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Lingüística Maricona: The Role of Intonation in the Perception of Homophobic Slurs by Straight Caribbean Latino Men

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Honors Project in Linguistics

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1. Abstract

Previous research on swear-taboo words in bilinguals shows that they affirm "in-group membership" and aid in definitive identity constructions (Dewaele 2004). Equal or near-equivalent Spanish/English bilingualism in Miami-area Caribbean Latinxs provides a population of subjects with the ability to frequently code switch between both languages. Studying homophobic language used in Miami's bilingual Latinx contexts aids in establishing a better understanding of multilingualism's role in communities of color and its relationship to homophobic speech. The construction of Caribbean Latino queer masculinity also provides an interesting experience in identifying the role of associated gender with the severity or marginalizing force of the words in question (Kurtz 1999). This study makes use of structured questionnaires with 10 straight Miami Caribbean Latino men who evaluate the insulting intent of homophobic language in English and Caribbean Spanish on a linear scale from 1-3, 1: Doesn't seem like intended to be an insult, 3: Intended to be directed anger. The emotional reaction data is analyzed to identify the power dynamics and social pressures at play behind the populations using English and Spanish homophobic slurs and their emotional impact on Caribbean Latino masculinities. In addition to the data on their evaluation of insulting quality, recordings of acted slurs in English and Spanish by bilingual Miami Cubans are used to see if there are noticeable intonational differences between the speech signals and how manipulations are perceived by listeners in relation to degree of insult. This research has broad implications for understanding the role that intonation plays in the interpretation of emotion behind insulting speech acts and the way homophobia is realized in the speech of bilingual communities.

Keywords: Masculinity; Bilingualism; Latinx Studies; Cultural Linguistics; Intonational Phonology; Prosody; Sociopragmatics

2. Introduction

This study attempts to use bilingual Spanish/English speakers' perception of Spanish and English homophobic slurs as a means of separating the emotional weight carried by the semantic content of a word from the emotional weight carried by the intonation with which the word is conveyed. In addition to the semantic and intonational characteristics of these insulting speech acts, this study investigates the properties of language dominance in bilingual contexts and how those influence the emotional perception of insulting speech acts even in the presence of these semantic and intonational manipulations. In order to study where intonation or the semantic content of a homophobic slur was more or less insulting, a homophobic slur is presented in a natural production and a manipulated version (using the intonation of the other language) to see whether divorcing language-specific intonation from the slur changes the emotional reaction to the semantic content of the word itself. Because words within an insulting speech act are expected to be delivered in a certain way by speakers, complete shift of the intonation is expected to insult people less. However, heavy language contact between English and Spanish in Miami might render interesting results considering that a clear trend of preference for English- or Spanish-based intonational systems is unclear according to previous research in the community. Using straight men from the Miami speech community also provides interesting insight into how homophobic slurs aid in identity construction of *machista* masculinity in the greater Hispanic Caribbean and how straight men employ them in negotiating their own masculinities in opposition to the

mariconería (faggotry) of the Hispanic faggot. Understanding straight male emotional reaction and pragmatic labeling of these slurs will help us understand the sociolinguistic usage of straight men in retaining, maintaining and defending their dominant masculine image.

This project comes in part as a personal identity exploration in understanding how Latinx individuals, such as myself, may feel as though emotional weight in one native language is different than the other despite being equally or similarly proficient in both. As a member of this bilingual speech community in Miami, it is interesting to me how masculinity is linguistically constructed and negotiated through homophobic slurs. Intonation also provides an interesting vantage point through which to see differentiation in insulting emotional messaging, especially considering how some of the words to be analyzed have been socially normalized in certain contexts. Below I will review the literature on Miami's speech community, Caribeño masculinities and identity, bilingualism and emotion, and emotional prosody and speech acts. The sections following will review the methodology for the study, results and conclusion with finals thought on the future directions and limitations of this work.

3. Background

I. Miami's Speech Community

While Latinxs make up the majority population of Miami-Dade County, Florida, with a population of over 60% foreign-born, the notion of *Latinidad* is complicated by

many families having mixed descent such as: being comprised of one Cuban parent and one Colombian parent, one Venezuelan and one Puerto Rican parent, etc. The participants in this study have parents that come from the coastal regions of Colombia and Venezuela and the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico which collectively can be categorized as part of Caribbean Spanish-speaking Latin America (Callesano 2015). As Miami has a Latinx-run economic and social network, Spanish has been socially constructed to be valid and prestigious unlike many other U.S. metropolitan areas with large concentrations of Latinxs (Lopez 2015). The language contact situation involves use of both Spanish and English in the Miami community because they both simultaneously exist in economically and socially privileged realms of discourse. Miami's predominantly Caribbean community (54% Cuban, 6% Puerto Rican, 4% Dominican, etc.) provides support that the dominant interaction in Spanish language is with Caribbean dialects (Lopez 2015). These varieties have been observed to have very similar phonological and intonational systems (Sosa 1999), providing the reasoning for having Coastal Colombian, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Venezuelan varieties in this study together under the Caribbean label. It has also been predicted that phonological leveling of dominant features shared by Caribbean-origin speakers may eventually become widespread across Miami because of this dialect dominance and because members from other large immigrant populations such as Colombians, also have these features in coastal cities such as Cartagena and Barranquilla (Lopez 2015). Despite this socially prestigious and prevalent usage of Spanish, English still enjoys a marginally higher level of prestige within the community because of its role in government and academics (Lopez 2015). Bilingualism is

widespread in Miami but English is preferred by Miami-born Cuban Americans despite many of them being able to fluently converse in either language in a variety of domains (Lopez 2015).

II.   *Caribeño* Masculinities and Identity

I.   Latinx Caribbean Masculinity

Constructions of hegemonic masculinity within the Latin American context produce a stigmatized homosexual subject for those who engage in receptive anal intercourse (*pasivos*) while penetrators (*activos or bugarrones*) retain their masculinity. The penetrated participants are referred to with homophobic slurs such as *mariposas* (butterflies), *maricones* (faggots) and *putos* (male whores), being socially outcast as highly effeminate men, with some arguing they belong to the female gender in the strictly polarized Latin American system. (Kulick 1997, Kurtz 1999). The concept of hegemonic masculinity in Caribbean Latinx culture is not based on sexual orientation but rather the perceived gender identity that the person is portraying. The *macho* or *activo* role for Caribbean Latinx homosexual men is an identity that "must be publicly and continuously reaffirmed" (Kurtz 1999, p. 372). The constant negotiation of the differing North American and Latin American sexual systems is an important vantage point to recognize and understand when looking at the construction of Caribbean Latinx masculinity. The presence of a Latin American sexual system in Miami renders a context where straight men negotiate their masculinity in relation to the men they can dominate (Mora 2013). A successful straight male is expected to be a complete contradiction to the *maricón* which can also be seen as the non-man (Mora 2013). Straight men participate in this

marginalization by utilizing homophobic slurs to ascribe deviant labels to performances that act in contradiction to their constructed dominant masculinities (Mora 2013). Through the ethnic uniqueness of Miami as an American city with a predominantly Latinx culture queer *Latinidad* (Latinx identity) and Latinx masculinity, has manifested through language that combines the North American and Latin American sexual systems into a bilingual and bicultural gay culture (Peña 2004, p. 77). Susana Peña's concept of "*pájaration*" (gay Miami culture formation) aims to explain the linguistic invention that has joined "Cuban Spanish and U.S. English and makes a bilingual listener an insider to Cuban American gay male hybrid culture." (Peña 2004, 77) One example of the queerified hybrid linguistic processes that occurs in Miami is the use of the word "gay" (pronounced *gai* in Spanish), "within contexts of both English- and Spanish-language conversations." (Peña 2004, p. 79) The gay/*gai*; as it is defined in Miami follows an effeminate expression that is therefore marginalized by perceptions and stereotypes of sexual passiveness that is the target of sociolinguistic and sociocultural rejection by straight men (Kurtz 1999). The book Dude, You're a Fag (Pascoe 2007) highlights possibly closer similarities between the Latin American and North American sexual systems that complicate the understanding of queer male marginalization. The idea that the "male homosexual is not pathologized, but gay male effeminacy is," shows the fact that the exact sex act of men with men isn't the largest target against homosexual expression, it is gender display and successful performance of a masculine identity (Pascoe 2007, p. 59). Pascoe's work on Latinx masculinities within a racially-diverse high school also shows that rejection of homosexuality by using the term 'fag' is a

discourse that involves lobbing accusations of masculinity in order to guard against being identified as a sexual/gendered deviant (Mora 2013, p. 344). The marginalization of effeminate gay Caribbean Latino men in this respect shows how the construction of these words is part of a femininization/emasculation process that stigmatizes men who express any sort of passive associated femininity.

Studies on the usage of the term "*marico/a*" (gay, or normalized to be similar to "bro" in the Venezuelan context) in Caracas, Venezuela have revealed how normalized this antipolite form of address has become in urban contexts amongst young men across sexual orientations. Gutiérrez-Rivas notes that based on studies conducted on the college students of Caracas, "*marico*" is in a phase of transition from vulgar insult to a "marcador pragmático anticortés que indica solidaridad dentro de un grupo etario específico y está perdiendo su carácter agraviador" ("a pragmatic marker within an age group that indicates solidarity within a group and that's losing its offensive quality," Gutiérrez-Rivas 2016, p. 1). Gutiérrez-Rivas also reported that most men in Caracas included in this university study, tended to use "*marico/a*" almost exclusively with close friends or as an attention grabber with/without friends and rarely use it, about 1.96% of the time, in the "función de insulto hacia hombres que no son homosexuales como para hacer referencia a hombres que si son homosexuales" ("function of insult used towards men who aren't homosexual in reference to men who are homosexual," Gutiérrez-Rivas 2016, p. 13). With the word shifting towards a referential function amongst friends, this shows that many straight-identifying Venezuelan men do not associate this word with the originally feminizing/emasculating role it traditionally plays in Venezuelan society. However, it

may be true that the majority of speakers would be uncomfortable openly admitting in a research setting that they use homophobic language to insult homosexual men. The analysis of normalization of the term *marico/a* also focuses strictly on a wider male lens and does not specifically look at whether this word still has a negative emotional impact more generally. While Gutiérrez-Rivas contests that the original definition of *"marico/a"* as a homophobic slur or directed insult is still in usage in Venezuela, the perspective would need to be widened to see whether straight and gay men still use this word for this function or have participated in a society-wide normalization of its usage as a referent (Gutiérrez-Rivas 2016).

In addition to studies on Cuban and Venezuelan masculinities and identity construction, analyses of the coming out process in Puerto Rican gay youth at the Universidad Del Turabo in Gurabo, Puerto Rico and the masculinity construction of Puerto Rican men at the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras provides an enhanced and expanded account of queer and straight masculinities in the broader Hispanic Caribbean. "Issues such as religion, family, machismo, and gender role socialization are to be the focus of attention" when trying to understand the solidification and acceptance process of gay masculinity for Puerto Ricans (Fankhanel 2010, p. 266). Because of the large degree of social stigma placed on homosexuality in Puerto Rico, those who identify as gay have a hard time accepting their identities due to a variety of factors. In studies about straight men and their definitions of their sexuality in San Juan, many straight men related queer sexual relationships to penetration (Pérez-Jiménez 2007) which revisits the idea that penetration and sexual passiveness is what creates the Hispanic faggot. This idea stems

from a Latin American cultural understanding of sexuality to be built upon "that men are supposed to be in control" and that socially acceptable masculine behavior is to revolve around dominance (Pérez Jiménez 2007, p. 373). Socialization of images with "strong and masculine men" being presented at a young age, promote and foster an idea that Puerto Rican men "should be like them or practice similar behaviors," creating a space for feminine-presenting queer men in Puerto Rico to be marginalized by a gender performance that doesn't match the culturally established norm (Pérez-Jiménez 2007, p. 374). Latino men throughout the Hispanic Caribbean are forced to reconcile the negotiation of a hypermasculine Latino *machista* image mediated by socially and linguistically constructed frameworks for masculinity regardless of sexual orientation.

The relationship of homophobic slurs in Spanish to penetration and sexual passiveness are the primary reasons for focuses on heterosexual men in this study. If it is true that these words have been traditionally coded as femme-phobic in regards to feminine masculinities, would it still be triggering for these listeners to hear them in targeted contexts that would simulate someone questioning their masculinity with the use of a word that feminizes them within the speech act? If masculine behavior in Latin America revolves around this social dominance, how does this manifest when a speech act relegates them to a social position of the feminine that removes their social power? As in the case with urban adolescents in Caracas (Gutiérrez-Rivas 2016), this paper examines whether straight men in Miami's multicultural Caribbean Latinx community perceive these terms as neutral and without any attached social stigma related to sexual deviance. The emotional reaction of straight men to these slurs allows us to understand

the way that straight Caribbean Latinx men reconcile their masculinity in contexts where they momentarily lose it or are forced to reaffirm it. Evaluating the emotional reaction of these slurs by straight men allows for gender and sociolinguistic scholars to understand the usage of these words in the conceptualization of the "real man," which in Latinx culture exists in opposition to the *maricón* (La Fountain-Stokes 2007).

III.   Bilingualism and Emotion

Research on multilingualism and the use of swear and taboo words has mostly focused on the experiences of L2 learners where "bilinguals may code switch to their second language to distance themselves from what they say," as those ideas may not be as emotionally attached as they would be in a native language (Dewaele 2004, 207). Code switching, within this context, refers to the switching of languages within the same speech environment. As situational acceptability of swearing differs cross-culturally (Dewaele 2004), it may be important to understand and situate the scripts and pragmatic functions of homophobic slurs in Caribbean Latinx and Anglo-American cultures. This assessment on the relative weight of insults may carry over to homophobic slurs as their negativity may be readily acceptable in the greater social sphere even though they target particular marginalized queer identities. Multilingual speakers of Italian identified that they felt as though Italian was unlikely to ever be replaced by English L2 because of a lack of emotional nuance in English, (Dewaele 2004), which I presume may also be a similar sentiment for Spanish-speakers who have a similar emotional lexicon in Spanish

as opposed to English where they may not be able to able to express the same emotional concepts.

Interesting research on interlanguage pragmatics has noted different ways that learners produce speech acts than native speakers of the same language; however, not much has been done on how native speakers navigate these multilingual domains if they are natively multilingual (Dewaele 2004). Native or dominant languages have been argued to label or mark emotion at a deeper level of conceptual understanding than in a second language; however this would be interesting to apply to a multilingual context such as Miami where speakers may have a dominant language of use, English or Spanish, but still grow up with a native fluent knowledge of both languages (Altarriba, 2000, 2003; Santiago-Rivera & Altarriba 2002). The individual linguistic experience is integral to understanding their relationship with swear words such as slurs and their emotional resonance with how offensive the words are (Dewaele 2004). Miami's bilingual population of English/Spanish speakers will provide insight into whether Latinx populations in the United States have similar experiences of emotional reaction to certain homophobic speech styles depending on language dominance and other factors.

IV. Emotional Prosody/Speech Acts

A. Pragmatic and Semantic Usage of Slurs

Similar to research on other forms of street harassment such as catcalling, homophobic slurs in street-based contexts resemble speech acts in that they exist as a system of expected patterns that organize a particular interaction between particular

interlocutors in a particular context (MacArthur 2016). As in catcall situations, it is possible that there is no reciprocal acknowledgement at all (MacArthur 2016) in the receiver role of homophobic slurs where the receivers just completely ignore the slur being yelled or directed at them even if the speaker is within auditory or visual range. While sexual objectification is a clear component of catcalls" rooted in misogyny and subordination of the woman, the same logic can be applied to the reasons that gay/queer men in Latinx contexts receive a similar amount of harassment. While queer men may not be exposed to catcalls rooted in misogyny in the way women are, feminine gay men in the Latin American sexual system are subjugated and subordinated to the same societal level as women. Homophobic slurs in interactions between men have an "underlying evaluative comment" (MacArthur 2016) indexing them as deviant based on a straight man's identification of them as lesser, feminine, and something they find repulsive or offensive. Straight Caribbean Latinx men may also encounter and face these slurs in a process that requires them to claim "masculine subjectivity" in order to prove these terms inaccurately reflect their masculine dominance (Mora 2013, p. 348).

The establishment of a slur is something that is part of a "discursive struggle over appropriateness and inappropriateness" because of the notion that "words are not innately or objectively derogatory or offensive, slurs or insults," they have been conditioned this way through the practice of the speech act (Cashman 2012, 58). The words themselves being arranged socially and conversationally as having an ability to offend are "the most salient features about slurs" (Croom 2014, 228). The "pure expressivism" (Croom 2014, 288) account of words builds off the idea that expressive linguistic content is a type of

speech that directly conveys attitudes held by a speaker. Analyzing slurs as "purely expressive" (Croom 2014, 288) shows that slurs themselves are inherently displaying some sort of salient offensiveness removed from the speaker's situational attitude or feelings in a speech act. The purely expressivist account of slurs has not yet "provided a solid case in support of their further claim that expressions with purely expressive content are the only alternative to expressions with purely descriptive content" (Croom 2014, p. 231). Purely descriptive content indicates that speech is functioning only to reference something that does not indicate an emotional stance by the speakers producing the speech itself. A purely expressivist analysis of slurs ignores the referential function of the slur that allows for a user to index a gay man's feminine expression; while also functionally using homophobic slurs as an active insult or verbal assault within this Latinx context. It only allows for slurs to function within "purely descriptive" or "purely expressive" contexts that don't account for their multiple usages as is when they become normalized and distance themselves socially from the initial insulting meanings they were used for historically (Croom 2014). The culturally-tied existence of Spanish and English homophobic slurs is based on a "sociohistorical context of their use as instruments of discrimination and marginalized based on….sexual identity of their target" (Cashman 2012, 58).

B. Intonation in Miami's Bilingual Context

Regarding the intonational characteristics of homophobic slurs, the use of catcalling in a bilingual context in Miami provides a helpful insight into the intonational

characteristics possible for the use of homophobic slurs in contexts where masculinity is negotiated against gay Cuban men. MacArthur's research noted that intonation is vital to the perception of a catcall which may also be true for the similar speech act of slur usage especially if this paper focuses on the same community of Miami English/Spanish bilinguals that MacArthur analyzed (MacArthur 2016). Overall, intonation seems to play an integral role in emotional perception and display. Research on attitudinal meanings conveyed by intonation contours has revealed that the measure of pleasantness or other emotional effects may be present or conveyed with different terminal contours (Uldall 1960). Studies have found that some intonation patterns and intended emotions have clear relationships however a general trend could not be found marking specific intonations to specific emotions (Mozziconacci 1999). This study will expand upon this work in reviewing whether bilinguals will change their emotional perceptions for other language intonations for slur acts despite the semantic content staying constant . Miami English's features have been characterized by vowels, which have a certain affinity with Spanish pronunciation and a Spanish-like syllable timing system that deviates fluctuating syllable-length in other American English dialects (Carter 2013). Extralinguistic social factors have been pointed to influence differentiation in intonational patterns amongst Cuban-Americans in Miami. Having primarily Cuban co-workers or being a first or third generation Cuban-American has been shown to favor using Cuban Spanish intonational patterns for interrogative statements when speaking in Spanish (Alvord 2010). Being a second generation Cuban-American, having primarily English-speaking co-workers or having primarily non-Cuban Spanish-speaking co-workers has pointed to a favoring of

the rising intonation pattern native to most other non-Caribbean Spanish dialects and Miami English while speaking Spanish (Alvord 2010). The third generation favoring a Cuban pattern of intonation in interrogatives shows that there does not seem to be a intonational shift towards English-style and other-Spanish dialect style intonation across Miami populations and rather the switching and adaptation of intonation may be socially constructed. While it may be that third-generation Cubans are asserting a Cuban and greater Caribbean identity as the prestigious Latinx Spanish variety in Miami by using this Cuban intonational pattern, there does seem to be possibilities for situational intonation pattern shifting (Alvord 2010). The complex relationship between identity, different Spanish varieties, contact with English and sociolinguistic environments paint an unclear picture as to how intonation may shift or change situationally in Miami while speaking Spanish. Very little work has been conducted on the specific phonological and intonational characteristics of Miami English. While linguists have noted that prolonged contact with Spanish has produced an English variety with syllable-timed rhythm and changes in vowel quality (Carter and Lynch 2015), it is unclear how often intonation from Spanish or English-based systems is used during Miami English speech environments. While intonation from both languages seems to be present in certain contexts with Spanish-language speech it is unclear if this phenomenon extends to speech environments where only Miami English is present. However, these changes in intonation do seem to be a natural occurrence (in Spanish) for some speakers and it may be interesting to see whether language dominance of a Caribbean variety of Spanish or

English influences emotional reactions when intonational patterns are shifted to reflect the opposite language.

Opposite-language intonation is used in this study because of the bilingual environment from which these speakers and listeners come from. The literature supports that social networks do seem to somewhat affect which intonational systems are used by speakers when speaking Spanish (Alvord 2010), however, it is unclear if intonational systems used for the expression of emotion are separate. This study aims to use opposite language intonation in the conveyal of manipulated segments of natural slur constructions in order to see how natural it is for speakers to hear these terms with a different intonational system or whether the emotional prosodic elements are language-specific.

C. ToBI Transcription

The ToBI system was developed to transcribe prosodic elements of speech including pitch accents and boundary tones as well as the strengths of those boundaries (Pierrehumbert 1980). Using a system that can capture the variability in the speech signal, we can better understand the pragmatic function coded with varied intonational structures in English in a way that is absent in phonetic transcription of utterances (Silverman et al., 1992).

3. Rationale for the Present Study

The present study builds upon existing research on intonation as a prosodic element that indicates emotional state or emotional stance positioning. The bilingual

speech community of Miami is a community of Spanish speakers with a dominant

presence of Caribbean varieties. I will investigate whether intonational changes in the

pitch contours of slurs are consequential in changing the semantic or emotional weight of

the slur utterance and whether intonation is key in the production of an insulting speech

act. Intonational changes and structures for Caribbean Spanish will be transcribed using a

modified ToBI transcription model for all dialects of Catalan and Spanish from the

University of Barcelona (Elvira-García 2015) and intonational structures for English will

be transcribed using a modified version of the ToBI labeling guide for English developed

by Pierrehumbert (1980). In addition to the emotional effects of intonation, this study

aims to investigate the process of normalization some of these terms may have undergone

that have affected their emotional weight in English and Spanish. Analyzing this

normalization was done through discussion of listener responses to questions about the

situational usage and personal emotional offensiveness of the slurs. Examining bilingual

listeners' reaction to these slurs allows us to better understand their emotional

contextualization within bilingual Latinx communities, even though the scope of the

study is limited to straight Caribbean Latinx men in an attempt to understand the

construction of masculine within to the rigid Latin American gender hierarchy.

4. Methods

The aim of this experiment was to use bilingual Spanish/English speakers'

perception of Spanish and English homophobic slurs as a means of separating the

emotional weight carried by the semantic content of a word from the emotional weight

carried by the intonation with which the word is conveyed. Below is a review of the speech materials given to participants to evaluate as well as the questions asked of them in response to each presented phrase.

I. **Speakers**

A. **Caribbean Spanish (Cuba, Caribbean/Coastal Colombia, Puerto Rico, Venezuela)**

Two straight male native speakers of Caribbean Spanish participated in the production portion of this study to gain material for the stimuli. For this part of the study's speech material gathering, the two speakers were strategically chosen because they have been exposed to the same speech conditions both at home (English-dominant) and at school being at the same primary, secondary and undergraduate institutions for years. Because of variation in intonation pattern based on social relationships and immigrant group identity (Alvord 2010), the experiment selected speakers with as much consistency as possible in relationships to Miami English, American English and Caribbean varieties of Spanish in Miami. All participants were natively bilingual in Miami English in addition to Caribbean Spanish. The heritage regions of each speaker is listed below for Spanish:

Table 1.1 - Native Caribbean Spanish producers'/verifier's demographic

information

Participant/Verifying Listener	Heritage Region
LATXV	Havana, Cuba
Participant/Producer	
LATX11	Sagua la Grande, Cuba
LATX12	Havana, Cuba

B. **Miami English (Miami-Dade County, Florida)**

Two straight male native speakers of Miami English ages 17-29

participated in the production portion of this study to gain material for the

stimuli. These were the same speakers of Caribbean Spanish that were

recruited in Minnesota, which limited the amount of people that could be

recruited for the stimuli development part of the experiment because of a

lack of a large Caribbean Latinx population to participate in the study

within the state.

II.   **Speech Materials**

Producers were asked to provide slurs and phrases in Table 2. The prompt

for their productions was as follows: "The following phrases are insults used

against the queer community in Latin America and in U.S. Latinx communities.

Some of the phrases are words that aren't considered insults but we would like for

you to say in the same manner as these slurs. Please say the following phrases as if yelling at someone on the street with the intention to angrily insult them in the provided constructions. I understand these phrases can be difficult, but you can pretend to act out the situation." Phrases were chosen based on commonly used homophobic slurs known to the primary investigator who is a native speaker of Cuban Spanish and Miami English and a member of the queer community. The semantically-unrelated words were chosen by the primary investigator as those that would fit being used in a directed pragmatic function within the provided constructions as would the other insulting words. The English and Spanish semantically-unrelated words reflected relationship descriptions or characteristic descriptions of the interlocutor. With "tío" for example indexing friendliness or "pencil" indexing a thin or wispy appearance.

Table 2. Slurs in Caribbean Spanish/English + Semantically-Unrelated Words in Slur Constructions

Language: Caribbean Spanish	Slur Phrase Construction
1-	*"oye maricón" (colloquial translation: hey faggot)*
2-	*"oye puto" (colloquial translation: hey man whore)*
3-	*"oye mariposa" (colloquial translation: hey fairy)*
	Semantically-Unrelated Words in Slur Phrase Construction

4-	*"oye tío" (colloquial translation: hey bro/hey uncle)*
5-	*"oye abuela" (colloquial translation: hey grandma)*
6-	*"oye niño" (colloquial translation: hey little kid)*
Language: Miami English	**Slur Phrase Construction**
7-	*"hey faggot"*
8-	*"hey homo"*
9-	*"hey fairy"*
	Semantically-Unrelated Words in Slur Phrase Construction
10-	*"hey pencil"*
11-	*"hey buddy"*

Listeners were asked to evaluate each of the tokens above in both their natural insult intonation as produced by native speakers of Miami English and Caribbean Spanish as well as to evaluate manipulations of each segment to have the insult intonation of the opposite language. For example, phrase (1) would be evaluated as two tokens: the first token would be the naturally produced slur construction and the second token would be a Praat pitch manipulated version of it with English insult intonation, phrase (7) would be evaluated as a first token being the naturally produced slur construction in English and then the Praat pitch manipulated version that matches Spanish insult intonation pattern. The tokens were presented randomly throughout the questionnaire to avoid adjacent questions

with the same phrases. With the natural speech tokens and the manipulated speech, there was a total of 22 speech signals evaluated by the participants in the perception part of the study. All tokens were randomized in order of presentation before being inserted into an online questionnaire facilitated through Google Forms. All listeners were asked to evaluate the sound files remotely through the online study questionnaire formatted with embedded audio files of each phrase construction uploaded to YouTube. A remote questionnaire process was chosen because a live interview process would have required asking people to interact with language that can be emotionally triggering and would have provided a greater emotional risk for the participants.

Intonation Stimuli

In the process of creating stimuli for the study, the primary investigator met with the consultants on multiple occasions to elicit the slur constructions as well as semantically-unrelated words that matched these constructions in emotional weight and targeted intent. The investigator explained to the consultants that they would be required to produce some constructions that contain homophobic language in both their native dialects of English and Spanish. The investigator then asked the consultants to produce the slurs and other constructions located in Table 2 above. The sounds were recorded using a sound-attenuated booth and then an individual audio file was created for each of the tokens. The ToBI transcriptions of the pitch contours and descriptions for the Miami English and Caribbean Spanish slur constructions and manipulated

constructions that were created using the Praat pitch synchronous overlap and add

feature are found below with descriptions of the shape of the contours using the

two models chosen for Spanish and English in this study:

A.   Caribbean Spanish - Slur Phrase Construction
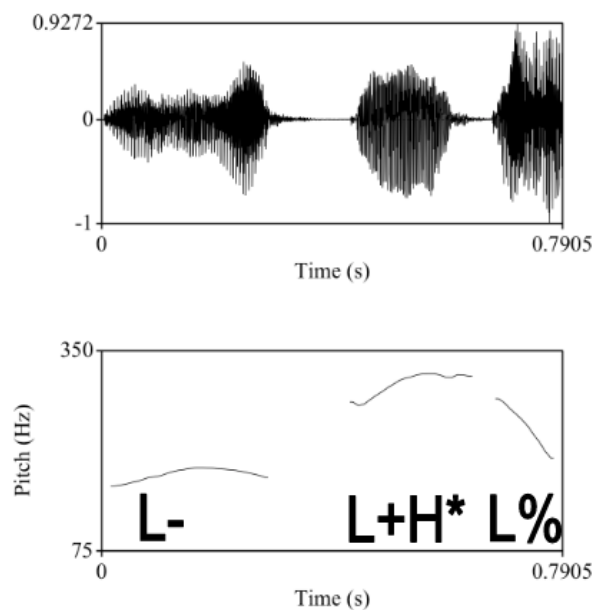
The figure above illustrates the pitch contour shape for the

Caribbean Spanish slur construction with the example [ˈoje ˈputo]. All

slurs recorded and annotated for Caribbean Spanish slurs have the same

intonation pattern. The intonational structure for the Caribbean Spanish

slur speech act contains a L- at the pre-nuclear pitch accent, L+H* at the

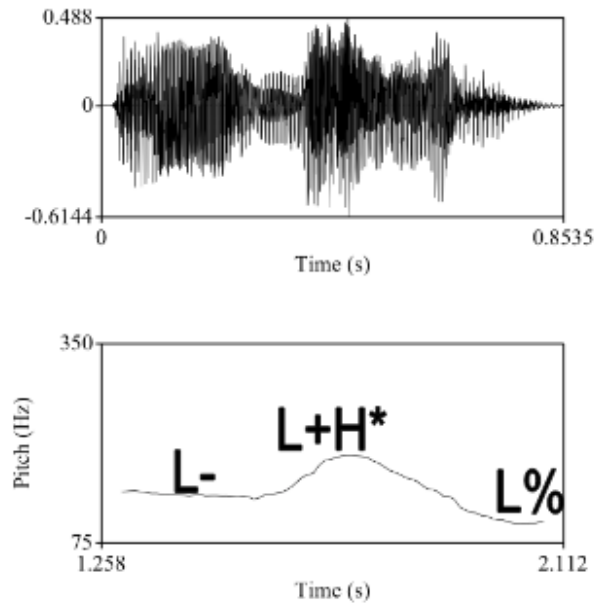nuclear configuration and a L% as the final boundary tone using a

modified version of the Spanish ToBI transcription system developed by the University of Barcelona (Elvira-García 2016).

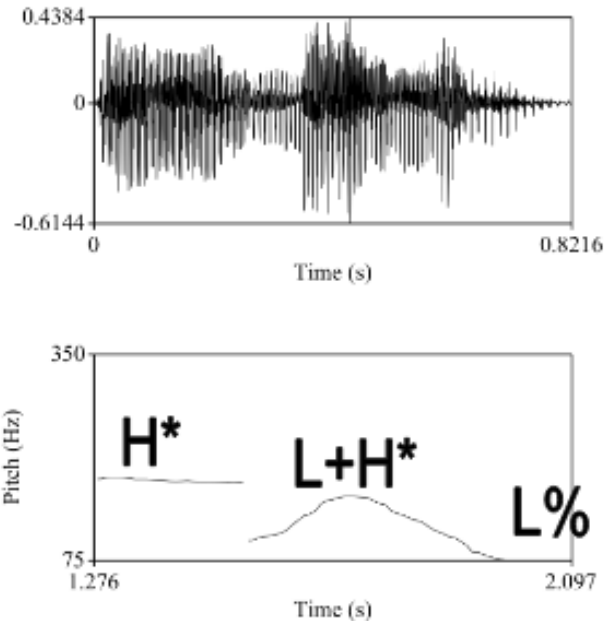**B.   Caribbean Spanish - Slur Phrase Construction (Manipulated)**
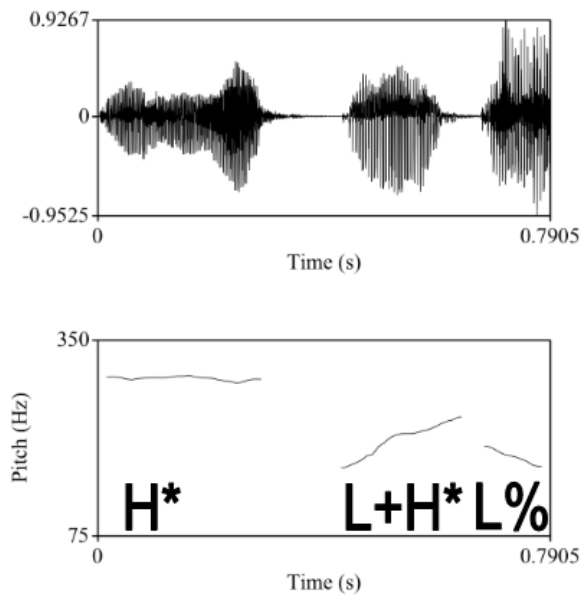
The example is a manipulation of [ˈoje ˈputo]. This manipulation of the original slur phrase construction was created using Praat's pitch synchronous overlap and add function in order to create a pre-nuclear pitch accent marked as H* as found in Miami English. The nuclear structure was L+H*, the same as in the natural slur intonational phrase as well as the L% final boundary tone. The manipulated pitch structure is described using a modified version of the ToBI system from the University of Barcelona (Elvira-García 2016).

**C. Caribbean Spanish - Semantically-Unrelated Word (Slur Intonation)**

The example above illustrates the pitch contour shape for the semantically-unrelated construction [ˈoɟe ˈniɲo] in a slur intonation construction. All semantically-unrelated words are recorded and annotated in this same pattern for Caribbean Spanish. The intonational pattern follows slurs with these semantically-unrelated words with L- at the pre-nuclear pitch accent, L+H* at the nuclear configuration and an L% as the final boundary tone based on a modified version of the Spanish ToBI transcription system developed by the University of Barcelona (Elvira-García 2016).

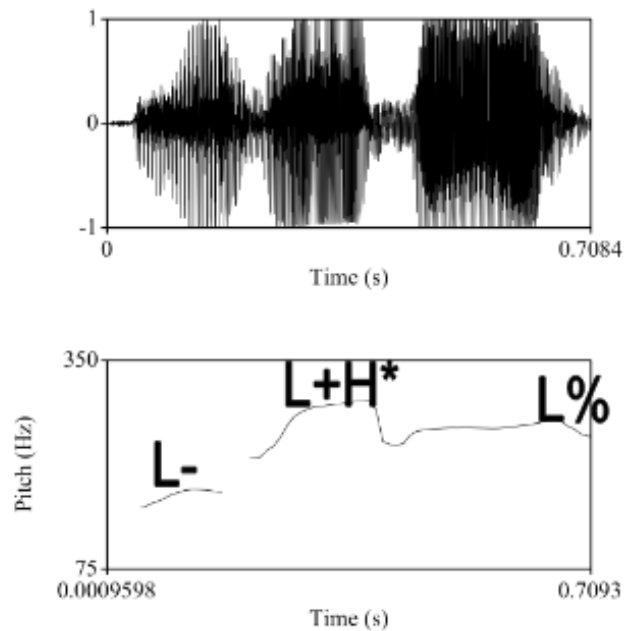**D. Caribbean Spanish - Semantically-Unrelated Word (Manipulated)**

The example is a manipulation of [ˈoje ˈniɲo]. This manipulation of the

original phrase was created using Praat's pitch synchronous overlap and add

function in order to create a pre-nuclear pitch accent marked as H* as found in

Miami English. The nuclear structure was L+H*, the same in the slur intonation

found above as well as the L% final boundary tone. The manipulated pitch

structure is described using a modified version of the ToBI system from the

University of Barcelona (Elvira-García 2016).

E. Miami English - Slur Phrase Construction
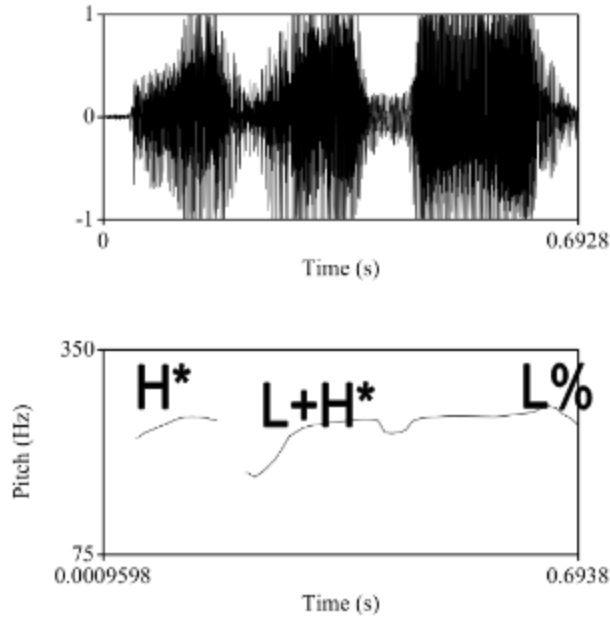
The example above illustrates the pitch contour shape for the Miami English slur construction with the example [ˈheɪ̯ ˈhoʊ̯moʊ̯]. All slurs recorded and annotated for Miami English slurs have the same intonation pattern. The intonational structure for Miami English slur speech act contains a H* at the pre-nuclear pitch accent, L+H* at the nuclear configuration and a L% as the final boundary tone using a modified version of the Spanish ToBI transcription system developed by the University of Barcelona. (Elvira-García 2016).

F. Miami English - Slur Phrase Construction (Manipulated)

The figure above illustrates the pitch contour shape for the manipulation of the Miami English slur construction [ˈheɪ ˈhoʊmoʊ]. The manipulation of the original slur manipulation was created using Praat's pitch synchronous overlap and add function in order to create a pre-nuclear pitch accent marked as L- as found in Caribbean Spanish. The nuclear structure was L+H*, the same in the natural slur intonational phrase as well as the L% final boundary tone. The manipulated pitch structure is described using a modified version of the ToBI system from the University of Barcelona (Elvira-García 2016).

G. Miami English - Semantically-Unrelated Word
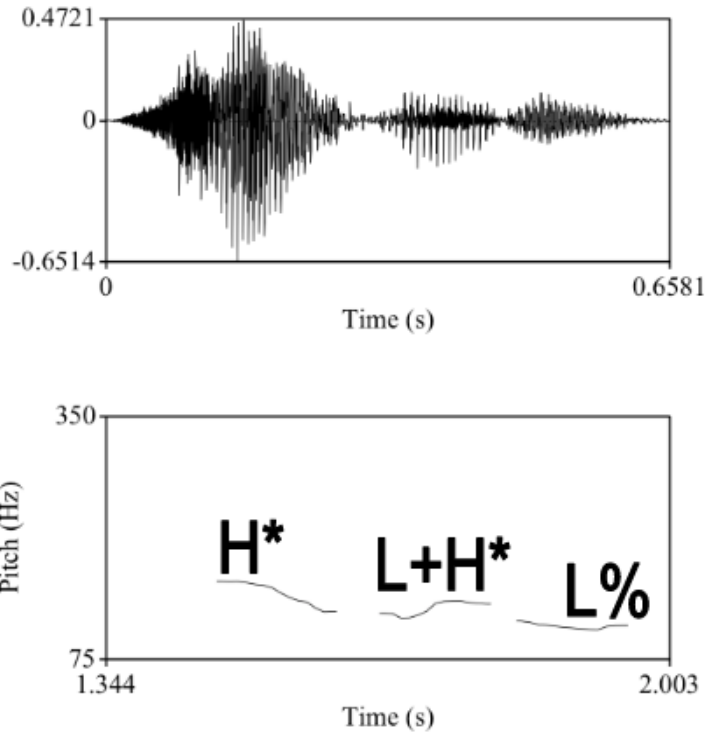

The example above illustrates the pitch contour shape for the semantically-unrelated construction [ˈheɪ̯ ˈbʌɾi] in a slur intonation construction. All semantically-unrelated words are recorded and annotated in this same pattern for Miami English. The intonational pattern follows slurs with these semantically-unrelated words with H* at the pre-nuclear pitch accent, L+H* at the nuclear configuration and an L% as the final boundary tone using a modified version of the Spanish ToBI transcription system developed by the University of Barcelona (Elvira-García 2016).
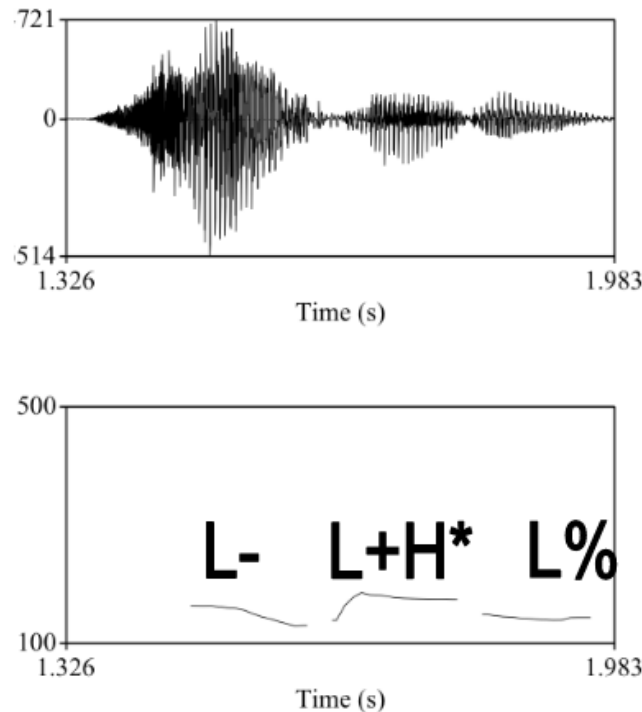
H. Miami English - Semantically-Unrelated Word (Manipulated)

The example above is a manipulation of [ˈheɪ̯ ˈbʌɾi]. This manipulation of the original semantically-unrelated word with slur intonation was created using Praat's pitch synchronous overlap and add function in order to create a pre-nuclear pitch accent marked as L- as found in Caribbean Spanish. The nuclear structure was L+H*, the same as in the natural slur intonational phrase as well as the L% final boundary tone. The manipulated pitch structure is described using a modified version of the ToBI system from the University of Barcelona (Elvira-García 2016).

All participants, regardless of being producers or listeners, were required to provide some demographic information in order to understand the ethnic background of the speaker participating, the gender of the speaker, the sexual orientation of the speaker and the age of the speaker. Language dominance was assessed based on asking speakers to elaborate on their language usage at home, Spanish-dominant reflected living in a household where Spanish was predominantly spoken while English-dominant reflected living in a household where English was predominantly spoken. The question provided below on language dominance also included an oral short-answer description where the investigator asked the participator whether predominantly used English or Spanish at home. All the questions were short answers that allowed for participants to self-describe their identities in order to capture the most accurate representations of sexuality, language dominance, gender, age and heritage. It was sufficient to the researcher to use speakers who self-identified as having native knowledge of both Caribbean Spanish and English based on usage in the home. The survey questions are provided below:

Pre-Experiment Survey Questions:

1) What is your dominant language: English or Spanish?
2) What is your self-identified gender?
3) What is your sexual orientation?
4) What is your age?
5) In what areas/countries would you place your Latinx heritage?

III. Participants

Ten straight male native speakers of Caribbean Spanish ages 17-29 participated in the perception part of the study. Straight men were selected to participate in this study because of research on homophobic slurs having impact by "indicating transgressive gender behavior" regardless of sexual orientation (La Fountain-Stokes 2007). All participants currently reside in colleges around the United States with the vast majority residing within the Miami-Dade County, Florida metropolitan area. Those not residing in the Miami-Dade County area reside on college campuses in Saint Paul, Minnesota, Ripon, Wisconsin or Los Angeles, California for their undergraduate studies. Two participants were foreign born in Barranquilla, Colombia and Caracas, Venezuela, however, they moved to the Miami, Florida at a young age.

Table 3.1 - Native Caribbean Spanish/Miami English listeners' demographic information

Participant/Listener	Heritage Region
LATX1	Caracas, Venezuela
LATX2	Matanzas, Cuba
LATX3	San Juan, Puerto Rico
LATX4	Pinar del Rio, Cuba
LATX5	Cartagena, Colombia
LATX6	Havana, Cuba
LATX7	Caracas, Venezuela
LATX8	Güines, Cuba
LATX9	Barranquilla, Colombia

LATX10	Havana, Cuba

IV. Methodology

A. Perception Task

Listeners were asked to evaluate each slur phrase in both their natural insult intonation as produced by native speakers of Miami English and Caribbean Spanish as well as to evaluate manipulations of each segment to have the insult intonation of the opposite language. For example, each phrase would be evaluated as two tokens: the first token would be the naturally produced slur construction and the second token would be a Praat pitch manipulated version of it with opposite language intonation. Each of the tokens were randomly situated in the survey in order to avoid bias of the slurs being compared directly to each other in adjacent presentation.

B. Survey Questions

For each audio file containing the slur or semantically-unrelated word constructions, there was a set of three questions for the participants to answer about their reaction and evaluation of the speech signal they just heard. The questions asked were embedded after each audio file in the online questionnaire and numbered to reference which audio file they had to click. The questions

following each audio file are provided below with the possible answers provided

for them for the participants to choose from:

Question 1) Does this sound like directed anger?

○	○	○
1	2	3

1- Doesn't seem like intended to be an insult
3- Intended to be a direct insult

Question 2) Can you imagine someone using this manner of speaking to

insult someone passing by on the street?

□ Yes

□ No

Question 3) In which contexts would you use this with friends?

□ At soccer

□ As a joke

□ In the bar

□ At work

□ Other _____

Overall, these particular questions were chosen in order to capture different aspects of the study. Question (1): Does this sound like directed anger?, has responses based on a linear scale from 1 - doesn't seem like intended to be an insult to 3- intended to be a direct insult. Directed anger was chosen in the question to first capture whether the intent of the speech act was to be negative in a hurtful manner directed at the speaker's actions. Using insult in the responses allowed for the investigator to test whether the listener found the particular usage of this speech act to be offensive. Question (2) Can you imagine someone using this manner of speaking to insult someone passing by on the street? had two possible responses: yes or no. This question was asked more to identify whether the style, particularly intonation during the delivery, made an impact in whether the speech act seemed plausible to the listener as a slur or directed insult. Question (3), In which contexts would you use this with friends?, was asked based on research denoting soccer, jokes, bars and works as places where masculinities are negotiated. The "other" option in question 3 was present in order for participants to provide additional contexts under which these slurs or words would be used in order to understand the exact domains of speech for these homophobic slurs in English and Spanish and where they have become normalized or not normalized in usage.

4. Results & Discussion

I. Survey Results

    A. The results for **Question 1** (Does this sound like directed anger?) are provided below along with a breakdown of the response categories along the linear scale and the sentence type the response is related to:

	Slur Intonation			Manipulated (Opposite Language Intonation)		
LINEAR SCALE:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**3**
	Doesn't seem like intended to be an insult:	**Neutral**	**Intended to be directed anger:**	**Doesn't seem like intended to be an insult:**	**Neutral**	**Intended to be directed anger:**
	English-dominant					
"hey faggot"	0%	16.6%	83.3%	0%	66.6%	33.3%
"hey homo"	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
"hey fairy"	0%	0%	100%	0%	50%	50%
"hey buddy"	66.6%	33.3%	0%	100%	0%	0%
"hey pencil"	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	83.3%	16.6%	0%
"oye	0%	33.3%	66.6%	0%	83.3%	16.6%

maricón"						
"oye puto"	0%	33.3%	66.6%	50%	33.3%	16.6%
"oye mariposa"	16.6%	50%	33.3%	16.6%	83.3%	0%
"oye niño"	50%	50%	0%	83.3%	16.6%	0%
"oye tío"	100%	0%	0%	83.3%	16.6%	0%
"oye abuela"	66.6%	33.3%	0%	66.6%	33.3%	0%
Spanish-dominant						
"hey faggot"	0%	50%	50%	75%	25%	0%
"hey homo"	25%	50%	25%	25%	50%	25%
"hey fairy"	0%	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
"hey buddy"	75%	25%	0%	75%	25%	0%
"hey pencil"	0%	100%	0%	75%	25%	0%
"oye maricón"	0%	25%	75%	0%	100%	0%
"*oye puto*"	25%	0%	75%	25%	75%	0%
"*oye mariposa*"	25%	50%	25%	0%	75%	25%
"*oye niño*"	75%	25%	0%	100%	0%	0%
"*oye tío*"	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
"*oye abuela*"	75%	25%	0%	100%	0%	0%

For the English-language slurs, Spanish-dominant speakers seemed to not be as likely whether in the natural or manipulated phrases to indicate them as intended to be directed anger (3) and when it was manipulated to Spanish-language intonation, almost never with the only slur receiving this rating being "hey homo" by 25% of the participants. Spanish-dominant speakers also didn't rank English-language slurs as highly in natural intonation phrases as did English-dominant speakers. 50% of Spanish-dominant speakers ranked "hey faggot" as intended to be directed anger (3), 25% of speakers for "hey homo" and 50% of speakers for "hey fairy. 83.3% of English-dominant speakers ranked "hey faggot" as intended to be directed anger (3), 100% of speakers for "hey homo" and 100% of speakers for "hey fairy." For manipulated segments, 0% of Spanish-dominant speakers ranked "hey faggot" as (3) - intended to be directed anger, 25% of speakers for "hey homo" and 0% of speakers for "hey fairy." For the English-dominant speakers in these manipulated segments, 33.3% ranked "hey faggot" as intended to be directed anger (3), 100% for "hey homo," and 50% for "hey fairy." While for English-dominant speakers there does seem to be a shift in identification of the segment of the words as a directed slur or directed insult when opposite language intonation is used, the word "homo" does not follow this pattern. It is possible that this word is socially unacceptable to be said in all contexts in this speech community removed from the intonational pattern. The semantic content itself may have a high semantic association with offensiveness

that the other words do not carry even when manipulated with intonation. For Spanish-dominant speakers, there also seems to be a slight shift in identification of English-language slurs with opposite language intonation, however the effect appears to be less. Overall, less frequent categorization of these words in either intonational pattern with the highest ranking (3) - intended to be directed anger, may indicate that for Spanish-dominant speakers, English-language slurs have less emotional weight or carry less offensive semantic impact.

For Spanish-language slurs, Spanish-dominant speakers often indicated manipulated slurs to be less insulting with the exception of one word (*mariposa*) and natural intonation slurs were often indicated with the highest ranking of insult. In natural slur intonation, 75% of Spanish-dominant speakers ranked "*oye maricón*" with the highest ranking (3) - intended to be directed anger, 75% of speakers for "*oye puto*" and 25% of speakers for "*oye mariposa*." The word *mariposa* in this case may be less tied to directed insult and direct offensiveness. Those speakers who did not indicate these phrases with the highest ranking may also be used to cultural normalization of these words in multiple contexts and may not have perceived them as personally directed or insulting. For manipulated segments, 0% of speakers ranked "*oye maricón*" with the highest ranking (3) - intended to be directed anger, 10% of speakers for "*oye puto*" and 25% of speakers for "*oye mariposa*." For English-dominant speakers listening to natural insult intonations, 66.6% of speakers ranked "*oye maricón*" with the highest ranking (3) - intended to be directed anger, 66.6% of speakers for "*oye puto*" and

33.3% of speakers for "*oye mariposa*." The word "*mariposa*" for English- and

Spanish-dominant speakers seems to have a less directed emotional impact overall

even within these natural insult intonation contexts. For English-dominant

speakers and Spanish-dominant speakers, the usage of natural slur intonation does

seem to generate a higher emotional ranking than using a manipulated opposite

language intonation pattern. However, the word "*mariposa*" for English- and

Spanish-dominant speakers is not identified as often with the highest emotional

ranking (3) - intended to be directed anger. This word may have a special

relationship with normalization as a non-slur and more of a casual (but possibly

still offensive) speech form.

For English-language and Spanish-language semantically-unrelated words,

Spanish-dominant speakers and English-dominant speakers never identified any

segments as (3) - intended to be directed anger. Because these words normally do

not exist in insulting contexts, it may be unusual for speakers to hear these words

using slur intonation from either language. The only case where some change

seemed to be made for using a different intonational pattern was the

Spanish-language slur "*oye niño*." For English-dominant speakers, the word with

the natural slur intonation was identified 50% of the time with ranking (1) -

doesn't seem like intended to be an insult and 50% of the time with ranking (2) -

neutral. In the manipulated segment, 83.3% of the participants ranked the segment

with ranking (1). Because this noticeable shift does not exist for many of the other

semantically-unrelated segments it seems as though insult intonation may be tied

to slurs themselves, however, slurs can be used in other intonational environments in ways that don't seem to be portrayed as insults. Therefore, it seems as though the semantic content as well as the slur intonation are both necessary in the creation of insults in this bilingual, bicultural community.

B. The results for **Question 2** (Can you imagine someone using this manner of speaking to insult someone passing by on the street?) are provided below along with a breakdown of the response categories and the sound file the response is related to:

	Slur Intonation		Manipulated (Opposite Lg. Intonation)	
	Yes	*No*	*Yes*	*No*
	Spanish-dominant			
"hey faggot"	100%	0%	0%	100%
"hey homo"	75%	25%	50%	50%
"hey fairy"	75%	25%	25%	75%
"hey buddy"	0%	100%	0%	100%
"hey pencil"	25%	75%	0%	100%
"oye maricón"	100%	0%	25%	75%
"oye puto"	75%	25%	50%	50%
"oye mariposa"	75%	25%	75%	25%
"oye niño"	25%	75%	0%	100%

"oye tío"	0%	100%	0%	100%
"oye abuela"	0%	100%	0%	100%
	English-dominant			
"hey faggot"	100%	0%	66.6%	33.3%
"hey homo"	100%	0%	100%	0%
"hey fairy"	100%	0%	100%	0%
"hey buddy"	0%	100%	16.6%	83.3%
"hey pencil"	16.6%	83.3%	16.6%	83.3%
"oye maricón"	100%	0%	66.6%	33.3%
"oye puto"	100%	0%	66.6%	33.3%
"oye mariposa"	66.6%	33.3%	66.6%	33.3%
"oye niño"	66.6%	33.3%	33.3%	66.6%
"oye tío"	0%	100%	0%	100%
"oye abuela"	50%	50%	16.6%	83.3%

For Spanish-dominant participants, English-language slurs with manipulated intonation to match the Spanish pattern were often marked as "no" for the question "can you imagine someone using this manner of speaking to insult someone passing by on the street?" 100% of Spanish-dominant participants marked "no" for "hey faggot," 50% of participants for "hey homo" and 100% of participants for "hey fairy." In the natural slur intonation segments for English-language slurs, Spanish-dominant participants predominantly marked "yes" as an answer to "can you imagine someone using this manner of speaking to insult someone passing by on the street?" 100% of

Spanish-dominant participants marked "yes" for "hey faggot," 75% for "hey homo," and 75% for "hey fairy." For Spanish-dominant speakers it may seem completely out of place to hear English words in this Spanish insult intonation pattern and they may not often participate in this intonational code switching. This is supported by their responses to natural Spanish intonation and manipulations as well. For Spanish-language slurs in natural intonation, Spanish participants often marked "yes" for the question "can you imagine someone using this manner of speaking to insult someone passing by on the street?" 100% of participants for "*oye maricón*," 75% of participants for "*oye puto*" and 75% of participants for "*oye mariposa*." For Spanish-language slurs with manipulated intonation, 75% of participants marked "no" for "*oye maricón*," 50% for "*oye puto*" and 25% for "*oye mariposa*." *"Oye mariposa"* received the same amount of speakers marking "yes" for it existing in a context where someone would insult another person on the street in both the natural intonation and manipulated intonation presentation. For Spanish-dominant participants, English-language semantically-unrelated words received mostly the response "no" in response to the question "can you imagine someone using this manner of speaking to insult someone passing by on the street?" 25% of participants indicated they would be able to perceive "hey pencil" in this context. Because "pencil" may be imagined as an evaluative comment on weight or appearance it may be the case that this example was misconstrued as a possible joke or directed evaluative insult. In manipulated intonation forms, none of the English-language semantically-unrelated words were marked with "yes" in response to the question. For Spanish-dominant participants, Spanish-language semantically-unrelated words almost all were ranked by

100% of participants as "no" in response to the question "can you imagine using this manner of speaking to insult someone passing by on the street?" The word "*niño*," the exception, could be in some cases be directed at anger towards a child's action which might trigger a pitch contour similar to what would be used to directly insult someone in a street context.

For English-dominant participants, English-language slurs were often marked as "yes" for the question "can you imagine someone using this manner of speaking to insult someone passing by on the street?" regardless of whether in slur or manipulated intonation. 100% of participants marked "yes" for "hey faggot," 100% for "hey homo" and 100% for "hey fairy" in natural slur intonation for English. 66.6% of participants marked "yes" for "hey faggot," 100% for "hey homo" and 100% for "hey fairy" in manipulated slur intonation that matched the Spanish pattern. This change in the word "faggot" may be somewhat related to the fact that the word itself does not fit phonological constraints in Spanish while the other two words could more easily be adapted into that phonological system. However, it's unclear the exact reasoning for why this word is not identified as often as being plausible in a street insult context. For English-dominant participants regardless of the intonational shift there might be a strong semantic weight in these words that carries beyond the intonational shift. For English-dominant participants, Spanish-language slurs more often received the answer "yes" for the question "can you imagine someone using this manner of speaking to insult someone passing by on the street?" when presented in the natural language intonation for Spanish. 100% of participants for "*oye maricón*," 100% of participants for "*oye puto*,"

66.6% of participants for "*oye mariposa*." When manipulated, all three of the slurs received the answer "yes" for 66.6% of the participants. *Mariposa* in both English- and Spanish- dominant speakers provides an interesting case in that its identification stayed the same for speakers regardless of language dominance. This word may also be semantically removed enough from intonation that its meaning does require the extra performance of intonation in order to convey its intended message. For English-language participants, English semantically-unrelated words were not often marked with the answer "yes" in response to "can you imagine someone using this manner of speaking to insult someone passing by on the street?" For natural slur segments, 100% of participants marked "yes" for "hey buddy" and 83.3% for "hey pencil." As mentioned earlier, because "pencil" may be perhaps in certain cases be evaluative rather than descriptive as it was intended this may have caused some participants to claim it to be possible in an insulting street context. Spanish semantically-unrelated words were more often indicated to be plausible in this insulting context. 16.6% of participants for "*oye abuela*" and 33.3% of participants for "*oye niño*" marked "yes" in response to the question "can you imagine someone using this manner of speaking to insult someone passing by on the street?" Because this manner of speaking to directly insult someone seems plausible in Latinx family household structures where respect is highly valued, it may be that these two family member terms may receive these intonation contours when their attention or scolding is needed.

    C. The results for Question 3 (In which contexts would you use this with friends?) are provided below indicating all the environments under which

participants identified they would use each slur. Participants were allowed to choose multiple responses so the count reflects the percentage of participants that selected each individual response:

Slur:	Percentages of respondents that selected each response:
puto	At soccer, 40%; As a joke, 30%; In the bar, 30%; Other: (Never, 30%; At home, 10%)
mariposa	At soccer, 30%; As a joke, 30%; In the bar, 20%, Other: (Never, 40%; At home, 10%)
maricón	As a joke, 80%; At soccer, 70%; In the bar, 30%
faggot	As a joke, 40%; In the bar, 10%; At soccer, 10%; Other: (Never: 40%; At home, 10%)
homo	As a joke, 40%; At soccer, 20%; In the bar, 20%, Other: (Never: 40%)
fairy	As a joke, 30%; In the bar, 20%; At soccer, 20%; At work, 20%, Other: (Never, 50%)

The most common responses for each slur are provided above. No participants indicated different responses for each slur with varied intonation. This shows that intonation was not a factor in determining the domains of discourse where specific slur constructions would be used with English- or Spanish-language intonation regardless of the words themselves. However, cultural acceptability of where these slurs can occur is evident in these responses. In English, these slurs seem to either be indicated as

unacceptable as in with "fairy" receiving the response "never" for 37.5% of the respondents, or as a joke for 50% of the respondents for "faggot" and homo" and 37.5% of participants for "fairy." Often times in English, speakers may use these terms not in an effort to "disparage a group" but rather in a joking context that doesn't understand the pragmatic awareness of it being insulting to certain speakers (Cashman 2012).This may indicate why certain words may acceptable in joking In English, these slurs not being used to directly insult someone but rather as insensitive word choice that could be classified as impoliteness but not as directed hate speech despite the societal impact (Cashman 2012). In Spanish, speakers seem to indicate slurs as either acceptable in joking environments or soccer environments (Gutmann 2003). 50% of speakers indicated "*puto*" and "*mariposa*" as being acceptable in soccer environments as well as 60% of speakers for "*maricón*." 60% of speakers indicated "*maricón*" and 50% indicated "mariposa" as being acceptable as a joke. This high prevalence of soccer environments being associated with these homophobic terms may be due to the rigidity of masculinity with soccer in Latin America. As "the world of football is exclusively masculine" these gender performances where players attempt to relegate each other to the feminine social position reflect a ritual where masculinity is in flux and speakers are attempting to establish the *machista* masculine dominance.

5. Conclusion, Limitations & Future Directions

Using bilingualism as a means of studying whether insult intonation in multilingual communities differs is particularly interesting in a community that has been shown to prefer English- or Spanish-language intonation depending on social groups, life experience, or attachment to Cuban or greater Caribbean Latinx identity (Alvord 2010). Because of language dominance with these participants being dependent on language spoken at home, different domains of discourse are at play in determining the degree of normalization some of the speakers may have in relation to these phrases. When separating out the results for language dominance in studying the intonation manipulations for specific segments, it seems as though Spanish-dominant speakers did not rank English-language slurs as highly in natural slur intonation as did English-dominant speakers. 50% of Spanish-dominant speakers ranked "hey faggot" as intended to be directed anger as opposed to 83.3% for English-dominant speakers. Spanish-dominant speakers in this case may have a higher amount of interaction within their social group with Spanish-language intonation patterns that have influenced their perceptions of insult intonation. For Spanish-language slurs in natural intonation, 75% of Spanish-dominant speakers ranked "*maricón*" and "*puto*" with the highest ranking while only 25% of speakers marked "*mariposa*" with the highest ranking. Anthropological scholars of the Hispanic Caribbean have noted that terms referring to homosexuality that are animal-based have a "softer, less aggressive charge" (La Fountain-Stokes 2007, p. 202) which is reflected here in the reactions of the participants. The word "*mariposa*" here however for English- and Spanish-dominant speakers seems to be less emotionally impactful possibly due to this difference in type of slur. However, it is interesting that a

typologically similar word used in English such as "fairy" does not have the same results. 100% of English-dominant speakers and 50% of Spanish-dominant speakers gave "fairy" the ranking 3 (intended to be directed anger). This may be due to the fact that slurs in Spanish have different emotional depending on the implication of sexual passivity. The results for Spanish-dominant speakers also show that perhaps this typological distinction may hold for some bilingual speakers if they are dominant in Spanish were this distinction exists. In manipulated segments, English-dominant and Spanish-dominant speakers did not seem to have any sort of reaction overall to the words as being offensive. However, one interesting result that seemed to appear is the word "homo" which seems to have a semantic relationship to offensiveness regardless of the intonation. Findings regarding shifts in the offensiveness ranking of slurs in manipulated segments provides evidence against the "pure expressivist" analysis of slurs that indicates a salient offensiveness is encoded within the slur that is divorced from the speech act itself (Croom 2014). As results have shown a shift in emotional response based on intonational change, it is clear that the speech act is not judged by a listener just based on the semantic content. While some words such as "homo" do have a heavy semantic weight regardless of intonation, it is clear that not all slurs carry this weight without the accompanied intonation and entire context of a linguistic performance. In revisiting these questions, it is important to note that phrasing may have played a role in the perception and interpretation of these questions. The use of both "directed anger" and "insult" in both questions may have affected how the listeners were interpreting the appropriate context of usage for these slurs. In the future it may be necessary to separate out these questions

to see where "insult" or "directed anger" produce different results in relative offensiveness or aggression.

Many of the participants' responses in this study--50% for *puto, mariposa, faggot* and *homo*, 60% for *maricón*, and 37.5% for fairy-- indicated that they would use these words in a joking context meaning that the inherent offensiveness is stripped away in these comedic environments where the speech act changes the intention and usage of the slur from one that would be used in an insulting street harassment context. For Spanish-language slurs such as puto, mariposa and *maricón*, speakers also often chose soccer as a common realm of discourse where these words would be used by them. In these environments, the slurs operate as identity markers that assist in the renegotiation of masculinity in an environment where dominance is highly in flux (Gutmann 2003). Because of the phrasing of question 3 using the pronoun "you", it may also be indicating personal usage rather than a general conceptual usage of these homophobic slurs. Leaving the question to be more open ended and not restricted to amongst "friends" may also allow people to better conceptualize how they would use this regardless of their relationship to the interlocutor. While the element of offensiveness may exist in these environments, the usage is more based on peer-based group membership establishment rather than directed usage which may indicate a different semantic content altogether. A hybrid approach to the semantic understanding of slurs for the results in this study is necessitated by the fact that speakers sometimes can divorce the hateful intonation from the hateful word and recognize that the intonation itself has harmful qualities, however,

sometimes these words do carry this heavy semantic content that is inherently offensive regardless of the delivery or prosodic environment in the speech act itself.

Overall, analysis of slurs within this complex speech community raises multiple questions that can be addressed in future studies trying to design the best way to gauge the emotional impact of these speech acts. While the insult intonation pattern was consistently produced with an L- prenuclear pitch accent for Caribbean Spanish, more data should be collected to make a more comprehensive generalization on how slur intonation patterns in this dialect. It may also be the case with the H* prenuclear pitch accent for Miami English and therefore a production study would have to study these two varieties in isolation while also taking into account how language dominance and dual proficiency may come into play in a standardized intonational system with an environment that has such prevalent language contact. The naturalness of the context also raises the question whether an acted slur has the same intonation that would occur in an actual street harassment environment. While studying intonation in this setting would be difficult in this sort of live-action setting, it may be necessary to expand the number of speakers to see if the phonological intuition of our producers stays consistent for most speakers of the community.

As all speakers in the present study are straight, it would be interesting to see how much these results would differ for gay speakers. Because of a polarized Latinx gender hierarchy consisting of passive recipients and active inserters (Kulick 1997), it may be necessary to separate these two groups and see whether the *activo* (penetrative partner) gay men have similar results to these straight speakers and whether their active role has

socialized them to be less emotionally reactive to these slurs similar to straight men. As with the linguistic constructions and negotiations of masculinity within the Latinx context, straight men play an interesting role in analyzing their reactions for these slurs. While they are positioned at the top of the Latin American sexual hierarchy (Kurtz 1999), there are instances where usage of these slurs forces them to relinquish power and renegotiate their dominance such as within soccer-related environments (Gutmann 2003). Because it seems that those men still seem to be triggered by these constructions even when they are not personally being exposed to a context where they are being targeted; I also would like to explore in future research how the emasculation process is offensive to all Latinx men because of this strictly bound gender hierarchy built within the culture. It would also be interesting to see how social network density in relation to liberal and queer communities affects these results. A question could be added to this study that evaluates whether having queer friends would affect the usage of these slurs in an attempt to appear more politically correct or accepting of queer peers. A review of men of all sexual orientations would reveal whether different positions within the gender hierarchy of Latinx masculinities would create different relationships to each of the individual words and level of comfort with hearing slur intonation in accompaniment with this homophobic semantic content.

The use of semantically-unrelated words rather than nonsense words also raises the question as to whether the intonation or the words themselves were manipulated by insults. Perhaps a study with nonsense words and slur-based intonation could reveal whether just the intonation is ever coded as offensive or insulting. Using an artificial flat

intonation for the portrayal of homophobic slurs could also indicate whether language-specific insult intonation is required for these slurs or whether speakers were evaluating whether it is natural for them to hear opposite-language intonation in these contexts. Overall, this study contributes to a literature that has disagreed on the semantic positioning of slurs. While a larger sample size and some editing of the questions could provide a better overview of how this straight Latinx community deals with perceptions of these speech acts, trends indicating that both intonation and semantic content matter in the perception of slurs indicate an expressivist and descriptive analysis of slurs are both necessary moving forward in understanding slur speech acts. Differences in the typology of slurs in Spanish also may indicate cultural differences in Latinx contexts where only some words are used by straight men to challenge their masculinity and are therefore more insulting rather than describing some general feminine qualities as with "*mariposa.*" The speech community of Miami's case of stable and prestigious native bilingualism must be studied further in the sociolinguistic and phonological literature because of all the unique features found in this region due to the different political and social opportunities available for Spanish-speaking Americans unavailable to others in the United States.

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7. Acknowledgements