to assess rushes for similar traits.

Prospective members who accept an invitation to join, or 'bid,' become probationary members, or 'pledges.' During the six- to eight-week 'pledge period,' pledges learn the fraternity's traditions, and are treated like recruits in military 'boot camp: ' as second-class citizens, subordinating their autonomy and identities to the members. From the members' point of view, the pledges 'earn respect' and the privilege of being a member, as well as learning the fraternity's customs, traditions and oral history.

Three fraternity activity types will be central to the analysis of the men's language. *House meetings* take place every Sunday evening. The fraternity members recognize an overt distinction between the formal, governing, 'business' sphere of the fraternity and the 'social' sphere: meetings are when business

matters are discussed. The meetings have a set format, and are loosely governed by parliamentary procedure. The seating arrangements in the regular meeting classroom reflect the fraternity's formal and informal hierarchies. Five members of the Executive Committee sit at the front of the room, while the rest of the members sit classroom-style. Members sit by an unofficial and implicit rank, with older members tending to sit to the right side of the room facing the front, while younger members sit to the left. When a member speaks in a meeting, he effectively addresses all fraternity members. Even when two members speak directly to each other in meetings, all members are at least auditors in Goffman's (1981) sense. Often, this audience will also evaluate members' statements: very witty or apropos statements receive applause, and sensitive and controversial statements are generally evaluated with silence. A particularly skillful remark is met with a group chant, in which members circle their fists in the air and rhythmically chant a high-pitched *whoop*.

All other social activities in the fraternity have been grouped together in the *socializing* or 'hangin' out' activity type. It is a heterogeneous activity type, subsuming many genres: narrative, argument, and talk while watching television. Finally, *interviews* with the fraternity members will also be analyzed. These interviews were not 'classic' sociolinguistic interviews – no specific attempt was made to obtain 'the vernacular.' All three activity types (meeting, socializing, and interview), are defined primarily by setting and participants.

Another important basis for the analysis will be the fraternity's ideologies. As shown in Kiesling (1996a), the most important ideologies in the fraternity are gender polarization – the categorical differentiation of men and women – and androcentrism – the privileging of men's experiences (as outlined by Bem 1990). The fraternity would not, in fact, exist in its present form without an ideology of gender polarization. The fact that members must be male suggests that there is a sharp difference between male and female which must be maintained. In addition, there is a strong heterosexist ideology. The fraternity men assumed that the men who wished to join would be sexually attracted to women, as shown by the evaluation of men according to their attractiveness to women.

The organization of the fraternity, especially its levels of membership, show the men's hierarchical view of the world. In addition, they value competition and camaraderie; the fraternity functions for the men as an organization in which they can build homosocial bonds 'safely,' without fear that their masculinity will be questioned.

4. (ING) PATTERNS IN THE FRATERNITY

(ING) is perhaps the most studied variable in the English language (if not in all linguistics), because it is variable in all varieties of English and is sensitive to most of the factors sociolinguists have considered: phonology, morphology, syntax, dialect, style, class, ethnicity, and sex. Moreover, the general picture is essentially the same across dialects for most factors, so that even in places as far

apart as Los Angeles, Norwich, and Australia, men tend to have a higher rate of the alveolar variant [n] than women. This regularity and stability is attractive for analyzing language use in the fraternity, where members are not all from the same dialect area.

Fischer's classic (1958) study of (ING), and Trudgill's (1972) study, both focused on male behavior. Fischer's differentiation between the 'model' and 'typical' boy shows that differences among men may be due to a speaker's orientation to authority. Similarly, Trudgill claimed that the 'covert prestige' he found among men in Norwich reflected their identification with the 'roughness and toughness supposedly characteristic of [working class] life which are . . . considered to be desirable masculine attributes' (1972: 182).

4.1 Coding

Each token of (ING) was coded as alveolar and preceded by an untensed vowel (N), or velar (G). Each token was also coded for the independent variables of speaker, activity type, following phonological environment, and grammatical category. Speakers were coded individually.

Activity type is similar to the style factor in Labov (1966) and other studies. Most variation studies are based on interviews, and therefore do not have the possibility of coding for activity type. Activity type is defined both emically and etically; members themselves recognize a difference between 'hanging out' and meetings, the two main types on which I have focused. 'Meetings' simply involve tokens of (ING) spoken during the full weekly meetings. A random sample of meetings were coded. Socializing takes place at a number of locations and with differing numbers of participants; however, dividing this activity type would not yield comparable results, because each speaker was not recorded in all socializing contexts. Tokens for the socializing activity type were exhaustive for each speaker, because this activity type was the most difficult to tape, and therefore fewer tokens were available. I also coded interview tokens. All interviews were not identical in setting; not all were private, and I did not have a close relationship with all interviewees. Interviews were coded for the first 45 minutes, or the complete interview, if shorter. Because of the volume of talk in interviews, they comprise over half of the total tokens. Some word lists and reading passages were recorded with some speakers.

Internal factors coded included following phonological environment and grammatical category. In addition to grammatical categories outlined by Houston (1985), the marker *fuckin'* was included as a separate category. This word functions as several different grammatical categories, but is almost categorically pronounced as N.

4.2 Results

Tokens were analyzed using the IVARB variable rule multiple regression analysis program for DOS. All factor groups were selected as significant at the

Table 1: Varbrul probabilities and percentages of alveolar (N)
application of (ING) for all factor groups

Speaker	p	%	N
Speed	.91	80	130/162
Mick	.63	66	84/128
Pete	.55	73	100/137
Tommy	.51	55	16/29
Art	.47	62	40/65
Waterson	.45	62	23/37
Pencil	.36	45	50/111
Hotdog	.33	44	77/175
Mack	.31	38	32/84
Saul	.29	51	59/116
Ram	.15	22	12/54
Input/total	.62	57	623/1098

Activity type	p	%	N
Socializing	.72	75	180/240
Interview	.54	53	294/550
Meeting	.30	47	124/264
Reading	.10	54	25/46
Input/total	.62	57	623/1098

Following environment	p	%	N
[-back] cons.	.57	63	291/465
Vowel	.51	58	226/391
Pause	.36	41	75/184
[+back] cons.	.35	53	31/58
Input/total	.62	57	623/1098

Grammatical status	p	%	N
Fuckin'	.97	97	86/89
Progressive	.60	69	356/513
Preposition	.55	60	9/15
Participle	.48	54	47/87
Noun	.42	49	49/99
Participial modifier	.26	36	15/42
Gerund	.16	24	59/242
Adjective	.11	18	2/11
Input/total	.62	57	623/1098

.05 level in the step-up-step-down procedure. Table 1 lists the results for all factors from a single run, including probabilities and percentage of N.[10]

The non-discrete differences of probabilities in the grammatical status factor group roughly match Houston's (1985) findings for grammatical category, although I have not analyzed the results in detail, since this issue has no bearing on my research question (except to account for any interaction between factors). For the same reason I will not speculate on the striking differences between my results and Houston's for the following phonological environment. The only similarities between the results are the effect of a following velar consonant (favors G), and [-back] consonants, which slightly favor N.

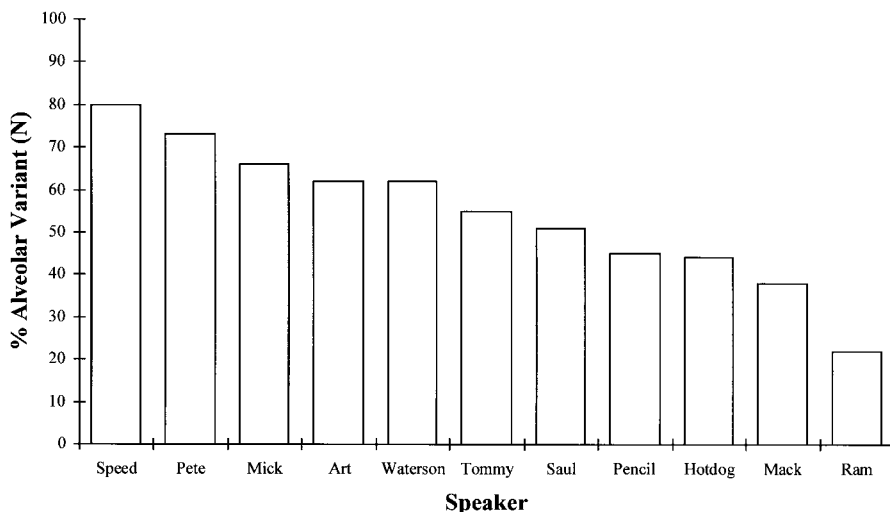The results for the speaker factor group are reproduced graphically in Figures

Figure 1: Percentage of alveolar variant for speakers

1 and 2. In Figure 1, the percentages of N use are shown, yielding a range from 80 percent for Speed to 22 percent for Ram. Note the gradual slope; there are no clear groupings among speakers. This situation changes for the variable rule results in Figure 2. Although the distribution still appears smooth, notice that Pete is not highly likely to use N (compared with his percentage of 73%), while Saul is very unlikely to use N (compared with his percentage of 51%). The disparities between percentages and probabilities suggest that there is an interacting factor that gives these men higher percentages than would be expected from their probability scores. The probabilities also suggest a way of grouping the speakers: two speakers favor N, but to differing degrees (Speed and Mick), another group disfavors N (Pencil, Hotdog, Saul, Mack, and possibly Ram), while the other speakers form a middle group (Pete, Art, Waterson, and Tommy) who neither strongly favor nor disfavor N. These groupings were for
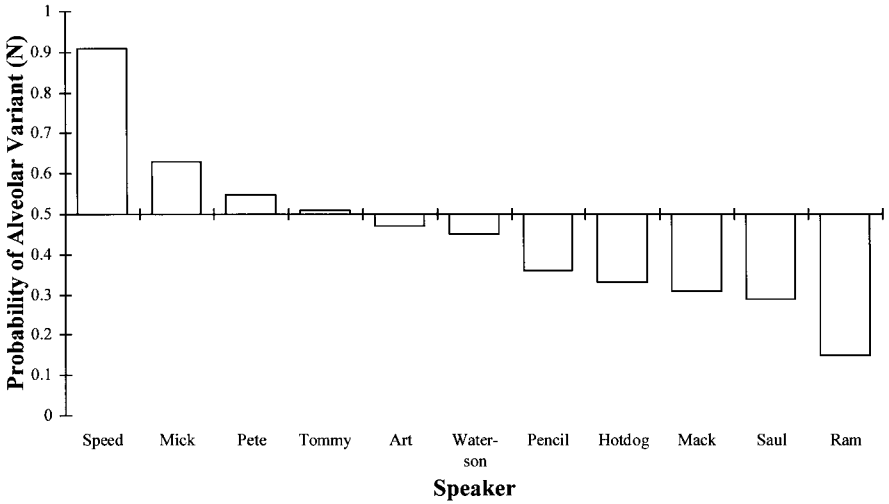
Figure 2: Variable rule probabilities of alveolar variant for speakers

the most part ratified through further Varbrul analysis, which returned nonsignificant (p > .05) differences among Pete, Tommy, Art, and Waterson in one group, and Pencil, Hotdog, Mack, and Saul in another. However, Speed and Mick were significantly different from each other (p < .05), and Mick could not be combined with the middle group. Similarly Ram could not be placed with the group including Pencil. Table 2 shows the combined grouping. There is no common social factor uniting these groups; all show differences in the length of time they have been members of the fraternity, geographical origin and class. Ethnicity does not explain any differences, since all the men are white except Saul, whose family is Afghani. There could be a combined age and region effect, with Pencil, Hotdog, Mack, and Ram all being older members from the Washington, D.C. area (but Saul is from Rochester, New York), while Tommy, Art, and Waterson are younger members from the Washington, D.C. area (but Pete is from Virginia Beach, Virginia). These possibilities cannot, however, be investigated without a larger sample of speakers from regions other than Northern Virginia.

However, speaker was not the only external variable that affected the use of (ING); activity type was also significant (Table 1). Socializing highly favored N at 75 percent (.72 probability), while meetings disfavored N strongly at 47 percent (.30 probability). Interviews fell in between at 53 percent (.54 probability).

The variable rule analysis does not tell the whole story, however. As Labov (1972: 240) eloquently noted, the interaction between style (activity type) and class (speaker) is one of the interesting aspects of this variable. Thus it is important to investigate the interaction patterns through a cross tabulation, the results of which are presented in Figure 3.

Table 2: Probabilities and percentages of alveolar (N) application of (ING), for the combined speaker factor group

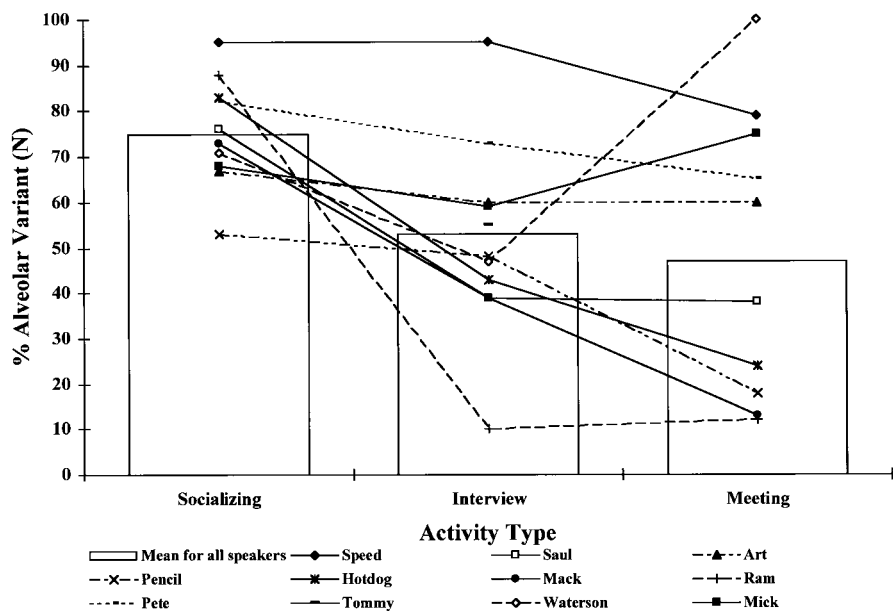| Speaker	p	%	N
Speed	.91	80	130/162
Mick	.63	66	84/128
Pete Tommy Art Waterson	.51	67	179/268
Pencil Hotdog Mack Saul	.33	45	218/486
Ram	.15	22	12/54
Input/total	.61	57	623/1098

Figure 3: Cross tabulation of speaker and activity type factor groups

Across activity types, the pattern of speaker stratification changes dramatically; most speakers move in the same general direction, but they do not move in lock-step. Moreover, the differences between speakers increase from socializing to meeting. In the socializing activity type in Figure 3, most of the speakers congregate in a 67–88% range (21 percent difference). This clustering is found again in the interview results, with a group congregating in a 36–60 percent range (24 percent difference). In the meeting activity type, however, there is no such 'core' middle group; the speakers are spread out almost evenly, with the largest split occurring between a group below the mean (indicated by the bar in Figure 3) and a group above the mean. Speed continues his outlier status in all three activity types.

I also performed a Varbrul analysis in which the speaker and activity type factor groups were combined into one group. A single factor thus consisted of a speaker and an activity type (e.g., Saul in Meeting activity type). This factor group was selected as significant in a step-up-step-down procedure ($p < .05$). The probability weightings are shown in Table 3, and graphed in Figure 4.

The speakers in Table 3 are ordered as they were in Table 1, with Speed, the most likely to use N overall, at the top. The probabilities in this chart show an even more striking interaction. Note that almost all speakers favor N in the socializing activity type, in a range of .50 to .84, and no speakers disfavor N. In further Varbrul analysis, all speakers except Speed were able to be combined into one group in the socializing activity type (Figure 4). In the interview activity type, speakers exhibit the largest range of weightings. This is probably due to the fact that the interviews varied in style, so that some speakers considered them more like socializing, and others more like meetings. Speed and

Table 3: Probabilities and percentages of alveolar (N) application of (ING) for Speaker/Activity Type combined factor group

| Speaker	Socializing			Interview			Meeting		
	p	%	N	p	%	N	p	%	N
Speed	.84	95	19/20	.97	95	52/55	.79	82	33/40
Mick	.70	67	16/24	.61	60	37/62	.60	71	24/34
Pete	.70	82	31/38	.64	72	34/47	.30	67	26/39
Art	.52	67	10/15	.58	60	24/40	.33	60	6/10
Waterson	.59	71	10/14	.46	47	9/19	knockout: categorical N		
Pencil	.50	53	16/30	.51	48	31/64	.09	18	3/17
Hotdog	.70	83	25/30	.35	43	39/90	.16	24	13/55
Mack	.66	73	16/22	.35	39	12/31	.11	13	4/31
Saul	.62	76	29/38	.29	38	22/58	.16	38	3/8
Ram	.65	88	7/8	.09	10	3/29	.10	12	2/17
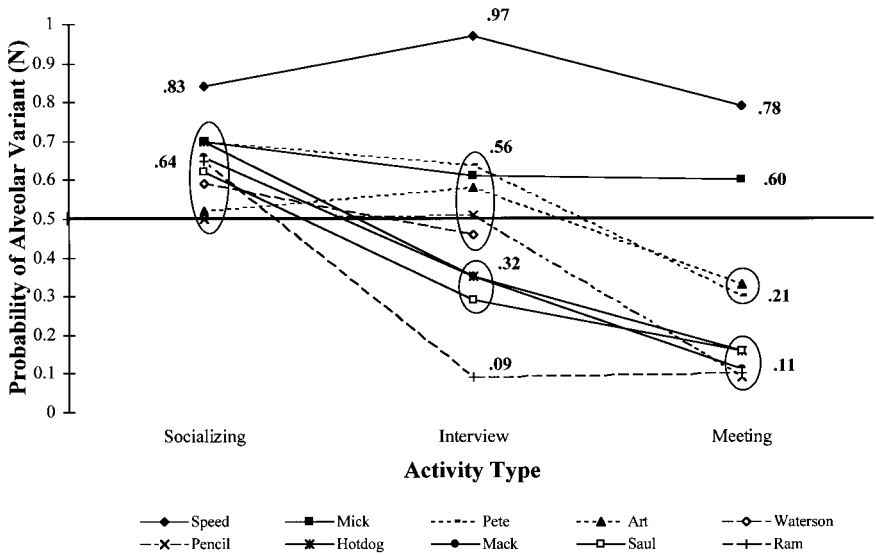
Figure 4: Probabilities of combined speaker/activity type factor group. Ovals indicate factors not significantly different. Probabilities are shown for the combined run.

Ram were the high (.97) and low (.09) outliers, respectively, while the rest of the men split into two groups, one disfavoring N (.32), another slightly favoring N (.56).

The meeting also shows a split in speaker groups, as confirmed through further Varbrul analysis: a large group who strongly disfavor N, in a range of .09 to .16, and two speakers who strongly favor N in meetings: Speed (.79) and Mick (.60). Note that Waterson's weighting is effectively 1.0; his meeting tokens were excluded from the Varbrul analysis because they were categorically N. Moreover, Pete and Art (.21 combined, Figure 4) do not disfavor N to the same degree as the biggest group (.11). These figures show a clear differentiation among speakers within the meeting activity type, a fact that is more significant when we consider that the meeting is a relatively public activity type, while the interview is not, so that the men have access to models in the meetings, but not in the interview. The Varbrul analysis confirms the view that the men tend to use N more alike in the socializing activity type than in the meeting activity type. By investigating the differences in how the men talk in meetings, then, we should be able to understand more about the 'meaning' of this variable.

The speaker factor group also interacts with the language internal factor group of grammatical category, as shown in Figure 5. In order to see a pattern, this chart represents only the three most numerous grammatical categories; other categories present so few tokens that no pattern is apparent. The

progressive factor group represents verbal categories, while gerund represents nominal categories.

In Figure 5 we see the strong effect of the discourse marker *fuckin'*: almost all speakers use N categorically with *fuckin'*. All speakers except Speed use less N in progressive than in *fuckin'*, and even less in gerund. The results in this figure indicate that *fuckin'* tokens may interfere with the regularity of the results (although *fuckin'* is an important part of using language to create identity, and a clue to the meaning of the variable, which I discuss below). Therefore, removing it from the analysis may yield more informative results.

Figure 6 shows the cross tabulation of speaker and activity type without *fuckin'* tokens. The picture now becomes much more regular, because of changes in the meeting activity type. The speaker stratification without *fuckin'* tokens in Figure 6 is almost identical in the socializing and interview situations as with these tokens (Figure 3), with a small drop in the average N rate in the socializing situation (from 75% to 72%), and no change in the interview situation. However, the meeting situation average drops considerably, from 46 percent to 33 percent, and the cluster we find in the socializing and interview activities is now present in the meeting activity as well. The meeting activity also corresponds more closely with variable rule probabilities (except for Waterson). Thus, the reason the meeting activity was so spread out seems to be the influence of *fuckin'*. This finding raises a more interesting question, however: why were the *fuckin'* tokens so influential in the meeting situation? Why did they make up such a great proportion in this situation and not in the socializing situation, where we might think that the
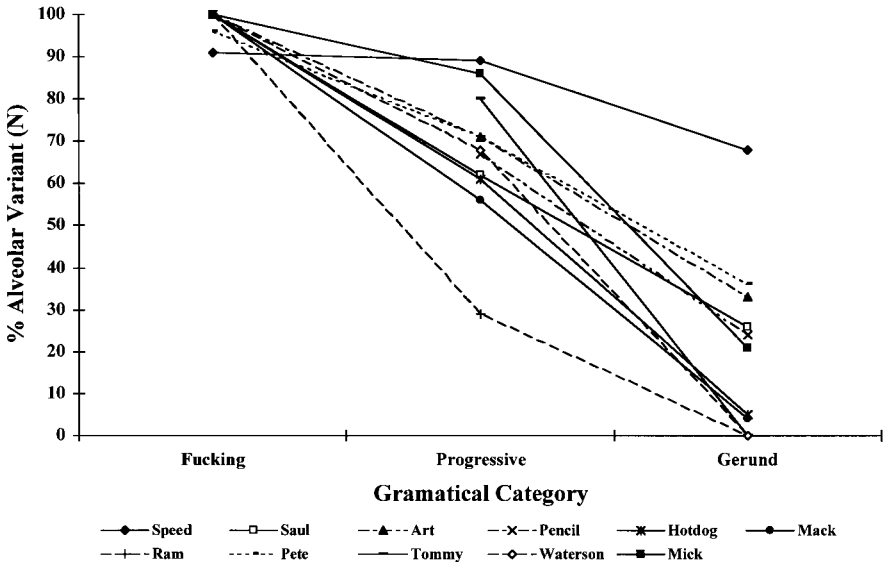
Figure 5: Cross tabulation of speaker and grammatical category factor groups
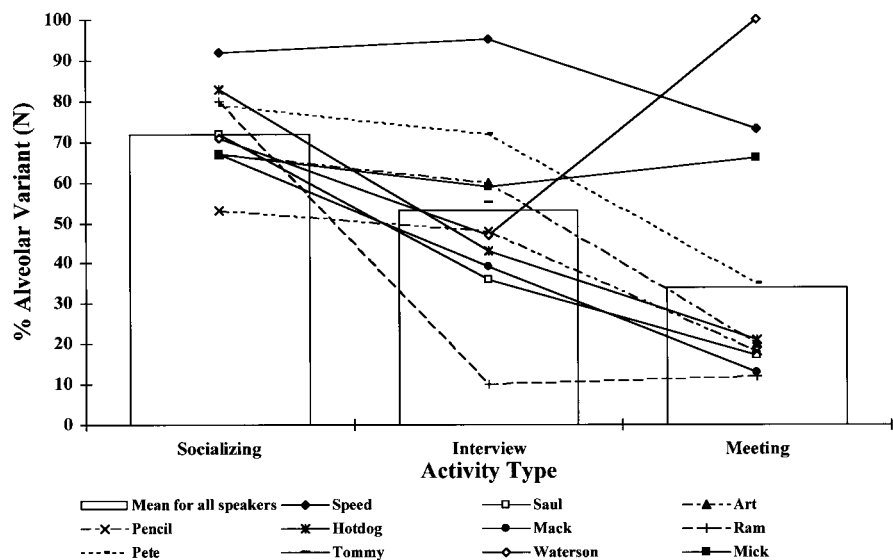
Figure 6: Cross tabulation of speaker and activity type factor groups, excluding tokens of *fuckin'*

'relaxed' atmosphere would encourage the men to swear more? These questions will be taken up in the discussion below.

Waterson's anomalous behavior may be due to a low number of tokens. Overall, he had only four tokens in the meeting activity, two of which were *fuckin'*. The remaining two tokens were a progressive and *nothing*; more tokens might have yielded a pattern more in line with the other speakers. I argue below, however, that his high use of N here is interactionally significant.

One way to factor out the effect of the grammatical category completely is to consider only one category. Thus, I now turn to an analysis of the progressive tokens alone (the only category that contains enough tokens to be analyzed separately) in Figure 7, which again shows the fan pattern noticed in Figure 3. More important, the order of stratification is almost identical to the variable rule probabilities in Figure 2, Waterson's two tokens notwithstanding. Mick and Speed actually increase their use of N in the meeting situation, while the others decrease it, with Pete decreasing much less than the others. In addition, Pencil now clusters with the other speakers in the socializing activity type, suggesting that his low N rate previously was due to language-internal factors (although 'using more gerunds' could also be argued to be a stylistic factor).

The difference between socializing and meeting are even more obvious in Figure 8, which shows only those two situations. Notice that the slopes that Speed and Mick follow are similar, as are all the other speakers except Pete (who
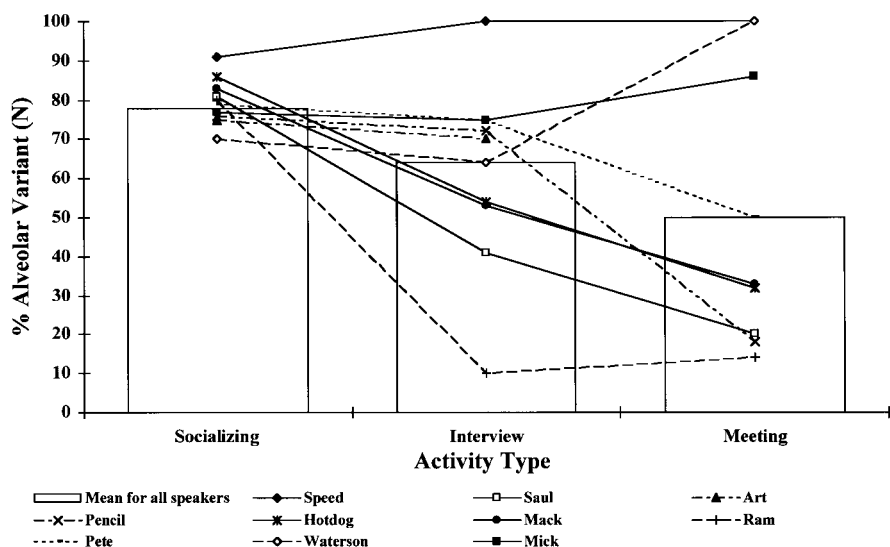
Figure 7: Cross tabulation of speaker and activity type for progressive verb forms only

already seems to be a special case) and Waterson. Given that progressive tokens make up 41 percent of all tokens, it is not surprising that the pattern for those tokens is similar to the aggregate pattern.

5. 'VERNACULAR POWER'

What is the explanation for the differences in (ING) use among these men, who are often assumed to be so homogeneous? Why do Mick and Waterson shift to such a high N value in meetings, when other fraternity members shift in the other direction? I will suggest that they are indexing a different kind of powerful alignment role than the other men in the meeting. They are indirectly indexing a hard-working role by directly indexing the physically powerful working-class cultural model. In addition, they directly index the casual camaraderie of the socializing activity types to create a connection to the other fraternity members in the meeting.

5.1 Speed

I have discussed Speed's consistently high N scores, and relative lack of style shifting, elsewhere (Kiesling 1996a, 1996c), but I will summarize my explanation for Speed because his behavior bears on the explanation for Mick and Waterson's behavior. The explanation for Speed's use of (ING) lies in the
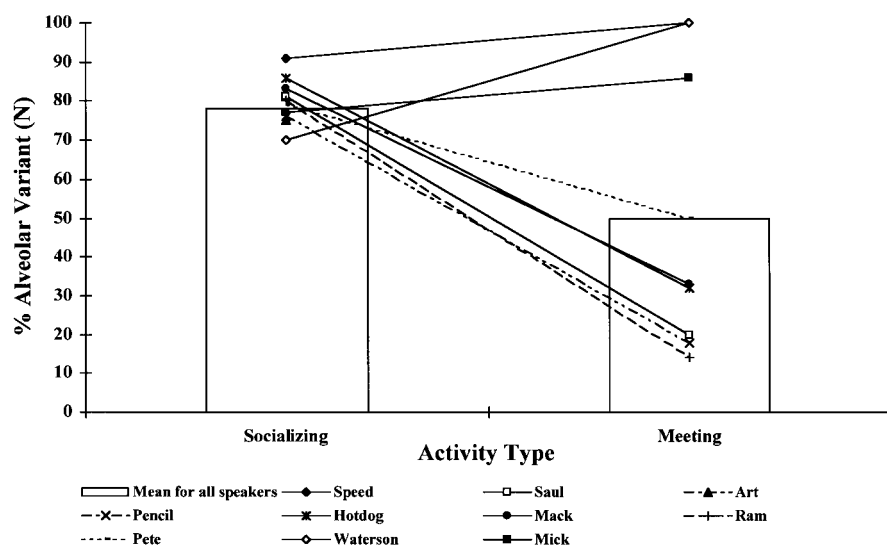
Figure 8: Cross tabulation of speaker and activity type (without interview) for progressive verb forms only

alignment roles he indexes: the rural south, the working class, and athletes. In addition, he espouses a personal ideology that values freedom and practicality, and devalues formality.

First, however, let us consider geographic dialect as an explanation. Although he spent much of his childhood in Virginia Beach, Virginia, he also claims to be from Fredericksburg, a more rural city approximately fifty miles south of Washington, D.C., in a Southern dialect area. High N use is characteristic of Southern American English, and Speed also exhibits the Southern American monophthongized and lowered /ay/, as in [tam] 'time.'

Another explanation might be based on socioeconomic class. Speed's father owns a beer distributing business, and as a business owner might be considered middle class. But we could understand this profession to be more blue-collar than white-collar. Beer distributing involves physical labor in loading and unloading, and owning this business means working with people who identify with working-class values more than dealing with white-collar corporate workers. Finally, in high school and in college, Speed was a wrestler. If the N variant is associated with the physical power role, then Speed's identity as a 'tough' wrestler may add to his use of N.

These roles – rural southern, working class, athlete – are also often associated in various ways with the values held by Speed: hard work, practicality, freedom. We see examples of Speed's outlook and identity in comments during a fraternity election. These comments follow a discussion in which some members

have argued that each new member 'has his place' (as we will see in the discussion of Mack, below). In Excerpt 1, he shows impatience with a concern for structurally powerful alignment roles for their own sake, when he tells members *we do not have to put them all in a position*, and especially when he says *They'd be better off there than stuck in some leadership position* (see appendix for transcription conventions):

Excerpt 1

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

Speed's comments here show that he sees himself as a rebel, creating a powerful stance vis-a-vis the ability power hierarchy in the fraternity that rewards hard work, rather than structural power for its own sake. Speed's rebellious and independent stance is also evident by his choice of seating at the back of the room, on the left (powerless) side, even though he is older and would be more expected to sit on the right side of the room. He thus resists symbols of structural power, and probably employs the (ING) variable similarly, with the standard variant being identified with structural power in meetings. Speed's high rate of the non-standard variant during meetings, therefore, is consistent with his identity.

No simple factor can explain Speed's use of the variable, however. These aspects of his identity – his home town, class orientation, and athleticism – all affect his values, and the kind of alignment roles he wishes to index. Speed's use of (ING) fits in as part of this complex construction. (ING) is a small part of that identity, but touches on myriad aspects of it: not just place and class, but what it means to be more 'working class' from a rural area, or to value hard work.

5.2 Waterson

In the speech from which all of his meeting tokens are taken, Waterson is trying to display a hard-working identity, and the N variant helps him construct this display. He also seems to be appealing to camaraderie in his speech, so N may also serve as an index of camaraderie by metaphorically indexing an activity type in which camaraderie is understood (i.e., socializing).

Waterson is thin, with a high-pitched voice, and young. He is in his first election as a full member, but is running for vice-president, a very high office for a 'nib' to seek. The vice president performs much of the fraternity's organizational 'grunt work,' such as calling all the members to get them to attend meetings and events. Waterson's speech in the election for vice president is transcribed in Excerpt 2, and comprises the entire sample used for variation analysis of his meeting tokens (ING tokens are in bold; *gonna*, *anything*, and *everything* were not coded because they are categorical for all data). Hotdog is the president in control of the meeting.

Excerpt 2

1	Hotdog:	Could we have Brian Waterson
2		(7.3) ((Waterson walks in, goes to the front of the room))
3	Waterson:	Um (1.1) I'm not gonna f: - um put a load of shit in you guys whatever.
4		Um (0.7) You guys know I'm a **fuckin'** hard worker.
5		I work my ass off for everything.
6		I don't miss anything I'm always- I'm always there,
7		I'll do anything for you guy:s,
8		and if you nominate me for this position
9		I'll put a hundred percent ef- effort towards it,
10		I mean I have **nothin'** else to do 'cept **fuckin'** school work.
11		and the fraternity.
12		and uh and uh like uh like you guys said um this- we need a
13		change because we're **goin'** down?
14		A:nd I know I don't have a lot of experience? In like position-wise?
15		But when this fraternity first started (0.5)
16		back in uh April of of nineteen eighty-nine,
17		um the guys that were elected for positions then didn't have too
18		much (0.9) uh: experience in positions either.
19		So just keep that in mind when you vote.
20		Thank you boys.
21		Remember I'm the- I'm the ice ma:n. ((final two words said in
22		an emphasized whisper as he walks out of the room))

Waterson's first statement indicates that he is acting 'tough.' In line 3, he states that he is not *gonna put a load of shit in you guys* – in effect claiming that he

is going to 'tell it like it is,' without putting on airs. He then presents the main argument for electing him: *You guys know I'm a fuckin' hard worker*. The next five lines support this point, becoming more and more earnest and sincere. Thus, Waterson shows with his own words that the 'hard-worker' role is central to his identity display during this speech. Because N is identified with the physical labor of the working-class, and more likely to be symbolically connected to hard work, it is natural that Waterson use this variant.

Two of the N tokens are *fuckin'*, however, which is almost categorically N for all speakers. It might seem, then, that we have to throw these out as lexically conditioned. But we might instead investigate why *fuckin'* is so categorically N, and why Waterson uses *fuckin'* here. *Fuckin'*, as profanity, is associated with similar qualities and alignment roles that N is associated with: vernacular, working class, and physical power. So these tokens should not be dismissed but seen as metaphorical indexes of the hard-working identity that Waterson is trying to create. Note also that his use of *fuckin'* is not isolated profanity: he also uses *shit* (line 3) and *ass* (line 5), which also metaphorically index the working-class alignment role and, indirectly, hard work through physical labor.

In line 10 Waterson seems to shift gears from earnestness to joking, although the point he makes – that he has no other extracurricular activities – is serious. Here he again uses *fuckin'*, although in this case he may also be indexing camaraderie as well as intensifying the triviality of school work. The N of *nothin'* may be a similar case, especially because it would not be predicted on the basis of following environment or grammatical category. He may also be iconically indexing camaraderie with his use of *'cept* for *except*. Because N is used in activity types where camaraderie is the focus (socializing), it can metaphorically index those activity types, and in turn index the camaraderie and friendliness associated with them. Waterson also draws on camaraderie in line 4 (*you guys know*). Rather than just claiming he is a hard worker, he suggests that everyone knows him so well that he doesn't have to prove he has these qualities. He finishes, in line 21, by again calling on camaraderie through referring to one of his fraternity nicknames, and addressing the members as 'boys' (*remember boys I'm the Iceman*).

Consistent with his message in his speech, Waterson thus creates a hard-working, camaraderie-focused stance, by using (ING) to index a community-valued hard-working identity, and a working-class role that suggests solidarity and physical power. However, his (ING) use does not determine, nor is it determined by, this identity display, but is part of the package of linguistic and non-linguistic indexes he presents in the speech. None have a specific meaning alone, but together they take on meanings through which Waterson displays his identity.

5.3 Mick

Mick is an older member, and speaks much more frequently in meetings. He thus has an established role in the fraternity and in meetings. The reasons for Mick's shift to more N in the meeting activity type are superficially similar to Waterson's; however, in Mick's case we must consider more talk than for Waterson, and thus must understand the general kinds of alignment roles he indexes. However, Mick constructs an overall identity (rather than a specific stance) that is based on similar hard-working, camaraderie-building roles we saw in Waterson's speech.

Mick is from rural northeastern Pennsylvania, and his father owns a trucking dealership.[11] Like Speed, Mick was also a wrestler in high school; in part because wrestling in that region is a very popular sport, this aspect of his identity is central. Mick also sees himself as hard-working, as shown in the following excerpts from his interview. Excerpt 3 begins just after I have asked him to discuss his future plans:

Excerpt 3

1	Mick:	I:'m just a very: (3.0)
2		Tha- the type of person that's goin' somewhere and and uh,
3		whatever I mean (1.0).
4		This is merely just uh
5		I mean they- I- um (1.3)
6		Anything I do I do it (.) the best I can do.
7		I mean I have I have not watched television in I couldn't tell you how long.
8		I mean just don't do things that aren't very productive at all. ((staccato)) I me-
9	SK:	(?)
10	Mick:	No I don't No I don't you're right I don't ha:ng out.
11	SK:	(sit on the couch)
12	Mick:	No even if I go to the townhouse I'll sit there for a whi-
13		I don't know if you've ever been there when I come in I sit there and
14		I'm like (0.5)
15		All right. What are we doin'.
16	Scott:	He he he he
17	Mick:	's like. I just can't- I can't just do nothing.

Here Mick talks about his ambition (line 2), and how he values work over play (lines 7–15). Hard work is thus an important value for him. Because he explicitly presents himself as someone who will work so much, we expect him to index this role through his language as well. He also exemplifies connection to hard work as he continues with an illustration from his high school days:

Excerpt 4

16	Mick:	I could never, never satisfy my dad.

16 Mick: I could never, never satisfy my dad.
17   I tore down, wa- we had a chicken coop?
18   That- the end of it burned down.
19   It was, like, on my grandfather's farm
20   it wasn't really our farm it was the closest- our closest neighbor.
21   But ah, it was huge.
22   It was about three times the size of this house
23   It took me a whole summer to tear it down.
24   Hand- by my hand all- hand by- brick by brick I tore the damn thing
              down.
25   And he was still like- he was bitchin' at me the whole time y'know.
26   Like, if- I'd come in, yeah, What's takin' so long?
27   Yeah I mean he's- and he's-
28   not that I hate him for that I'm very glad that he was like that,
              yknow.
29   He built our whole house himself.
30   The entire thing.

Mick discusses this episode with pride, using it to show how hard he works.
Mick thus presents an image of being down-to-earth, hard-working, and
physically powerful. But Mick also displays ambition to rise to the top, and to
be in the middle of the 'hustle and bustle' of the Washington area. He was
elected president of the fraternity unopposed.

Speed, who also has a high N rate in the meeting (and throughout his
speech), also values ability and hard work, but takes a stance *against* the
fraternity hierarchy. However, high N use is not necessarily restricted to a
rebellious identity; it can be used to display power by someone who has
structural power, through a similar confrontational stance that divides the
speaker from his or her interlocutors. Consider Mick's stance in the following
excerpt. In this meeting, the members had been discussing their annual holiday
party, since they were low on funds to put on the usual extravagant bash. In the
middle of the debate, Mick (now president) gets frustrated and explodes (bold
indicates (ING) tokens), shouting so vehemently that his face becomes red:

Excerpt 5

1 Mick: I swear to God **fuckin'** every semester all we have do is sit around
2   and argue about money money money money.
3   And I'm not gonna pay this **fuckin'** money. All right?
4   Yeah: you guys **sittin'** back
5   I know you guys are **thinkin'** I'm gonna pay this **fuckin'** money just
6   'cause I *have* money.
7   I'll tell you what, I ain't gonna pay a **fuckin'** thing. All right?

While Mick is in a structurally powerful position, he is taking a stance in opposition to the membership. Notice his use of *fuckin'* in lines 1, 3, 5, and 7, and his categorical use of N, and his use of *ain't*, another stereotypically vernacular feature, in line 7. These uses of vernacular English combine with his message (and his volume) to show he is taking a stand against the members, but in an authoritative way that is the prerogative of a leader. This excerpt illustrates that we cannot say that a person in a certain structural position will use a variable in a certain way, based on his or her 'social address.' It does suggest, however, that the variant can be indexed with social structure through practice-based social constructs such as roles, activity types, and stances.

5.4 Structural power: Mack

I have argued so far that the explanation for the high use of N by Speed, Mick, and Waterson in meetings is partially explained by their indexing of a physical power alignment role. It would follow from this argument that, if we examine the meeting discourse of the men who style-shift to *less* N in the meeting, we will find evidence of a structural power role being indexed. While I do not propose to investigate every speaker here, an analysis of one will provide some contrast.

Mack exhibits the pattern of shifting from high N use while socializing (73 percent for all tokens, .66 Varbrul weighting) to low N use in the meeting (13 percent and .11). He is a fourth-year member, and in the following excerpt, from statements made at the same meeting as Speed's excerpt (although Speed spoke after Mack), it is clear that Mack is indexing a structurally powerful position. In this comment, he 'instructs' members in how they should think about voting, in addition to telling them who to vote for. His lack of mitigation suggests that his way is the only way. Pencil, who interrupts Mack's comments, is a former member who has graduated and is now the adviser for the chapter.

Excerpt 6

184	Mick:	Mack.
185	Mack:	Okay. (.)
186		This is it. (.)
187		Somebody said something about
188	Pencil:	Again. we need to reorganize (?).
189	Mack:	yeah somebody s-
190		we need to look at what we have left here,
191		and there are certain positions,
192		that everybody fits into perfectly.
193		Ernie does not fit into this: (0.1)
194		I'm not sure where Ernie fits in just yet.
195	?:	historian
196	Mack:	but I: a:m afraid that we are going to waste uh
197		one of the few brains left. in someplace that that uh

198		historian has potentially been a non-existent position.
199		uh I think for a couple semesters Yahoo took |some pictures,
200	Pencil:	|We're talking
201		about chapter correspondent now
202	Mack:	what's that? I know
203	Pencil:	and he can hold both positions
204	Mack:	I understand that. (0.3)
205		But he won't.
206		(0.5)
207		|I see- I see Kurt- |I see Kurt- I see Kurt-
208	Pencil:	|Then talk about chapter correspondent.|
209	Pencil:	point of order.
210	?:	we have we have four left.
211	Pencil:	point of order.
212	Mack:	I see Kurt as chapter correspondent.
213		not Ritchie damn it.

Mack begins by serving notice that his word is gospel: *This is it*. With this statement he asserts that what he says is the most important comment of the discussion. Mack does not justify this first statement at all; this non-mitigation and non-justification presents a role of someone who can make a proclamation, and thus a role high in a formal hierarchy.

After the interruption from Pencil in line 188, Mack takes another tack, instructing the members how to go about making a decision, by using the first person plural subject without any hedges, and by using *need* (*We need to look at what we have left*). Contrast his statement with what might be termed its 'opposite:' Mack might have said 'I think we should look at what's left.' Mack's use of *need* implicitly puts him in a role of structural power, as a leader who knows what is good for his flock. Mack's seating choice, as far to the right ('powerful') side of the room as possible, also suggests that Mack is trying to index a structurally powerful fraternity alignment role.

Mack continues to use devices displaying structural power throughout his comments. In lines 191–4, he sets up a system in which each member has his place, and Mack knows who belongs in what place (*there are certain positions that everybody fits into perfectly*). He presents his statements as axiomatic truths by using the existential *there are* construction without any indication that he is actually voicing an opinion. In line 196, he again indexes an insider role through the phrase *I am afraid*, which is used by people who have special knowledge of a situation, as if they have seen it before. It appears as if Mack planned to highlight his age next, by discussing the historian position in lines 198–9 (*historian has potentially been a nonexistent position*). But Pencil argues with him about discussing one position at a time in lines 200–211 (beginning with *we're talking about chapter correspondent right now*), which prompts Mack to finish his statement. Mack ends by simply stating that 'he sees' Kurt as

correspondent, again without any justification. *I see* is used by other members to create an air of authority, as if the speaker is a visionary who speaks with the wisdom of the ages. After he acknowledges the truth of Pencil's objections (*I understand that*), Mack pauses, briefly returns to his assertive style (*But he won't*), and pauses again for a slightly longer time. With the phrase *But he won't*, Mack clearly attempts to put himself in the structurally powerful alignment role.

I have included Pencil's interruption to show that the indexings and identity displays are contingent to some extent on reactions of other speakers, as Mack's indexing of a structurally powerful position is challenged by Pencil. In addition, this excerpt shows that speakers react, and help to construct (or deny) identities of other speakers: we see that Mack's indexing was recognized by Pencil, who then attempted to undermine it.

We thus have strong evidence that Mack, who used less N in the meeting than while socializing, is indeed displaying a meeting identity by indexing structurally powerful alignment roles, roles that are also associated with the use of the G variant. This identity contrasts with those members who I have claimed use N to help index a physically powerful alignment role and casual stance.[12]

5.5 *Summary*

We have seen how the discourse of Speed, Mick, Waterson, and Mack indexes alignment roles, activity types, and stances, how they use these indexes to create an identity, and how they use (ING) as part of these identity displays. Waterson clearly evokes a hard-working identity, as well as the camaraderie of the fraternity. We can thus propose that N indexes, through specific alignment roles, these two central fraternity ideologies. We also see that the connection between N and *fuckin'* is related to the similar indexing and stance-taking work that they perform in conversation. Mick also aligns himself with the hard-working fraternity ideology, and uses N to help create a confrontational stance. The specific indexing and stance-taking work that N helps to do can thus be identified with the physically powerful cultural role, as opposed to the socio-economically powerful cultural role. This role therefore seems to be central to the ways N may be used as a social index. This alignment role is not necessarily just the opposite in terms of prestige, but indexes, to some extent, a different standpoint or social alignment altogether. In fact, it may work in some sense to deny the importance of the structural social alignment. Mack, in contrast, indexed a structurally powerful alignment role, showing that the G variant can be used to index a different alignment role, or even a different social alignment.

Because (ING) is an old and stable sociolinguistic marker, its possible meanings are varied and complexly interrelated. The uses of N in meetings by Speed, Mick, and Waterson index a number of interrelated alignment roles, stances, and activity types, and depend crucially on cultural and community ideologies, stereotypes, and values. But what emerges from the explanation of their N usage is a general indexing to the working-class cultural model. Culturally-recognized

attributes of that role, such as 'hard-working,' 'rebellious,' 'casual,' or 'con-frontational,' are specifically indexed in conversation according to the context, including other indexes, such as other sociolinguistic variables (double nega-tion, use of [d] for [ð]), discourse markers, propositional content, the activity type, and the preceding discourse. Thus, the variant in the abstract is only indexed to a very abstract role, and it is only when combined with context, in the full sense of the term, that specific parts of that role are instantiated. The variable alone has no 'meaning' as such; 'meaning' comes about only when an identity takes shape through the tension between text and context and the negotiation between speaker and hearer. As Lee (1992: 199) notes, there are 'many different dimensions of variation in language, each enjoying a certain amount of autonomy with respect to others, but also cutting across each other in complex ways. . . . linguists have perhaps tended to exaggerate the degree of autonomy of these elements.' But Lee also suggests, along with Macaulay (1991), that an exhaustive list of meanings and interactions would prove unmanageable.

Lee also points to another important contextual factor, which I have only touched on in my analysis: the role of the 'hearer' in creating meaning (see also Bakhtin 1981; Duranti and Goodwin 1992). In this view, 'meaning' (including, presumably, social meanings of the type I have discussed here) is not 'contained' by speech and 'decoded' by the hearer. Rather, linguistic signs are clues to meaning (with most information left out) which the 'hearer' must piece together. As we saw with Pencil and Mack, the person we call 'the hearer' is not always silent about this meaning, and may in fact challenge it.

6. CONCLUSION

The analysis presented here relies crucially on the identification of the variant with the alignment role, something which already exists in the larger English-speaking speech community. But why would working-class men use more vernacular variants in the first place, and *value* those variants? The answer lies in hegemonic masculinity and the sources of power available to working-class men. Hegemonic masculinity pushes men to have a powerful identity, to construct identities that appear to dominate in some way, either actually or symbolically. Thus, Gal (1992) proposes that the basic process of 'men's language' is symbolic domination. Because working-class men do not have access to economic or structural power, physical power may take its place, especially since their livelihoods often rely on this kind of power. This display, taken to extremes, is known as 'protest masculinity' (introduced by Adler 1956, expanded on by Connell 1995) and is characterized by physical violence. I am proposing that working-class men are drawing on a similar process when they use the vernacular variant more than other groups.[13] Solidarity among these men may be another path of 'resistance' to hierarchical power, but it is nevertheless subject to the strictures of hegemonic masculinity.[14] This inter-

action between hegemonic masculinity and solidarity leads to what I have termed camaraderie. Physical power and vernacular language therefore become connected through the stereotype of working-class men's identity roles, deeply embedded in the American culture.

This analysis has implications not only for the 'sex pattern,' but for the study of language and identity in general, as well as for perspectives on sociolinguistic style. Most important is the suggestion to realize abstract social values such as prestige, power, and solidarity, which linguists have long found to affect a speaker's style, in more concrete relationships indexed by speakers in conversations – alignment roles. This display of social relationships through the indexing of alignment roles should be connected to other views of language and cognition, especially metaphor and prototype, so that social relationships are no different from other human cognitive categories, with prototypical members as reference points. These prototypes, which are not limited to cultural models but also would be extended to stances and possibly activity types, are indexed metaphorically in ways similar to those used by the fraternity men to index men's alignment roles.

This view suggests that while identity is a display, it must be understood in terms of social relationships, including potential social relationships a speaker chooses *not* to identify with. Thus, in the all-male, heterosexual, mostly white fraternity, we cannot say that women, homosexuals, and minority ethnic groups are not relevant. On the contrary, they are central to the men's identity displays. Community relationships are also important, so that the fraternity relationships of member/pledge or older member/younger member, all of which have prototypical qualities for the fraternity members, are central to the fraternity men's identities as well. Such a view of the nature of language and society is consistent with sociolinguistic research in the quantitative as well as the qualitative or ethnographic traditions. However, the validity of this view can be tested only by investigation of the interaction among quantitative patterns and highly contextualized uses of linguistic behavior of the kind I have attempted here.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank Allan Bell, Penelope Eckert, Ralph Fasold, Miriam Meyerhoff, Peter Patrick, Roger Shuy, Deborah Tannen, and an anonymous reviewer for comments, criticism, and suggestions on various parts of, and ideas in, this paper, most of which have been incorporated into the text. All weaknesses are, however, entirely my responsibility. I am eternally grateful to the men of Gamma Chi Phi who were as generous and open as true brothers. A version of this paper was given at NWAVE-24 at the University of Pennsylvania, and appears in the proceedings from that conference (Kiesling 1996b).

2. The term 'sex pattern,' is drawn from Fasold (1990). It is used here as a convenient cover term, with the recognition that the pattern is actually more complex when

variables which are involved in ongoing changes are taken into account (see Labov 1990; Chambers 1995). In addition, many researchers point out that 'gender' is probably a more accurate term for the social dimension under consideration (see Eckert 1989). However, in variation studies that have contributed to our knowledge of this pattern, biological sex has been the basis for categorizing speakers. 'Gender' will be used in this article specifically to refer to social constructions.

3. This view of power draws on multiple sources, and is motivated more fully in Kiesling (1996a).

4. Power is *exercised* when these roles are used to actually affect actions. Of course, it may be difficult to find evidence that power is actually being exercised. I focus on the display of power only.

5. This understanding of indexing originates from Penny Eckert (p.c.).

6. This parallel can be continued to the point of 'identity plagiarism,' as shown by the cultural naming of people who take on too many characteristics of the model. A case in point are the young women in the mid-eighties who copied Madonna to the point that they were labeled 'Madonna Wanna Bes.'

7. This is an underlying cultural ideology, and may not be explicitly shared by all members; in fact, one way we know that this ideology underlies the culture is that some men, such as many gay men, do resist and reject it.

8. This split in men's alignment roles bears an interesting resemblance to the kinds of alignment roles found by McElhinny (1993) in her study of police officers in Pittsburgh. She found that the officers tended to use either a more physical 'street warrior' policing style (which male officers favored), or a more objective and rational 'bureaucratic' style (which female officers favored). While officers with these two styles create different stances toward complainants, both display a kind of authority. Thus, we might think of officers with different styles as indexing different kinds of police alignment roles – different kinds of powerful alignment roles, much as men do.

9. Many will claim that women have been increasingly accepted into the labor force in recent years. This fact, if true, has not necessarily altered the cultural models available to women. Indeed, many of these newer models seem to focus on women who have a combination of families, a 'high-powered' career, and/or beauty. In addition, women still perform most of the domestic labor, even if they are part of a dual-income partnership.

10. The table reflects the best run obtained after combining factors that were not significantly different. Originally, there were 17 factors in the grammatical category group, eight in the following environment group, and six in the activity type group. Some differences among individuals were also non-significant, and will be discussed below. The application value is N.

11. While Mick's mother is in the paid labor force, psychological research shows that men tend to identify with the role of the father. Indeed, I asked him, 'What do your parents do?' and he highlighted his father, as is clear in Excerpt 4.

12. See Kiesling (1996a) for a detailed analysis of most speakers.

13. Of course, working-class men also do not have as much access to standard language through schooling, nor does their economic livelihood necessarily depend on their using standard language (although one could argue that creating a physically powerful identity might be economically advantageous).

14. I use 'resistance' with caution, because this resistance is only against one form of power, not the entire structure of hegemonic masculinity.

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APPENDIX: Transcription conventions

Turn-taking

⌐ ⌐	Bounds simultaneous speech.
=	Connects two utterances that were produced with noticeably less transition time between them than usual.
(number)	Silences timed in tenths of seconds.

| (.) | Noticeable silence less than .2 second |
| # | Bounds passage said very quickly. |

Sound production

^	Falsetto.
TEXT	Upper case letters indicate noticeably loud volume.
*	Indicates noticeably low volume, placed around the soft words.
text	Italics indicates emphatic delivery (volume and/or pitch).
-	Indicates that the sound that precedes is cut off, stopped suddenly and sharply.
:	Indicates the sound that precedes it is prolonged.
,	Indicates a slight intonational rise.
?	Indicates a sharp intonational rise.

Breathiness, laughter, comments

h	An audible outbreath.
'h	An audible inbreath.
he, ha	Laughter.
(text)	Transcript enclosed in single parentheses indicates uncertain hearing.
((comment))	Double parentheses enclose transcriber's comments.

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