Language and Queer Women's Identity in Taiwan

Thesis

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Abstract

Taiwan is known for having some of the most advanced LGBT rights and vibrant LGBT culture in East Asia. Communities of queer women, from the birth of T-*po* bar culture in the 1960s to the feminist movements of the 1990s to the present day, have played a key role in the development of LGBT Taiwan. This thesis examines the language use of queer women in contemporary Taiwan, examining how they use labels to construct individual and group identity and the beliefs they hold about queer women's language use.

This thesis surveyed 84 queer women from across Taiwan. Though labels such as *tongxinglian* "homosexual" and *tongzhi* "comrade" were used by a large proportion of respondents, no single label emerged as a unifying umbrella for queer women's identities. Respondents were generally ambivalent towards labels: follow-up interviews with seven survey respondents revealed that participants used labels in their own speech, but did not report using them to refer to themselves when not directly asked. Some participants associated label usage with queer people who identified more actively with their sexual orientations and engaged to a greater extent with the LGBT community. All interview participants reported revealing their sexual orientations to some people in their lives, though not all reported directly coming out. Participants instead utilized strategies of directness and indirectness and decided strategically whether and to what extent to identify themselves with the queer community when expressing their sexual orientations.

The survey also revealed weaker stereotypes about queer women's language than men's: though some respondents believed queer women to speak in a more masculine way and have differences in tone and intonation, respondents generally relied on a shared cultural lexicon to identify other queer women.

Dedication

Dedicated to my friends, family, and everyone who has

encouraged me to keep learning.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Six years ago, I was an intermediate Mandarin student living and studying in Beijing. After spending several months there, I had grown comfortable with the question-and-answer small talk that accompanied meeting new people— explaining where I came from, why I was in China, and my basic opinions on the current hot-button American political issues in Chinese had become second nature to me. But it was on a visit to a gay bar where I was met with a question that stumped me. My friends and I had just sat down with a group of Chinese students from another university when one of the girls turned to me and asked: "Are you P or T?"

I could comprehend the question, if only because "P" and "T" appear in the search results of the popular Chinese-English dictionary app *Pleco.* As soon as you type the letters "p" or "t" into the search bar, they stand out in the capitalized Latin alphabet on top of a list of Chinese characters. In that moment, however, the simple definitions "femme (lesbian stereotype)" and "butch (lesbian stereotype)" did not suffice. Sure, I wore my hair short and bought clothes from the men's section, but I realized in that moment that despite being armed with a dictionary definition, I had no idea what calling myself T, or for that matter P, would mean to my interlocutor. What assumptions would she make about my personality, who I date, how I think about my gender and sexuality? I mumbled a noncommittal answer and the conversation moved on, but that interaction stuck with me.

I had felt in that moment what sociolinguists have written about for decades: a sentence carries far more than the meaning of its words. We use language to organize ourselves into social groups and express identities within or apart from those groups. Research has certainly borne this out for the English-speaking LGBT community, but the linguistic world of Chinese-speaking

queer women is almost completely unexplored. This thesis aims to crack open that door by examining the linguistic beliefs and practices of queer women in Taiwan, beginning particularly with their label usage and language stereotypes. Specifically, I aim to examine the ways in which labels are used to construct the individual and communal identities of queer women in Taiwan, asking the questions: which labels are used, how are they defined and thought about, and how do they serve to create identification and difference between people. I also aim to investigate what queer women believe about their own speech: is queer women's speech unique or identifiable, and how do queer women use speech to identify themselves and each other. Through examining these questions, this thesis hopes to demonstrate that the Taiwanese queer women surveyed construct their individual and group identities through a careful balancing of outness and concealment, clarity and indirectness, and similarity and difference to other queer people. To fully discuss the linguistic beliefs and practices of queer women, however, first necessitates a framework for gender, sexual orientation, and linguistic research thereof.

1.1 Sexuality and Gender

The understanding of sexual orientation as an identity category is generally dated back to the turn of the 19th century. This genealogy of sexuality was pioneered in Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (1976/1978), generally treated as an origin point for queer theory. From the beginning, sexuality is inseparable from language, with discourse serving as the link between the two. Arguing against the "repressive hypothesis" that following the 17th century discussion of sex was silenced (4), Foucault writes that during the 18th century sex was "regulat[ed] through useful and public discourses" (25)— in other words, sex was controlled not by being silenced, but by being talked about. Foucault argues that it was the medical discourses of the late 1800s that brought "the homosexual" into existence as a type of person (43), in contrast to earlier

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discourses in which sodomy was considered an abnormal sexual behavior comparable to adultery and other ways in which the rules of marriage and sexual norms of the time could be broken (42). This modern conception of sexual orientation essentially divides people into identity categories based on the gender of their sexual object choice— a framework that is now fundamental to social organization but is only one of various individual differences in the ways in which people engage in sexual activity (Sedgwick 1990: 8).

Eve Sedgwick (1990) argues for the centrality of the closet, or issues of secrecy and divulsion, in understanding modern gay culture and issues surrounding homosexuality (68)— after all, even the most open gay person will at times encounter situations in which they choose to be in the closet or find themselves thrust into it. The closet, however, is not a straightforward matter of either hiding or revealing one's sexuality. Silence is as much a speech act and a performance as openness, and the speech act of coming out does not necessarily entail the revealing of any new information (3-4). Sedgwick additionally argues that what she calls "homo/heterosexual definition" is fundamental in understanding the structure of 20th century Western thought and culture as a whole, rather than of exclusive interest to gay people (1), thus emphasizing the great discursive importance of both silence/secrecy and divulsion.

Foucault's and Sedgwick's work investigates mainly male sexuality and does little to take gender into account. However, when analyzing women's speech and identities, particularly when gendered lesbian sub-identities like T and P are in play, I am of the opinion that an analysis of gender is necessary.

Theories of gender can largely be divided into three types. The first is the assumption of a natural binary system in which sex is biological and identical to gender. This idea was challenged as early as the writings of Simone de Beauvoir, who famously stated that "one is not

born, but rather becomes, woman" (1949/2011: 330). She goes on to argue that despite differences in biology male and female children are, on a psychological level, fundamentally the same, with gendered differences emerging from the different ways in which children are treated. Gayle Rubin furthers this theory with her proposal of the sex/gender system (1975: 159), which argues that biological sex is transformed into gender through the Oedipal crisis and kinship exchange (198). Butler, however, contests this neat distinction between sex and gender, proposing sex only gains meaning through processes of gendering (1990: 11). Gender is in Butler's view performative, the result of a "stylized repetition of acts" including bodily gesture, movement, and style (179). These acts do not represent gender, but constitute it completely. Butler is careful to distinguish that gender is not fully imposed from the exterior, as it is performed by the individual, but nor does the individual have full agency in performing gender, as gender exists within the limits of a culture which regulates and controls how it can be performed (1988: 526-528).

1.2. Sociolinguistic Framework

This thesis examines the language use of queer Taiwanese women through a third-wave sociolinguistic framework. Third-wave sociolinguistics takes identity as emergent from linguistic practice. This framework is particularly apt for the investigation of language and gender/sexuality because it draws on similar theories of performativity to those used in Judith Butler's writing about gender (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 588). Third-wave sociolinguistics also examines identity beyond large-scale demographic categories such as class, race, and gender, encompassing both locally specific categories and temporary, interactionally specific identities and roles (592).

Sociolinguistics has long examined the relationship between linguistic variables and social identity. William Labov (1972: 178-180) identified three different roles that a variable can play in indicating a social identity. An indicator is a variable that indicates membership in a given group but is not used in stylistic variation and occurs below the level of social awareness. A marker is a variable that invokes a certain response within the community and shows stylistic variation, but still may not be consciously identified by speakers. A stereotype is a form that is known and commented on. Labov associates stereotypes with extreme stigmatization of the impacted linguistic forms and suggests that variables that have become stereotypes may vanish from use, while the stereotype remains. However, stigmatization is not necessary for the emergence of stereotypes. Johnstone et al.'s (2006: 93-96) description of the enregisterment of Pittsburgh English describes the achievement of third order indexicality (their equivalent to the status of "stereotype") for this variety as occurring due to increases in geographic and social mobility of working-class Pittsburghers during and after World War II, leading to an increase in awareness of their own ways of speaking. Though stigmatization was one outcome of this process, linguistic curiosity and local identity and pride also contributed to the establishment of stereotypes regarding Pittsburghese.

Under a third-wave sociolinguistic framework, linguistic variables are not considered to correspond cleanly with social identities. Rather, variables exist within fluid indexical fields, defined as "constellation[s] of ideologically related meaning" (Eckert 2008: 454). Variables are therefore often indirect in their indexing of social identities, especially in the case of gender (Ochs 1992: 340). It is rare to find variables that are exclusively used by one gender or another—instead, many linguistic variables index an affect or a speech act that then can index gender (341). One example is that of Japanese "women's language". What is commonly called

"women's language" in Japanese is a set of features that index traits such as "politeness, formality, empathy, soft-spokenness, indirectness, and nonassertiveness" (Okamoto 1995: 307). Women use these features in order to create a persona that aligns with the above traits, but are also able to draw on what is called "men's language" to create a different persona when the context calls for it (312).

The survey performed for this thesis primarily investigates labeling practices and linguistic beliefs of queer women in Taiwan. Labels are an important point of investigation because they are not only an explicit way to not only identify one's membership in a particular community, but to create one's identity as a member of that community (McConnell-Ginet 2003: 71). Labels are also one way of defining the boundaries of communities: the use of English-language labels such as gay, lesbian, and queer serves to distinguish their users from an opposite straight community (Murphy 1997: 43).

I use the term "stereotype" to refer to the set of beliefs held by participants about queer language. The set of linguistic indicators gathered are available for participants to comment on and use in evaluating others' sexuality. However, they are not necessarily proven to be reliable in their indication of sexual orientation or used more by queer than heterosexual speakers. An obvious reason to collect information about linguistic indicators of queerness is as a basis for further linguistic investigations of Taiwan's queer community. Many works on gay men's English have taken as a starting point commonly held stereotypes such as the idea that gay men speak "like women", use more of their pitch range, or lisp (Gaudio 1994, Linville 1998). Listener attitudes have been shown to mediate speech perception (Levon 2014: 559), so future studies on this group will necessitate an understanding of the linguistic preconceptions about them. Furthermore, collecting linguistic stereotypes about a group from within a group can reveal

information about the sociolinguistic construction of that group. Stereotypes do not simply exist within one individual's brain— like identities themselves, they are produced socially (Semin 2008: 13). An examination of language stereotypes can tell us about how Taiwanese queer women think about themselves and their community.

1.3. Language and Sexuality Research

With the exception of a handful of earlier books, often in dictionary form, discussing gay men's English (Livia and Hall 1997: 3), the field of language and sexuality emerged in the mid-1990s with edited volumes by Leap (1995) and Livia and Hall (1997). Many early works were inspired by Judith Bulter's theories of gender performativity, examining not only sexual orientation but also people who identified with various culturally specific non-normative gender categories (Hall et al. 2020: 8). Throughout the history of the field, however, studies of lesbian, bisexual, and otherwise same-sex attracted women have been relatively rare. *Beyond the Lavender Lexicon* (Leap 1995) features three articles primarily about lesbians. *Queerly Phrased* (Livia and Hall 1997) features five articles which primarily investigate queer women's speech. Except for two articles focused on European French, all of those articles, as well as the articles in those books which make reference to both queer men and women, investigate North American speakers of either English or ASL. When speakers of other, particularly non-Western, languages are included in the research, they almost exclusively take as their subjects gay men or members of culturally specific gender categories who engage sexually with men.

Though comparatively few in number, there have been some linguistic studies of queer women outside the Western world. Camp (2009) examined Japanese queer women's language and found that lesbian and bisexual women produced lower pitch (156) and fewer sentence-final particles (175) than straight women and that, though contrary to stereotype lesbian and bisexual

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speakers did not use the masculine first-person pronouns *boku* and *ore*, they did use the feminine first-person pronoun *atashi* less frequently than heterosexual speakers (93) Hall's (2009) ethnographic research on a New Delhi NGO serving queer women examines the complicated web of class, language, and gender/sexuality among both lesbians and "boys"— people assigned female at birth who identify with masculinity and desire relationships with women (140). Boys, associated with lower class and locality, used Hindi to express their locally mediated gender/sexual identities in opposition to the more upper class and globally oriented lesbians, who saw Hindi as vulgar language with which to discuss sexual orientation, limiting their conversations to English (142).

1.4. Chapters

This thesis is organized into six chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 will provide an overview of the linguistic framework of this study and the previous research on queer Chinese speakers. Chapter 3 will describe the methodology of the study, which was composed of both a survey and interviews. Chapter 4 will present the results of the survey portion of the study, and Chapter 5 will present the results of the interview portion. Chapter 6 integrates the findings of Chapters 4 and 5 and provides directions for further research.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

This chapter will provide an overview of the research that serves as a background for this project. It will begin by discussing the applicability of the theories of gender and sexuality discussed in Chapter 1 to the Taiwanese context. It will also examine prominent work on language and sexual orientation in the Chinese-speaking world and language and gender in Taiwan, concluding with a discussion of previous non-linguistic research on queer women in Taiwan.

2.1. Applying Gender Theory to Taiwan

All of the works on the construction of gender and sexuality mentioned in Chapter 1 are heavily grounded in Western history, literary theory, and culture. It is therefore important to question the extent to which they can be applied to a non-Western context such as that of Taiwan. It is impossible to adequately examine the dynamics of language, gender, and sexual orientation in Taiwan without taking the island's specific cultural and historical background into account. At the same time, Taiwan must be considered in a larger global context, in which Western ideas of gender and sexuality have been considerably influential. In the introduction to a special issue of *GLQ* entitled "Thinking Sexuality Transnationally", Elizabeth Povinelli and George Chauncey identify that "transnational sexual diasporas [are] transforming the politics and cultures of many nation states" (1999: 439). In that volume, Rofel (1999) writes that in China, "gay identities materialize in the articulation of transcultural practices with intense desires for cultural belonging" (453). In the introduction to the volume *Speaking in Queer Tongues*, Tom Boelstorff and William Leap make the key point that globalization should not be considered as a straightforward process of Westernization, nor should it be given moral value (2004: 6). We should not expect a single straightforward effect of globalization on gay language use— instead,

we should expect the spread of gay men's English (the topic of the volume) as well as broader Western ideas about sexuality to take on varied trajectories (7), resulting in hybridizations and a multiplication of discourses.

Tze-lan Sang (2003) makes a convincing argument for the partial applicability of Foucault's theories on the history of sexuality to the Chinese context. Sang notes that during the Republican era, many of the sexual science writings which played a pivotal role in the creation of Western discourses of homosexuality were translated into Chinese, often via Japan (99), leading to the coining of new scientific terms such as 同性戀愛 *tongxinglian'ai* "same-sex love". This word and its variants stand in contrast to previous terms such as 好男色 *hao nanse* "fond of having sex with men" and 磨鏡黨 *mo jing dang* "mirror-rubbing gang" (referencing a particular sexual act performed between women), which placed greater emphasis on sexual acts or desires (104). Even in this context, however, it is important not to assume too close an equivalency: unlike in the Western context, Republican discourses of sexual science did not create the concept of "the homosexual" as a person in China during that period. Same-sex love was considered to occur in certain types of situations, such as the girl's school, rather than in certain types of people (123).

Western discourses of sexual science also did not displace previous discourses on same-sex love, which tended to be categorized under the labels of friendship or sisterhood, but rather coexisted alongside them (Sang 2003: 17). Discourses of intimate, quasi-romantic same-sex relationships experienced by young women preceding their heterosexual marriages are identified by Sang as existing in Qing literature (50), before the onset of scientific discourses on homosexuality, and May Fourth literature (133), written during the period in which those discourses were coalescing. Continuations of these same discourses can be identified in

schoolgirl romances of post-Martial Law Taiwan and post-Mao China (Martin 2010: 26-27). The meanings of these discourses changed with time and context: during the Qing dynasty, relationships between women were written about as catalysts for a harmonious heterosexual marriage (Sang 2003: 51), while during the May Fourth era and onwards they were refashioned as a form of resistance to and escape from the patriarchal institution of heterosexual marriage (Sang 2003: 139, Martin 2010: 15).

Globalization has brought feminist and queer theory developed in the West to Taiwan. Taiwan's lesbian feminist movement was founded by academics who received education in feminist theory in the United States (Chao 2000: 384). These activists tended to align themselves politically with the U.S. while differentiating themselves from members of Taiwan's local T-*po* lesbian subculture (387). Therefore, the language use of Taiwan's queer population must be examined in a context of a global interchange of ideas and discourses in which Western sexual science and LGBT/feminist activism coexist with local discourses.

2.2. Language and Sexuality Research in East Asia

Linguistic studies of queer Chinese speakers are limited in number. Pan (2018) and Geng and Gu (2022) have approached the issue from a phonetic angle, with Pan examining a Taiwanese gay male talk show host's manipulation of pitch rage and Geng and Gu examining both the acoustic correlates of gay speech in Mandarin and listeners' ability to identify gay speakers. Others have approached the topic from a discourse perspective, including Shiau's (2015) investigation of linguistic stylization among a clique of Taiwanese gay men, Chen's (2022) investigation of gay men's humor on a Taiwanese LGBT talk show, and Freestone's (2023) investigation of discourse and identity work among gay men in Chengdu. Though focused

on gay men, these works illuminate important themes of gender playfulness, situatedness in local sociocultural contexts, and the role of language in identity formation.

Andrew Wong's extensive work on the word 同志 *tongzhi* (2005, 2008, 2015; Wong and Zhang 2000) has also illuminated the role of language and competing discourses in the formation of the LGBT community in Hong Kong. *Tongzhi*, literally translated as "comrade", was first appropriated as a term for the LGBT community in Hong Kong. It was first known to be used in the naming of the Hong Kong Gay and Lesbian Film Festival (香港同志影展 *Xianggang Tongzhi Dianying Zhan*) in 1989 (Wong 2005: 769). The term is often identified as a more locally oriented alternative to terms borrowed or translated from Western languages. The two alternatives, however, are not exclusive: in Chinese-language LGBT publications, terms and discourses translated from Western LGBT writing and local terms and discourses such as *tongzhi* and its associated Chinese revolutionary history have been observed to coexist (Wong and Zhang 2000: 256). Wong's 2015 paper about labeling practices in Hong Kong's lesbian community, unique among linguistic research on queer Chinese speakers for its focus on lesbians, found a split in labeling practices between activists, who used labels like *tongzhi*, and non-activists, who preferred to discuss sexual orientation without specific identity labels (35-36).

One of the most important discussions in linguistic (and other) investigations of Chinese-speaking queer people is the role of Western and Chinese culture (often conceived of as individualist and collective/Confucian, respectively) in the experience of Chinese-speaking queer people and the applicability of Western concepts such as "coming out" and even the labels of "gay" or "queer" to Chinese speakers' everyday lives. The work of Chou Wah-Shan is often taken as the extreme end of the cultural difference position. He argues that the idea of "coming out" is not only a product of modern Western LGBT movements but also an affirmation of

Western individualist values (Chou 2001: 32). He posits a Chinese notion of "going home", in which one integrates oneself as an LGBT person into both one's existing family networks and a larger *tongzhi* network (35). Bie and Tang (2016) utilize the concept of "coming out" while arguing that Chinese gay men's experiences of coming out are strongly determined by Chinese culture (363). Tan (2011) argues for Chou's notion of going home, defined more specifically as bringing a same-sex romantic partner to one's family home without explicitly introducing them as such, as the dominant form of revealing one's sexual orientation in Singapore and attributes this to Confucian values (880). However, he rejects the romanticization of Chinese tacitness and the concept of inherent linkages between coming out and Western individuality on the one hand and going home and Confucianism on the other (879).

Freestone (2023) goes further than Tan in critiquing this trend, seen among many authors, of positing two oppositional ways of being, "a spuriously universal *Western* and/or *individualist* approach… [and] a supposedly distinct *Chinese, relational* and/or *Confucian* one" (204). One possible critique of this approach can be found in the work on globalization and LGBT studies/linguistics cited in the previous section. Freestone's solution to this issue (with specific reference to the idea of coming out) is to "highlight the inherently shifting nature of queer visibility across situations, questioning the stability of notions like *Chinese* and *tongzhi*… and considering related issues in *discursive* terms, as opposed to the playing out of cultural inevitabilities" (208). Liu and Ding (2005) have a separate critique of Chou Wah-Shan's work, which contrasts Western homophobia with Chinese "reticent tolerance". They argue that not only is this an essentialist discourse that serves to reify simplistic notions of "China" and "the West" (39), but also that it flattens the complexity of ways in which reticence can be mobilized, particularly in service of homophobia (49).

I aim to follow Freestone in examining how varied discourses of homosexuality, some of which may be stereotypically associated with Western or Chinese culture, are manipulated by Taiwanese queer women. I do not wish to make any claims about fundamental differences between Western and Chinese ways of being queer or expressing queerness, but rather to evaluate the results of my investigation in their own context. For one, there is a great deal of cultural diversity within both the Western and Chinese-speaking worlds, and despite certain cultural commonalities, people from Taiwan, China, and Singapore, as well as people from different backgrounds within those countries, all deal with different social, cultural, and political factors when deciding how, when, and whether to express queerness.

Additionally, none of the papers cited above which attempt to differentiate Chinese ways of being queer from Western ones contain any new research on queer people from Western countries, relying instead on a combination of preconceived notions and, to a lesser extent, previous research. As early as 1999, researchers such as Siedman, Meeks and Trachen (1999) argued for a decreasing relevance of coming out of the closet to gay life in the United States (11). Though most of the people interviewed for their study had directly disclosed their sexual orientations to family members, when dealing with the broader world many of them integrated same-sex romantic partners into their lives in ways that are reminiscent of the strategies used by the Chinese and Singaporean subjects of Chou (2001) and Tan (2011). Though there are differences in the behaviors and beliefs of the American and East Asian subjects of these studies, and these differences are undoubtedly due to the contexts, cultural and otherwise, in which they live, when considered together these studies challenge the ability to draw a clear binary distinction between Western and Chinese ways of being queer.

2.3. Language and Gender Research in Taiwan

Studies of gendered language in Taiwan and the broader Chinese-speaking world provide key background for this research by explaining the gendered context in which women make linguistic choices. One of the earliest investigations of gendered language in Taiwan is Farris's (1991) article on language socialization in preschools, which found that the discourse of four to eight-year-old girls in same-sex peer groups was largely focused on the construction of social relationships on a familial model (215). Another early study found that Taiwanese female sports reporters used the second-person pronoun 你 *ni* less frequently than their male counterparts in television broadcasts (Kuo 2003: 489). Male reporters used *ni* to signal their knowledge, authority, and personal involvement, stances which were potentially less available to their female counterparts (492). Both compliments and compliment responses have been studied from a gendered perspective: women have been found to offer more compliments (though not to a significant degree) and to make more explicit compliments (Lin 2015: 63) and to respond to compliments with questioning rather than overt agreement or disagreement (Wang and Tsai 2003: 149). Chiang and Tsai's (2007) study of same-gender and cross-gender online interactions complicates straightforward statements of difference in language by gender. They found differences in the usage of sentence-final particles, intensifiers, code-switching, and emoticons in male-male and female-female speech. However, in cross-gender interaction, both men and women were found to accommodate to each other, with men using more sentence-final particles and intensifiers and women using fewer, essentially neutralizing gendered differences (428).

Su (2008) explains some of the ideologies behind women's language use in Taiwan through the concept of 氣質 *qizhi*, translated as "a refined disposition" (335). Women are expected to have *qizhi* in their speech, which can include speaking without profanity (344) and

speaking Mandarin (rather than Taiwanese) without a strong Taiwanese accent (349). *Qizhi* is associated with northern Taiwan—home to the capital, Taipei, and more heavily Mandarin speaking—rather than the more Taiwanese-dominant southern region (352). The concept of *qizhi* serves as a tool to regulate women's speech, especially that of well-educated, middle-class women (353).

The same author expands on the themes of region above with her examination of the word 台 *tai*, an adjective derived from the term 台客 *taike*, which refers to people with local, unsophisticated styles and behaviors, including linguistic behaviors (Su 2018: 29). The language variety most associated with the term *tai* is Taiwanese-accented Mandarin (37). *Tai* was found to be frequently used as a pejorative against women in celebrity news reports, which positioned it as the opposite of positive female traits such as the aforementioned *qizhi* (45). On the other hand, men were able to reclaim the word *tai* as a symbol of boldness, toughness, nonconformity, and local identity (48).

A final key concept in the investigation of Taiwanese gendered language is 撒嬌 *sajiao*, defined by Yueh (2017) as "a set of communicative acts that express the vulnerability and helplessness of the actor through imitating a child's immature behavior" in order to gain some sort of benefit from the interlocutor (2). *Sajiao* behaviors include but are not limited to the use of sentence-final particles, reduplication, and the use of intimate address forms (Yueh 2013: 161), as well as physical performances such as tilting the head, shrugging, and pouting (Yueh 2017: 84). Though associated with women's language, particularly directed at their male intimate partners, *sajiao* is in truth performed by a wide swath of people across Taiwanese society (83). It is, however, considered an essential tool for women (43), but despite this it is not equally available to all actors in Taiwanese society. Women who *sajiao* are expected to be young, pretty,

small and feminine, and the *sajiao* of women who do not meet these criteria may be responded to negatively (50). In this way, *sajiao*, like the concepts of *qizhi* and *tai* serves to regulate women's language use. Though little work has been done on the relationship between these three concepts and sexual orientation, second-language learners of Chinese have been found to perceive men performing *sajiao* as less heterosexual and women performing *sajiao* as more heterosexual than the same speakers not performing *sajiao* (Hardeman 2013: 114).

2.4. Queer Women in Taiwan

During the Ming and Qing dynasties, female same-sex intimacy was categorized under the labels of "friendship" or "sisterhood" (Sang 2003: 17). Besides explicit depictions of sex between women in pornography (67), most literary depictions of intimacy between women portrayed it as a prelude to a fulfilling heterosexual marriage (49). If the love between women was so strong that it impeded heterosexual marriage, the story would generally end in suicide (58).

Conceptions of female homosexuality in China changed during the Republican Era due to the importations of Western sexual science. At this time, various terms for homosexuality were translated into Chinese (Sang 2003: 101) and female-female sexual activity became viewed as a scientific phenomenon and a topic of debate among educated people, particularly the issue of same-sex behavior in schools (115). Though Taiwan was at this point under Japanese rule and not part of the same political entity as China, Japan played a key role in the importation of Western sexual science to China. This indicates that some of the same discourses may have been imported into Taiwan at the time before being again imported by the R.O.C. government and associated wave of immigrants from China.

Taiwan's lesbian culture originated in the 1960s with the opening of the first gay bars, called T-bars, in Taiwan. T-bars were frequented by working-class lesbians who categorized themselves as either T, originating from the English word "tomboy" and referring to women who bind their breasts, dress in a masculine manner, and even pursue gender-reassignment surgery; or P (also 婆 *po* "wife"), referring to women who present in a feminine manner (Chao 2000: 379-380). Another traditional venue for same-sex activity and cross-gender performance in Taiwan is all-female Taiwanese opera (歌仔戲 *kua-á-hì*) troupes (Silvio 1999: 586). These troupes, in which women play both male and female roles, are stereotypically associated with homosexuality. Unlike Ts, 小生 *sió-sing* (male role) actresses do not bind their breasts or otherwise attempt physical modification to appear more masculine, but instead take on the gestures and physical stances associated with these male roles. These onstage actions are often thought to transfer into the actress's personality and mannerisms offstage, and inversely women with more "masculine" personalities (but not appearances) are often chosen to play *sió-sing* roles (597). These cross-gender performers often have extremely enthusiastic female fans (587).

A second wave of lesbian culture originated after the end of martial law in 1987. In the early 1990s, students who had studied feminist theory in the United States founded the lesbian organization "Between Us". This second wave of lesbians distanced themselves from T-*po* culture, coining the term 不分 *bufen*, literally "does not differentiate" (translated by Chao as "unclassified") (Chao 2000: 384). They also referred to themselves with terms such as 酷兒 *ku'er*, a transliteration of the English "queer", and 同志 *tongzhi* (383).

Despite the rejection of traditional T-*po* culture by Taiwanese lesbian feminists, the terms still have currency in Taiwan's broader lesbian community. Lesbian websites and dating apps ask users to categorize themselves on a T-*po* scale, listing *bufen* as the option in between T and

P, as well as options for 不分偏T *bufen pian T* "T-aligned *bufen*" and 不分偏婆 *bufen pian po* "*po*-aligned *bufen*" (Hu 2017: 92), turning what was previously a binary, relational system into a continuum of gender presentation.

Since the end of martial law, Taiwan has become known as a center of LGBT culture and LGBT rights in Asia, having not only LGBT organizations but also bookstores and publishers, magazines, online radio stations, and pride parades (Chen 2016: 241-242). Taiwan also has a history of queer literature—the most famous lesbian writer in Taiwan, Qiu Miaojin, is credited with the coining of the term 拉子 *lazi* as a label for lesbians, based on the name of the main character of her 1994 novel *Notes of a Crocodile* (245). Same-sex marriage was legalized in Taiwan in 2019 (Jung 2021: 1), with many activists treating marriage equality as a way to demonstrate Taiwan's sovereign status and values of democracy and human rights (11).

A study of fifteen Taiwanese lesbian couples between the ages of 28 and 40 (Pai 2017: 79) indicated that many queer women found networks through friendship networks, gay bars, LGBT groups or sports clubs at universities, or the Internet (125-127). Of the 30 women surveyed, nineteen had come out to at least one parent and three more who had not come out to a parent had come out to at least one sibling (150). Though more than half of the women interviewed had come out to a parent, there were still often attitudes of silence towards topics of sex and sexual orientation within the family (152). Brainer (2018: 918) notes that, unlike older generations, which held stronger attitudes of silence, many young queer people find themselves forced to come out because of parents' increased involvement in children's personal and emotional lives. The pressure to marry and responsibilities towards aging parents also had a strong impact on the family lives of queer women (Pai 2017: 161). Though none of the couples interviewed at the time were legally married and despite commonplace attitudes of awkwardness

around homosexuality within families, many women were still accepted as having a place within their partner's families (169).

Though not intended as linguistic works, studies of Taiwan's lesbian communities have identified certain linguistic patterns. Because of their low educational level, many Ts of the 1990s were Taiwanese-dominant speakers (Chao 2000: 380), in contrast to the highly educated lesbian feminists, whose histories of study and linguistic identity creation strategies indicate high proficiency in both Mandarin Chinese and English. While members of T-*po* culture identified with locally specific labels and were not familiar with terms such as "queer" (380), lesbian feminists' rejection of the terms T and P in favor of *ku'er* and *tongzhi* served to disidentify themselves with T-*po* communities in favor of a U.S.-oriented, international lesbian identity (387). Ethnographic studies of T-bars have also indicated certain speech acts which serve to create a T identity, such as the performance of contextually appropriate karaoke songs (Chao 2001: 193) and telling stories of lost loves (198).

Chapter 3. Methodology

The study described here consists of two parts: a survey, shared to a large audience via social media, and a series of interviews with a small portion of the survey participants. The goal of the survey portion was to gather data on label usage and language stereotypes from a large number of people. The goal of the interview portion was to both gain further understanding of the experiences and beliefs of a smaller subset of those people and to analyze the ways in which they speak about the queer community in Taiwan, providing context for the results of the survey portion. In combination, the two parts aimed to explore how labels are used to delineate individual identities and broader community among queer women in Taiwan, as well as gather information about language beliefs that could provide a basis for further investigation.

3.1 Participant Recruitment

Participants were recruited via the social media websites groups Dcard and Facebook. Dcard is a website which allows users to post on various themed forums. It is largely intended for the use of college students, providing boards for all major Taiwanese universities and encouraging users to enter their university affiliation when signing up. Facebook has no such restrictions, and as such its user base is expected to represent a wider proportion of Taiwan's society. On Dcard, the survey was posted to the 彩虹 *caihong* "rainbow" forum, a forum intended for the discussion of various LGBT topics. Dcard does not share the number of users or followers of a single forum, but the rainbow forum is extremely active, with approximately 100 new posts each day. On Facebook, the survey was posted to the 台灣同志遊行 *Taiwan Tongzhi Youxing* "Taiwan Pride Parade" group, a public group with approximately 14,600 members at the time of posting. This group is run by the organizers of Taiwan's pride parade and is frequently used to promote LGBT-related events, media, and research surveys.

The final section of the survey asked respondents whether they would be willing to participate in a follow-up interview. A total of 21 respondents selected "yes" and shared their emails. Of these 21 participants, 7 signed up to participate in the follow-up interview. Interviewees were compensated with a $300 NTD 7-11 e-gift card.

The Internet was chosen as a participant recruitment method in order to draw from a wide swath of Taiwan's LGBT community. Due to the limited research on Taiwanese queer women, my intention was for the survey data to serve as a broad overview rather than a specific dive into one single community within this broader demographic group, and the usage of the Internet eliminates geographical barriers to participation. However, there are inherent limitations to performing a study such as this one over the Internet. For one thing, participants were naturally limited to social media users. As of 2022, Taiwan had an Internet use rate of 87.5% (Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics 2023: 134). My choice of social media further limited my access to a broad range of participants, demonstrated by the extreme predominance of highly educated participants under the age of 35. For a further discussion of the demographics of participants, see Chapters 4 and 5.

3.2. Survey

The survey was given in Mandarin Chinese and consisted of three parts: a section designed to obtain demographic information, a section on labeling practices, and a section on linguistic stereotypes. The demographic information section gathered information about respondents' ages, hometowns, and education levels[1]. These factors could potentially influence

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[1] In this study, education level served as a proxy for social class, especially because salaries for young people are currently heavily depressed in Taiwan (see Thomson 2023). The high education level of my sample did not allow for analysis of this factor, but due to the previously noted role of class in the formation of Taiwanese lesbian communities (discussed in Chao 2000), this issue is worthy of investigation in the future.

participants' level of exposure to queer people and the attitudes towards queerness held by the people around them in their pasts. Participants growing up in large urban areas may have had the opportunity to witness pride parades, protests, or LGBT events occurring in their communities from a young age than those from smaller cities or rural areas. Younger people likely grew up with more liberal social attitudes and more access to the Internet, and in turn more opportunities to learn about LGBT issues. More educated participants may have had the opportunity to participate in LGBT university groups. Furthermore, the age and education levels of participants impact their responsibilities to their families: older participants who have completed their education may be under more pressure to enter into an opposite-sex marriage and have children, while younger participants and those whose education is still ongoing would experience less pressure. These varied experiences are expected to influence how participants conceive of their own identities and relationships to Taiwan's queer population.

The second section, labeling practices, was based on a list of 15 gender and sexuality labels, given in Table 1 below. These labels were identified based on observations of Taiwanese queer media/social media and academic research. They include both labels which are commonly encountered and labels which I have seen only in a few texts, as well as both terms original to Chinese and terms coined as translations of English words. *Tongxinglian*, *tongzhi*, *ku'er*, and *shuangxinglian* are terms for sexual orientation which can be applied to men or women. Les and *lazi* are sexual orientation terms which are exclusively applied to queer women. T, P, *pian* T, and *bufen* are terms that are applied to the gender identities/expressions of queer women. *Zhongxing* is also commonly applied to queer women but can be used for men as well. While in my previous research and observation I encountered the terms *kuaxingbie*, *fei'eryuan*, and *shunxingbie*, they did not appear in many of the works on queer women I had previously

encountered. In fact, *shunxingbie* is not a queer identity at all. The inclusion of these three terms was intended to test the degree to which they are utilized in the construction of queer women's identities currently.

Table 1. Gender and Sexuality Labels

Characters	Pinyin	Literal Translation
（女）同性戀	*(nǔ) tóngxìngliàn*	(Female) homosexual
（女）同志	*(nǔ) tóngzhì*	(Female) comrade
les	*N/A*	Shortened form of "lesbian"
酷兒	*kù'ěr*	Transliteration of "queer"
拉子	*lāzi*	Derived from the name of the main character of the novel *Notes of a Crocodile*.
雙性戀	*shuāngxìngliàn*	Bisexual
T	N/A	Shortened form of "tomboy"
婆/P	*pó*	"Wife"/shortened form of "wife"
偏T	*piān T*	T-aligned
偏P	*piān P*	P-aligned
不分	*bùfēn*	Not-differentiate (between T and P)
中性	*zhōngxìng*	Androgynous
跨性別	*kuàxìngbié*	Transgender
非二元	*fēi'èryuán*	Nonbinary
順性別	*shùnxìngbié*	Cisgender

Because most of these labels do not neatly translate to English labels, it is worth explaining them here. Firstly, these labels can be broadly divided into those which indicate sexual orientation and those which indicate gender identity and presentation. The former category includes *tongxinglian*, *tongzhi*, les, *ku'er*, *lazi* and *shuangxinglian*. *Tongxinglian* and *shuangxinglian* are fairly literal translations of the English terms "homosexual" and "bisexual", making use of morphemes that literally translate to "same-sex-love" and "pair-sex-love" and originating in early 20th century translations of sexual science materials. *Ku'er* is a transliteration of the English "queer", originating with the LGBT movements of the 1990s. Les is a shortened form of the English "lesbian", popularly used to label lesbian content on social

media. The similar-sounding *lazi*, however, originates from the nickname of the main character of the novel *Notes of a Crocodile*, in which it originates not from the term lesbian but is derived from the word *la* "pull", referencing the main character's aptitude at recruiting students to a student group. Finally, *tongzhi* is derived from the word "comrade", also emerging from the LGBT rights movement, this time in Hong Kong, of the 1990s. All of these words can be used to reference women who engage romantically or sexually with other women.

The second group of labels, referencing a person's gender identity or presentation, includes T, P/*po*, *pian* T, *pian* P, *bufen, zhongxing, kuaxingbie, fei'eryuan,* and *shunxingbie*. The first four come out of Taiwan's T-*po* subculture, discussed in the previous chapter. Besides T and P, the labels beginning with *pian* indicate a partial association with those two labels, evidencing both the impact of T-*po* culture on Taiwan's current lesbian culture and its marginalization: women are pressured to identify with either T or P but often feel reluctance to fully do so. Similarly, the term *bufen* was coined by women who do not wish to identify with either T or P. The origin of the term *zhongxing* is difficult to trace, as in addition to "androgynous" it can simply mean "neutral". It has certain overlap with the category T, but is often conceived of as a more modern, trendy gender neutrality (Hu 2017: 183). The latter three words are all translations of the English terms "transgender", "nonbinary", and "cisgender" and have largely entered into Taiwan's queer discourse in the last three decades, the former earlier (for an example, see Josephine Ho's 2000 essay "Call Me Transgender" 叫我誇行人 *Jiao Wo Kuaxingren*) and the latter two more recently.

The labeling practices section of the survey had three subsections. In the first, respondents were asked to choose the labels they use for themselves from the above list of gender and sexuality labels. Respondents were able to choose as many labels as they wished. In

the second, participants were asked to rate each label as positive, neutral, or negative. The third section was intended to elucidate how respondents define each label. Labels were divided into those which primarily indicate sexual orientation and those which primarily indicate gender or gender presentation. For labels which primarily indicate sexual orientation, participants were given three possible versions of a theoretical person's sexual history and behavior and asked to choose all of those which are included under that label. For labels which primarily indicate gender, participants were given six traits of a person and asked to select all traits which they use to determine whether to apply that label to that person. Both types of question also had a write-in "other" option.

The labeling practices section of the survey was followed by the stereotypes section. Participants were presented with three statements about the identifiability of sexual orientation via voice for men, women, and themselves, and asked to rate each sentence as true, somewhat true, somewhat false, or false. If the sentence was rated "true" or "somewhat true", participants were provided with an optional write-in question asking how sexual orientation is identifiable via voice. This section also contained a final question asking if there were any words a woman could use that would serve to identify her as queer.

3.3 Interview

Seven total interviews were carried out. The interviews were conducted via Zoom or Skype according to the interviewee's preference and lasted between 12 and 22 minutes. A total of 119 minutes and 28 seconds of audio was collected. Interviews followed a general guide, but were held in a conversational style in which I asked follow-up questions according to the content of the interviewee's answers.

The first part of the interview consisted of questions directly related to the content of the survey. Interviewees were asked to define each of the labels they used to refer to themselves, and to explain their judgments of labels that they found positive or negative. The latter question was skipped for the four interviewees who rated all labels as neutral. Finally, interviewees were asked about whether and how they could guess a person's sexual orientation based on their voice.

The second part of the interview consisted of questions related to LGBT life in Taiwan. Interviewees were asked if they visit gay bars or attend other LGBT events, whether their university had or has LGBT groups or events, how they engage with LGBT groups on the Internet, whether they have a partner and (if so) how they met their partner, whether they had come out, and whether they discuss LGBT topics with their friends and family. The goal of this section was not only to gain information about the lives of participants and their ways of being involved with queer communities, but also to examine how participants discussed the communities in which they are or are not involved.

3.4. A Note on English Terminology

In writing this thesis, I have had to consciously consider the words I use to describe the people who responded to the survey and participated in the interview and the communities they are involved with. There is no direct one-to-one equivalent between English terms such as "queer", "LGBT", "lesbian", "gay", "bisexual", "butch", or "femme" and Taiwan Mandarin[2] terms such as *ku'er, tongzhi, tongxinglian, shuangxinglian,* T, or P— even those Mandarin terms which were created as translations of English terms. Furthermore, there was no single Mandarin

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[2] I use this term here not to imply that these terms are not extant in the Mandarin spoken outside of Taiwan, but to emphasize that they gain meaning only in relation to the specific communities in which they are used, in this case communities located in and centered on Taiwan.

label that was used by a great majority of respondents, making the use of a Mandarin label in romanization undesirable.

As such, I have chosen the term "queer women" as the most appropriate English-language label for the group of women I have surveyed. I choose the word "queer" for its deliberate ambiguity and ability to be inclusive of a variety of non-heterosexual and/or gender non-conforming identities and practices. Rather than serving as a translation of a single Mandarin label, such as *ku'er* or *tongzhi,* my use of "queer" is intended to indicate that all participants in this research to some degree create identity and community around same-sex attraction and/or gender non-conformity, an act which is evidenced by their encountering and participating in this research via queer social media groups. I will also occasionally use the term LGBT, particularly when referring to community groups and events. This term (and related terms such as LGBTQ+) is frequently used in English writing referring to and by organizations involved with Taiwan's queer community, such as the English language text of the Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association website (Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association).

The label of "women" is perhaps more complicated than the word "queer". The survey recruiting materials used the terms 女同志 *nü tongzhi* "female comrade" and女同性戀 *nü tongxinglian* "female homosexual" to describe the types of participants I was searching for, but also left ambiguity with the words T, P, and 等等 *dengdeng* "et cetera". Within the survey, the word *nü* "female" preceded the terms *tongzhi* and *tongxinglian* in parentheses in the section in which participants chose the labels that they used and was not used preceding these labels in the evaluation section, mainly for reasons of conciseness. The questions about the definitions of labels used the terms 女性 *nüxing* "woman" and 女的 *nüde* "woman" to describe the hypothetical romantic preferences and histories of people who could be labeled with the terms

under discussion. The survey also provided room, however, for expressions of gender diversity, with labels such as T, P, *kuaxingbie* "transgender", *fei'eryuan* "nonbinary", and *shunxingbie*.

My main concern in using the word "women" is with the six respondents who indicated that they use the term *fei'eryuan*, a term which indicates at least some disconnection from a male or female identity. Some of those participants selected labels with more gendered connotations, while others did not or exclusively selected *fei'eryuan*. Rather than use the inclusive but wordy "queer women and nonbinary people", I use the phrase "queer women" to indicate that this study still largely focused on a community of Taiwanese queer women, and the people who identified with the label *fei'eryuan* who responded saw their opinions and experiences as relevant to that category, whether or not they individually identified as women. Though I believe this phrase is suitable in referring to the community investigated in this study as a whole and their ideas and beliefs surrounding sexual orientation, I will attempt to avoid when possible the usage of the word "women" to refer to the group of individuals surveyed in this study, falling back on the conveniently gender-neutral "participant", "respondent", and "interviewee".

Chapter 4. Survey Results

4.1. Demographic Data

A total of 84 responses to the survey were collected. As seen in Figure 1, over half of all participants (n=50, 59.52%) were between the ages of 18 and 24, another 36.90% were between the ages of 25 and 24 (n=31), and 3.57% were between the ages of 35 and 44 (n=3). The young ages of participants are likely due to both the user bases of the social networks from which data was collected. It is also possible that queer identity is more prominent among young people in Taiwan, as it is in the U.S. according to a 2021 Gallup poll (Jones 2022). The respondents were also highly educated (as seen in Figure 2), with 90.48% enrolled in or having completed college (n=76), and 20.24% (included in the previous count) enrolled in or having completed graduate school (n=17). Only 4.76% (n=4) had completed high school but were not enrolled in college, and a further 4.76% (n=4) were still enrolled in high school.

Figure 1. Ages of Participants
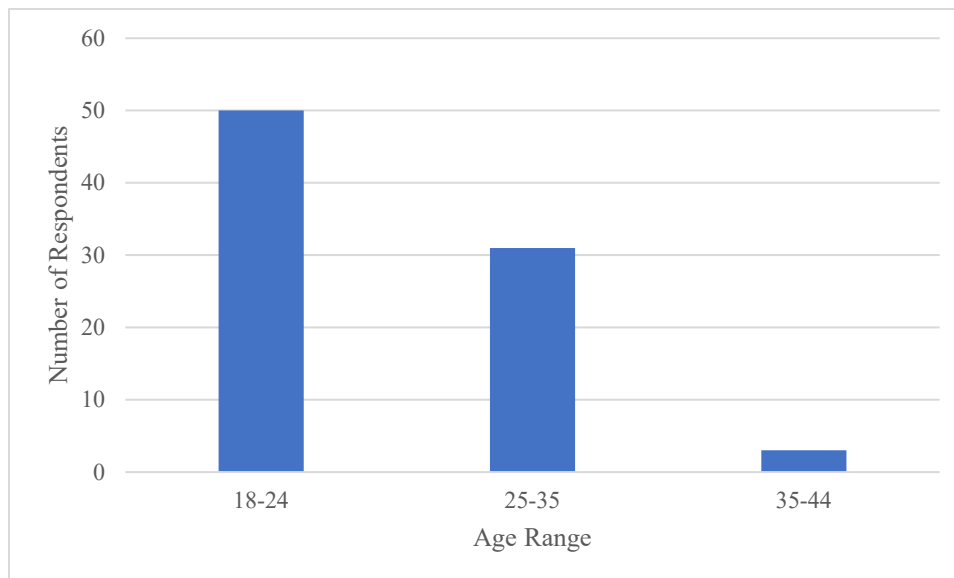
Figure 2. Education Levels of Participants
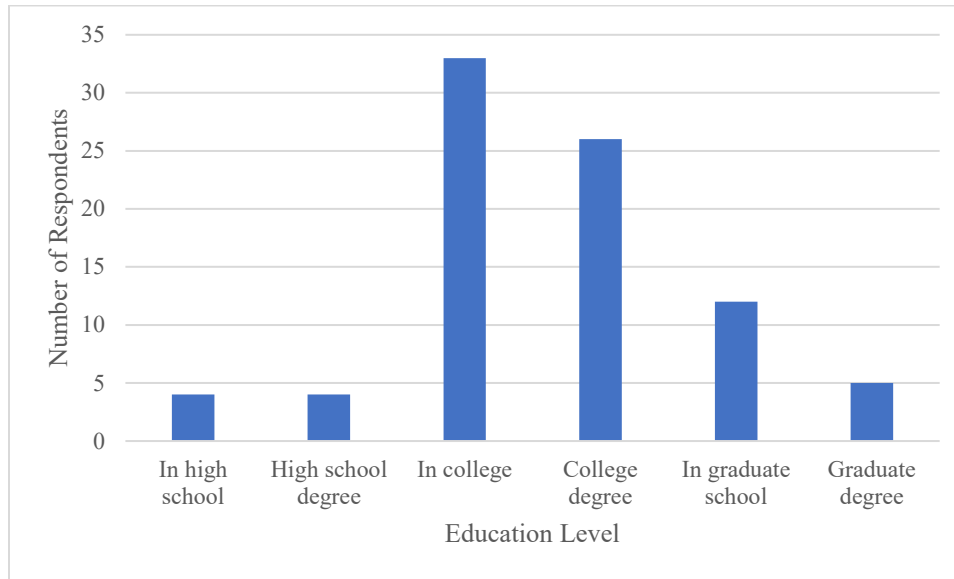
As seen in Figure 3, slightly over half of all respondents (n=47, 55.95%) originated from northern Taiwan, 21.43% from central Taiwan (n=18), 20.24% from southern Taiwan (n=17), and 2.38% from eastern Taiwan (n=2). No respondents originated from Taiwan's outlying islands. This is approximately reflective of Taiwan's population distribution, with a slight northern bias: as of 2010, 46.3% of the population lived in the northern region, 24.1% in the central region, 27.1% in the southern region, 2.2% in the eastern region, and 0.3% in the outlying islands (Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics 2012: 8). Respondents also generally came from urban areas (Figure 4), with 54.76% (n=46) originating from a city with a population of over 1 million people, 9.52% (n=8) originating from a city of between 500,000 and 1 million people, 20.24% (n=17) originating from a city of between 100,000 and 500,000 people, 8.33% (n=7) originating from a city of 50,000 to 100,000 people, and 7.14% (n=6) originating from a city or town of under 50,000 people.

Figure 3. Respondents' Region of Origin
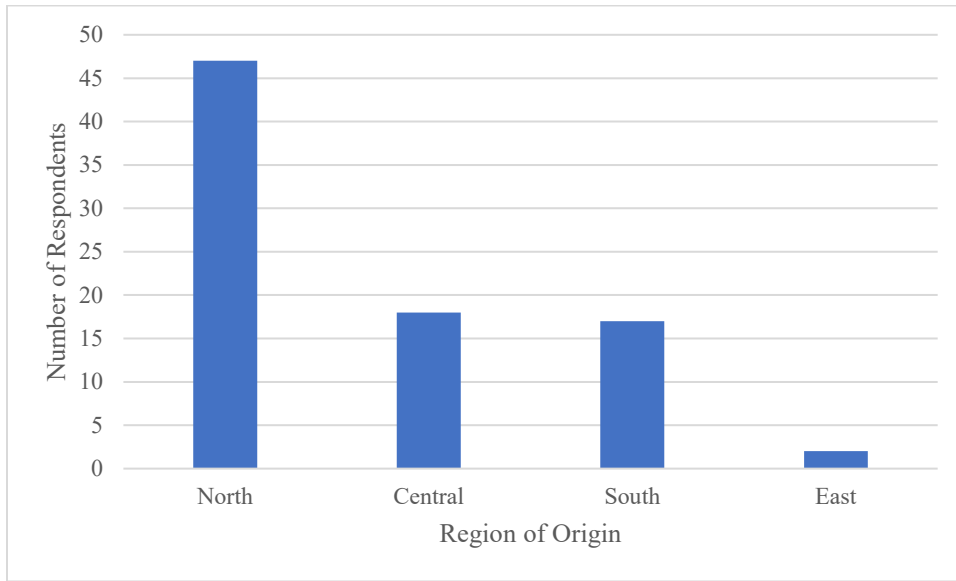
Figure 4. Population of Respondent Hometowns
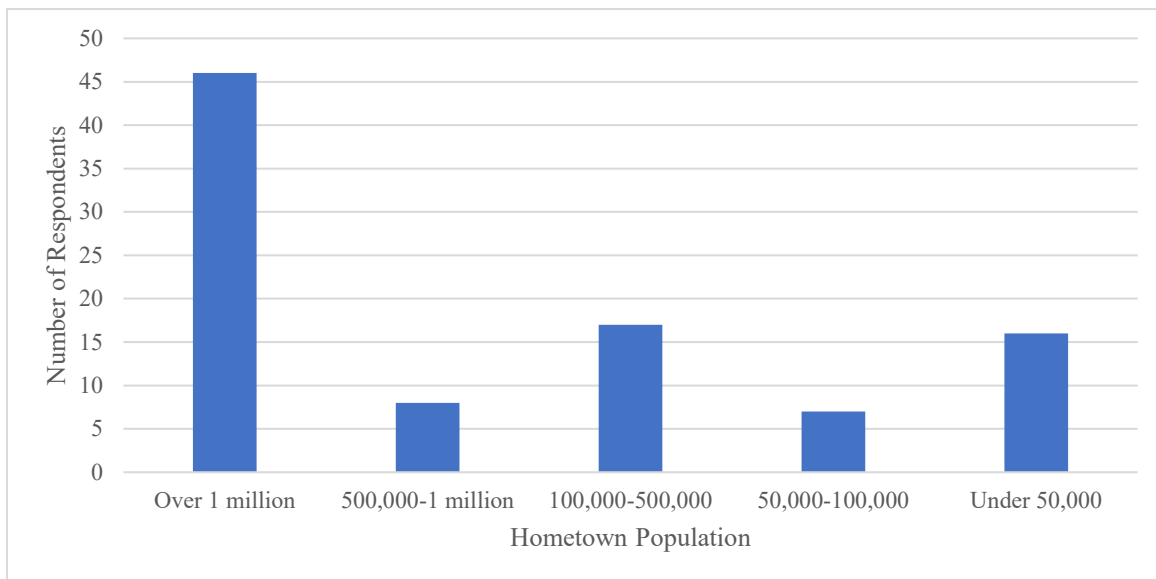
4.2. Label Usage

The survey asked participants to select all labels that they use to refer to themselves. Participants were allowed to select any number of labels. The total number of participants using each label is shown in Figure 5. Only one label, however, was used by over 50% of participants: *tongxinglian* "homosexual" (n=50). Two other labels, *tongzhi* "comrade" (n=37) and les (n=39),

were used by over a third of participants. The labels *bufen* "non-differentiating" (n=26),

zhongxing "androgynous" (n=26), and *shuangxinglian* "bisexual" (n=24) were used by over a

quarter of participants. The remaining labels were used by under a quarter of participants.

Interestingly, more participants used the label T (n=14) than *pian* T "T-aligned" (n=7), but more

participants used the label *pian*-P "P-aligned" (n=16) than P (n=10). The labels *shunxingbie*

"cisgender" (n=10), *fei'eryuan* "nonbinary" (n=6), *ku'er* "queer" (n=4), and *lazi* (n=5), as well as

P and *pian*-T, were used by 10 respondents or fewer. The label *kuaxingbie* "transgender" was not

used by any respondent.

Figure 5. Label Usage
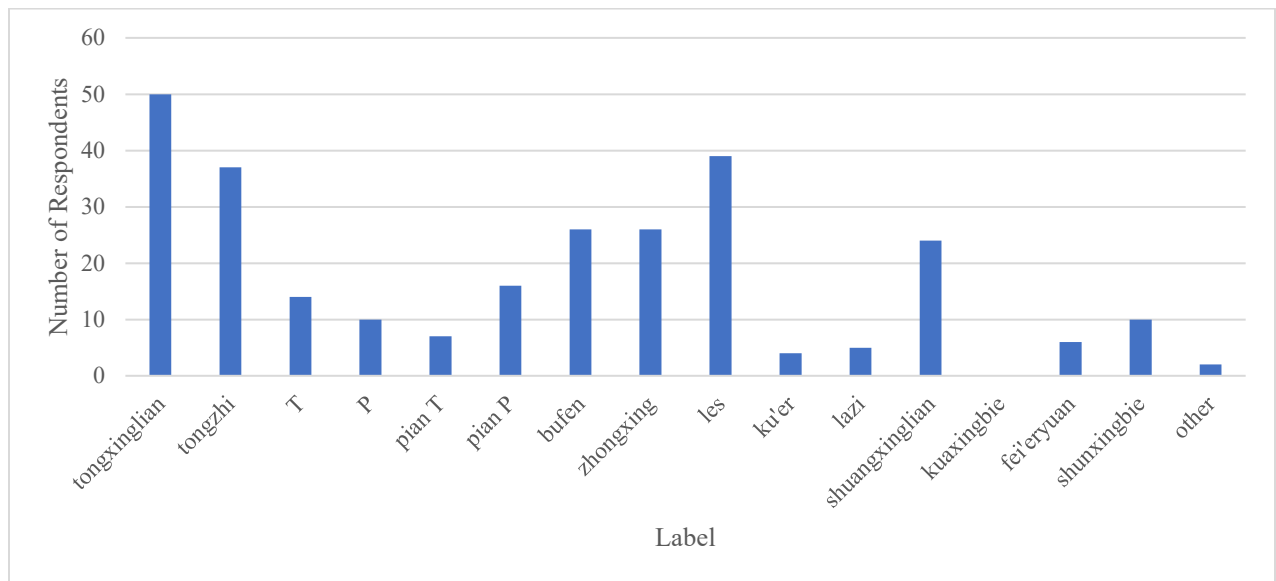
Two participants selected the "other" option and filled in a total of three labels: 不偏限

bu juxian, 姬 *ji*, and 拉拉 *lala*. *Ji* and *lala* are labels which can be loosely translated as "lesbian".

The participant who used the label *bu juxian*, literally "not limited", also used the label

shuangxinglian "bisexual". It is therefore likely that *bu juxian* also refers to her attraction to

multiple genders, though it could also be a variation of *bufen*.

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It is unsurprising that the three most commonly chosen labels (*tongxinglian*, *tongzhi*, and les) are labels that refer to sexual orientation, as this was the criterion for survey recruitment. A total of 62 participants (73.81%) used one or more of these three labels. It is particularly unsurprising because the former two were used in the recruitment materials for the survey. *Ku'er* and *lazi*, however, were significantly less popular, and no participants used them without *tongxinglian*, *tongzhi*, or les. This means that 73.81% of participants selected at least one sexual orientation label, while the remainder chose exclusively gender labels. This indicates that, though a distinction between the two types of label was made for the purpose of the survey, the distinction between gender and sexuality labels is not entirely clear-cut. As will be demonstrated in sections 4.4 and 5.1.3, to some people, certain gender labels also entail sexual orientation in their definition.

Even more respondents, 82.14% (n=69), selected at least one gender label. The lower numbers of respondents utilizing each gender label, then, indicates that there is a wide variety of ways for queer women to express gender and gender labels for queer women to choose from. As these labels indicate sub-identities within a larger community, there is no one single most popular option, though *zhongxing* and *bufen* are more popular than a T or P identity.

Finally, from this data it does not appear that the words *kuaxingbie*, *fei'eryuan*, or *shunxingbie* are fundamental to the identities of the group of queer women surveyed as a whole, though they are utilized by a certain portion of them. While connections have been drawn between *kuaxingbie* and other queer identities, including T and P (Ho 2000), speakers do not see identities such as T or *fei'eryuan* as belonging to a transgender *kuaxingbie* category.

4.2.1. Co-occurrence of labels

The average number of labels chosen by survey respondents was 3.30, with a minimum of one and maximum of seven. The number of labels chosen by each respondent can be seen in Figure 6 below. A table showing the degree of co-occurrence of each label with each other label is given in Appendix 1.

Figure 6. Number of Labels Chosen by Respondents
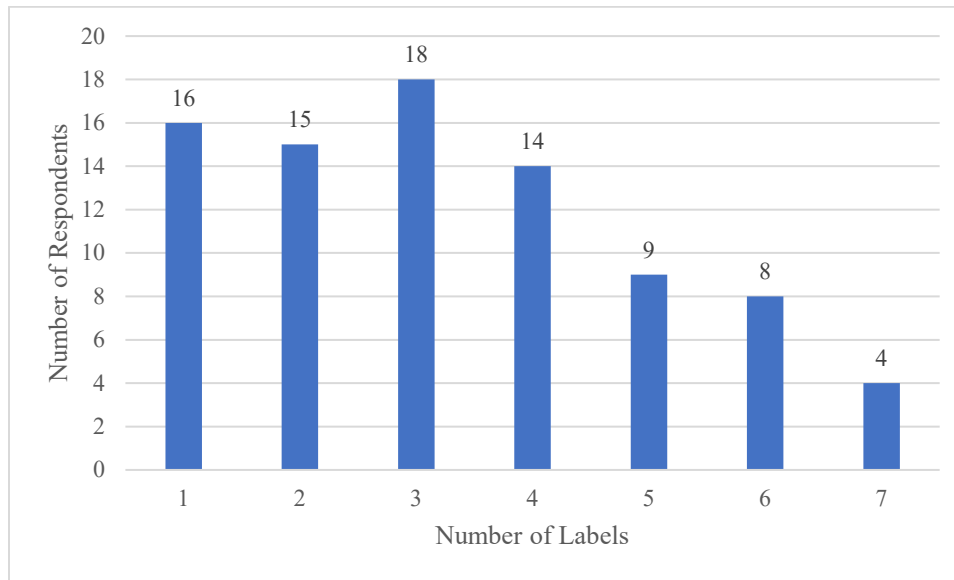
Among the respondents who only selected one label, seven different labels were represented. Two of these labels were sexuality labels: *tongxinglian* "homosexual" (n=3) and *shuangxinglian* "bisexual" (n=5). The other five were gender labels: T (n=2), *pian* T "T-aligned" (n=1), *bufen* "non-differentiating" (n=3), *zhongxing* "androgynous" (n=1), and *fei'eryuan* "nonbinary" (n=1). This list of gender labels includes all of the labels which indicate a masculine (T and *pian* T) or androgynous gender presentation (*bufen*[3] and *zhongxing*), but excludes those which indicate a feminine gender presentation, such as P or *pian* P. This is indicative of the fact

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[3] The label *bufen* was described by certain participants as indicating a more androgynous gender presentation, though this may not be universal.

that, while androgyny has become more mainstream in Taiwanese society, it is still both marginalized (Hu 2019: 183) and considered indicative of queerness (196). Conversely, while P is undoubtedly a queer identity, it is not an immediately visible one, and feminine gender presentation does not impact the way that a woman in Taiwan is perceived the same way as masculine gender presentation does. Feminine-presenting women may need explicit labels to indicate their attraction to women; while many masculine-presenting or androgynous women use those labels as well, they may be assumed to be attracted to women no matter their label use.

No label in this list can be conclusively identified as exclusive of any other label. Labels which showed no co-occurrence with certain other labels tended to be the least commonly chosen ones, such as *ku'er* "queer", *lazi*, and *fei'eryuan.* Though the lack of co-occurrence between any of these labels and P, for instance, may be indicative of how they are used to create queer subcultures, it may also be a simple function of the small number of people who chose each label. Certain unlikely combinations appear, such as *shunxingbie* "cisgender" and *fei'eryuan,* T and P, and *pian* T and *pian* P. There is, however, no overlap between T and *pian* P or *pian* T and P.

Certain labels tended to co-occur with T/*pian* T or P/*pian* P, as seen in Table 2 below (excluding the two respondents who chose both (*pian*) T and (*pian*) P). Those who use the label T and/or *pian* T were more likely to also select the label *tongxinglian* than those who use the label P and/or *pian* P. The opposite is true for *shuangxinglian,* which co-occurred much more frequently with P than with T. There was minimal difference, however, in usage of *tongzhi* "comrade" and les between respondents who chose T and P. Respondents who chose either P or *pian* P were more likely to also choose *bufen*, while respondents who chose either T or *pian* T were more likely to also choose *zhongxing.* This indicates that an androgynous *zhongxing* gender

presentation was more associated with a T identity, but not exclusive of a P identity. It also

indicates that respondents who identified with P were more likely to also reject a T-*po* binary

than respondents who identified with T, perhaps explaining the prominence of *pian* P over P.

Table 2. Co-occurence of labels with T and P

	T/*pian* T	P/*pian* P
Total	16 (100%)	23 (100%)
tongxinglian	11 (68.75%)	12 (52.17%)
tongzhi	8 (50%)	11 (47.83%)
les	8 (50%)	12 (52.17%)
shuangxinglian	3 (18.75%)	9 (39.13%)
zhongxing	7 (12.5%)	4 (17.39%)
bufen	2 (43.75%)	7 (30.43%)

Though the small amount of data makes it difficult to come to conclusions, interesting

patterns emerge among users of the labels *ku'er* and *fei'eryuan.* While the degrees of overlap of

tongxinglian and *tongzhi* with any given label tend to be relatively similar, users of both *ku'er*

and *fei'eryuan* show a strong preference for *tongzhi* over *tongxinglian*, a reversal of the trend. Of

the eight respondents who chose *ku'er*, *feieryuan*, or both, only one selected the label

tongxinglian, while six, including all four who chose *ku'er*, chose *tongzhi*. An association

between the words *ku'er* and *tongzhi,* particularly in the context of academic lesbian feminist

activism, has already been documented (Chao 2000: 383). From this it appears that *fei'eryuan*

has also developed an association with *tongzhi* rather than *tongxinglian*.

4.2.2. Label Usage by Demographic Variable

Most labels were distributed approximately evenly between participants from different

regions (Figure 7), from places with different population levels (Figure 8), and of different ages

(Figure 9). Hometown population was condensed into two categories, over 1 million and under 1

million, because of the small quantity of respondents in most individual categories under 1

million. Because all participants were fairly highly educated, label use by education level was not examined. Additionally, because of the low number of respondents from the eastern region of Taiwan and the 35-44 age group, their responses were excluded from Figures 7 and 9 respectively.

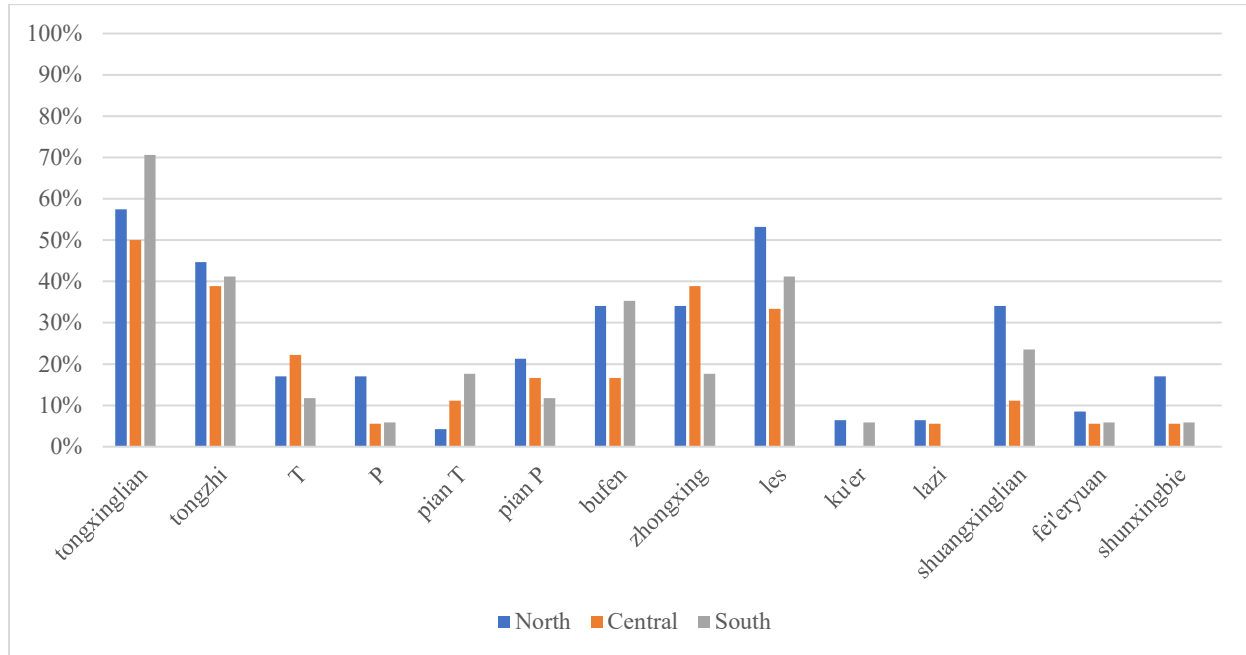Figure 7. Percent Choosing Each Label by Region

Figure 8. Percent Choosing Each Label by Hometown Population
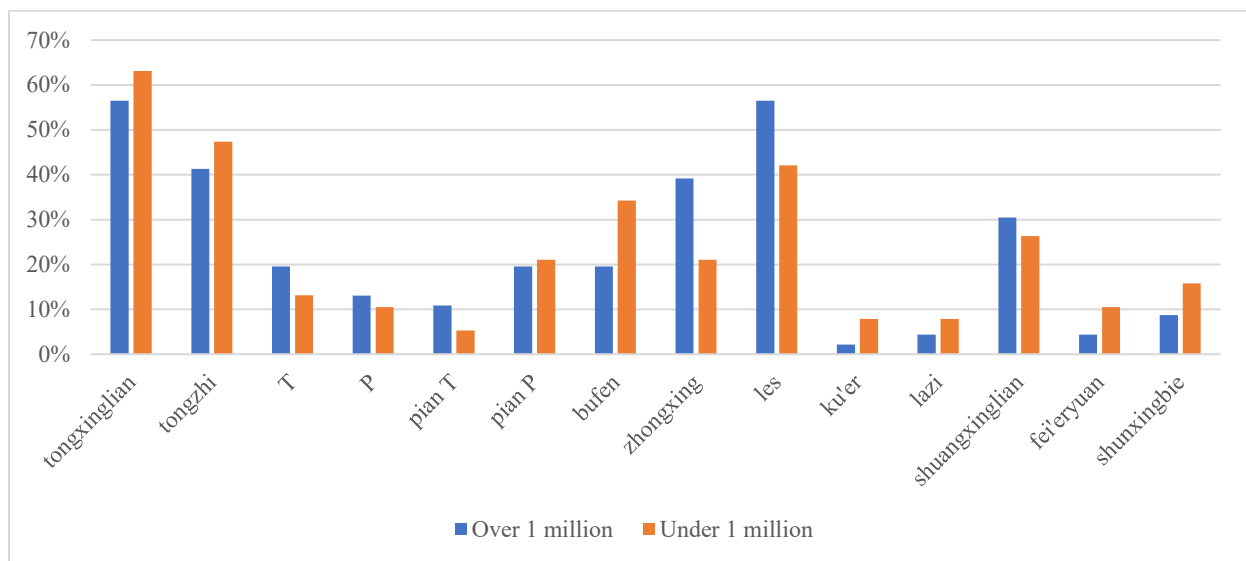
It is interesting to note the extent which, in Figure 7, the southern and northern regions pattern together. This may be an effect of urbanity: of these three regions, the central has the fewest cities of over 1 million people (only one, Taichung) and the smallest population residing in cities of over 1 million (Xingzheng yuan zhuji zongchu 2010: 8). The higher usage of les and *shuangxinglian* "bisexual" in the northern and southern regions and in the over 1 million population group suggests that this could be the case, but this correspondence does not hold for the words *tongxinglian* "homosexual" and *bufen* "non-differentiating", so these will be taken as separate phenomena.

Respondents from the northern and southern regions were more likely than those from the central regions to use the labels *tongxinglian, tongzhi* "comrade" (by a small margin), *bufen* "non-differentiating", les, and *shuangxinglian*. Among those, northerners were more likely than southerners to use les and *shuangxinglian*, and southerners were more likely than northerners to use *tongxinglian*. People from the central region were more likely to use the labels T and *zhongxing* "androgynous", followed by people from the northern region. People from the northern region were more likely to use P, *pian* P "P-aligned", *fei'eryuan* "nonbinary" (by a small margin) and *shunxingbie* "cisgender", while people from the southern region were more likely to use the label *pian* T "T-aligned". It is challenging to identify a single pattern here, except that the specific cultures of large cities of the North, where many of Taiwan's LGBT bars and events are centered and generally considered more socially liberal, may emphasize identities such as les and *shuangxinglian*.

Respondents from Taiwan's most heavily urban areas chose the labels T, P, *pian* T, *zhongxing*, les, and *shuangxinglian* more frequently. This may indicate a greater acceptance of and emphasis on gender non-conformity in the LGBT and broader cultures of urban areas.

Additionally, the increased popularity of all but one T and P-related terms may be due to their association with urban bar culture. Conversely, terms like *tongxinglian, tongzhi, bufen, ku'er, lazi, fei'eryuan*, and *shunxingbie* were chosen more frequently by respondents from less urbanized areas. The increased popularity of *bufen* may indicate a disconnect from said bar culture in those areas. Terms that are associated with university-oriented lesbian feminism and contemporary queer culture, however, are not at all limited to urban areas. This likely indicates transmission of these terms beyond the few northern universities where they originated. If the low degree of participation of interviewees in college LGBT groups (see Chapter 5) is representative of the surveyed population as a whole, these terms have likely migrated to larger segments of the community, perhaps over the Internet.

Figure 9. Percent Choosing Each Label by Age
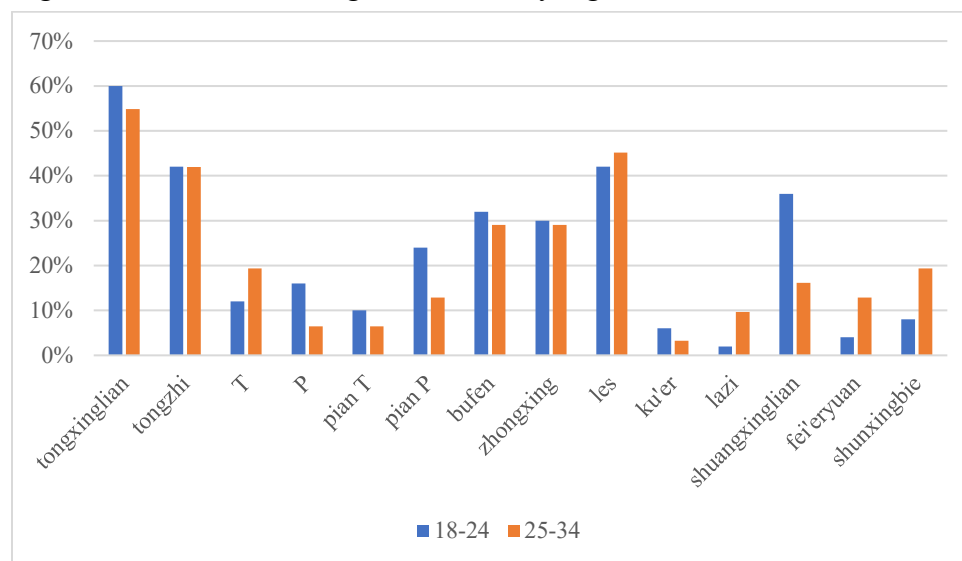
Labels such as *tongxinglian,* P, *pian* T, *pian* P, and *shuangxinglian* were more popular among the youngest respondents to the survey, while T, *fei'eryuan*, and *shunxingbie* were more popular among those in the 25-34 age group. Most labels, however, showed very little difference in popularity among respondents from these two age groups. The two patterns that appear are a

potential rejection of the label T and embracing of bisexuality by younger respondents, and a greater knowledge of and identification with terms translated from fairly new Western notions like "nonbinary" and "cisgender" among slightly older participants.

4.3. Label Evaluations

The number of participants who rated each label as positive, negative or neutral is given in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Evaluation of Labels

Term	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Never Heard
tongxinglian	2 (2.38%)	9 (10.71%)	73 (86.90%)	0 (0%)
tongzhi	5 (5.95%)	5 (5.95%)	74 (88.10%)	0 (0%)
T	2 (2.38%)	11 (13.10%)	71 (84.52%)	0 (0%)
P	4 (4.76%)	4 (4.76%)	76 (90.48%)	0 (0%)
pian T	2 (2.38%)	5 (5.95%)	76 (90.48%)	1 (1.19%)
pian P	5 (5.95%)	3 (3.57%)	75 (89.29%)	1 (1.19%)
bufen	6 (7.14%)	0 (0%)	78 (92.86%)	0 (0%)
zhongxing	8 (9.52%)	2 (2.38%)	74 (88.10%)	0 (0%)
les	4 (4.76%)	1 (1.19%)	79 (94.05%)	0 (0%)
ku'er	7 (8.33%)	6 (7.14%)	65 (77.38%)	6 (7.14%)
lazi	2 (2.38%)	14 (16.67%)	64 (76.19%)	4 (4.76%)
shuangxinglian	2 (2.38%)	2 (2.38%)	80 (95.24%)	0 (0%)
kuaxingbie	1 (1.19%)	5 (5.95%)	78 (92.86%)	0 (0%)
fei'eryuan	1 (1.19%)	8 (9.52%)	66 (78.57%)	9 (10.71%)
shunxingbie	5 (5.95%)	1 (1.19%)	56 (66.67%)	22 (26.19%)

Respondents were overwhelmingly neutral in their evaluation of labels. The most neutrally rated label, *shuangxinglian*, was rated neutral by over 95% of participants, while the least neutrally rated label, *shunxingbie*, was rated neutral by two-thirds of participants. This, however, was due to the relatively high proportion of respondents who had never heard of this term, over 25%. Of the participants who were familiar with the term, 90.32% rated it as neutral. Table 4 gives the adjusted percentages of labels with which one or more respondents were not

familiar, removing those respondents who did not recognize the term. With the adjusted

percentages, the least neutrally rated label is *lazi*.

Table 4. Evaluation of Labels (Adjusted Percentages)

	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Pian T	2 (2.41%)	5 (6.02%)	76 (91.57%)
Pian P	5 (6.02%)	3 (3.61%)	75 (90.36%)
Ku'er	7 (8.97%)	6 (7.69%)	65 (83.33%)
Lazi	2 (2.50%)	14 (17.50%)	64 (80.00%)
Fei'eryuan	1 (1.33%)	8 (10.66%)	66 (88.00%)
Shunxingbie	5 (8.06%)	1 (1.61%)	56 (90.32%)

The labels rated as positive by the highest proportion of respondents were *zhongxing*

*(*9.52%), *ku'er* (8.97%), *shunxingbie* (8.06%) and *bufen* (7.14%). Of these three labels,

zhongxing, shunxingbie and *bufen* were also rated as negative by a relatively small amount of

respondents. *Bufen* is notable for being the only label to not be rated as negative by any

respondent. *Ku'er*, on the other hand, was more controversial, being rated as negative by 7.14%

of respondents: only one more person rated *ku'er* as positive than negative.

The labels rated as negative by the highest proportion of respondents were *lazi* (17.50%),

T (13.10%), *tongxinglian* (10.71%) and *fei'eryuan* (10.66%). All of these labels were rated as

positive by only one or two respondents. The negative responses to these labels may indicate

negative attitudes, whether in queer communities or society at large, towards same-sex sexuality

or gender non-conformity. However, these attitudes did not carry over to labels like les or

zhongxing, indicating that rather than being universal to all labels, they are attached to certain

forms of expression.

Six respondents rated labels that they themselves used as negative and six respondents,

including one who rated some of her own labels as negative, rated labels that they themselves

used as positive. The labels which were rated as negative by respondents who used them were

tongxinglian (five respondents), T (two respondents), les (one respondent), *shuangxinglian* (one respondent), and *shunxingbie* (one respondent). It is possible that these speakers either identified a general negative attitude towards these labels that they themselves did not share in, or otherwise that despite finding these labels negative they considered them the most accurate descriptions of their sexual orientations and gender identities/presentations. The labels rated as positive by respondents who used them were *tongxinglian* (two respondents), *tongzhi* (two respondents), T (one respondent), *bufen* (two respondents), *zhongxing* (two respondents), les (two respondents), and *shuangxinglian* (one respondent). It is useful to examine the assessment of labels in the context of the interviewee's discussions; as such, potential reasons for the potential overall neutral response to these labels will be discussed in Chapter 6.

4.4. Label Definitions

In this section, labels were divided into two types: sexual orientation labels and gender/gender presentation labels. Sexual orientation labels included *nü tongzhi* "female comrade", *nü tongxinglian* "female homosexual", les, *ku'er* "queer", *lazi*, and *shuangxinglian* "bisexual". Gender labels included T, P, *bufen* "non-differentiating", *zhongxing* "androgynous", *kuaxingbie* "transgender", and *fei'eryuan* "nonbinary". *Pian* T "T-aligned", *pian* P "P-aligned", and *shunxingbie* "cisgender" were not included in order to control the length of the study and because they are relational to other labels included in the survey.

For sexual orientation labels, respondents were asked to choose as many of the following options as they felt were included under each label: women who only date/fall in love with[4] women, women who date both men and women, and/or women who have dated men but now only date women. For the gender/gender presentation labels, respondents were asked to choose

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[4] The term used in Mandarin, 談戀愛 *tan lian'ai*, can refer to both dating and falling in love.

as many of the following options that they used to determine whether to call a person by that label: appearance, personality, sexual orientation, sexual behavior, assigned gender at birth, and/or self-identified gender. Both types of question also had a write-in "other" option and a "I do not use this word to refer to myself or others" option. The results of the sexuality labels questions are given in Table 5 below. In this table, as well as Table 6, the percentage in parentheses gives the percentage of all respondents who selected that option, while the bottom number gives the percentage of respondents who did not select "I do not use this word to refer to myself or others" who selected that option.

Table 5. Definitions of Sexual Orientation Labels

	Only dates women	Dates women and men	Has dated men, now only dates women	Other	Respondent does not use this label
nü tongzhi	66 (78.57%) 84.62%	22 (26.19%) 28.21%	41 (48.81%) 52.56%	8 (9.52%) 10.26%	6 (7.14%)
nü tongxinglian	68 (80.95%) 90.67%	18 (21.43%) 24.00%	40 (47.62%) 53.33%	6 (7.14%) 8.00%	9 (10.71%)
les	74 (88.10%) 92.50%	19 (22.62%) 23.75%	37 (44.05%) 46.25%	7 (8.33%) 8.75%	4 (4.76%)
ku'er	33 (39.29%) 62.26%	22 (26.19%) 41.51%	22 (26.19%) 41.51%	16 (19.05%) 30.19%	31 (36.90%)
lazi	53 (63.10%) 91.39%	11 (13.10%) 18.97%	22 (26.19%) 37.93%	5 (5.95%) 8.62%	26 (30.95%)
shuangxinglian	9 (10.71%) 10.84%	81 (96.43%) 97.59%	32 (38.10%) 38.55%	9 (10.71%) 10.84%	1 (1.19%)

By and large, the labels *nü tongzhi*, *nü tongxinglian*, and les followed the same pattern: most participants (between 84.62% and 92.50%) included women who only date women under these labels, a smaller percentage (between 23.75% and 28.21%) included women who date both women and men under these labels, and approximately half (between 46.25 and 52.56%) included women who had dated men but now date women under these labels. Within this category, *nü tongxinglian* is most inclusive of relationships with both men and women, but by

only a very slight margin. *Lazi* is similar, but less inclusive of relationships with both women and men than all three of the above-mentioned labels. Unsurprisingly, *shuangxinglian* is the label that is most inclusive of relationships with both men and women, with all but three survey respondents identifying it as appropriate for that group. *Ku'er* is the label for which there is the least consensus: 62.26% of respondents who use this label identified it as appropriate to describe a woman who only dates women, while 41.51% of respondents who use it identified it as appropriate for a woman who has dated or currently dates men. This label also had the highest proportion of respondents who wrote in their own answers and the highest who selected that they do not use this label to describe themselves or others.

The write-in "other" answer gave participants the opportunity to provide their own definitions of these terms. Several participants did not see a person's dating history and practices as an accurate or complete basis on which to determine whether a label applies to them. Of the eight "other" answers for *nü tongzhi*, four of them defined these labels in terms of who a person "likes" or "has liked" (喜歡 *xihuan*, 有喜歡過 *you xihuan guo*), one as who a person "loves" or "is in love with" (戀愛 *lian'ai*), and one as who a person "can physiologically and psychologically accept" (心裡&生理上能接受 *xingli & shengli shang neng jieshou*). An eighth person indicated that a person does not have to have had a relationship to be included under these labels, without providing an additional definition. The "other" answers for *nü tongxinglian* and les were repetitions of these answers, as were three of the "other" answers for *lazi*, along with a fourth indicating that the label is "vague" (模糊 *mohu*).

For *shuangxinglian*, two of the respondents reframed the label in terms of who a person "likes" (*xihuan*), and a further one each used the descriptions "can have feelings of love" (可以有戀愛情緒 *keyi you lian'ai qingxu*), and "can accept having a relationship" (能接受…談戀愛

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neng jieshou… tan lian'ai), all towards both men and women. Two further respondents wrote that *shuangxinglian* refers to people to whom "all are acceptable, whether men or women" (不分男女皆可, *bu fen nan nü jie ke*) or who "do not look at gender/sex[5] but look at feelings" (不看性別看感覺 *bu kan xingbie kan ganjue*).

The "other" responses for *ku'er* were extraordinarily diverse. Some participants wrote responses referring only to sexual orientation, such as "all male and female homosexuals" (所有男女同性戀 *suoyou nan nü tongxinglian*), "a general term for non-heterosexuals" (非異性戀都可用的統稱 *fei yixinglian dou ke yong de tongcheng*), and "a person who can have relationships with all sexual orientations" (跟所有性傾向都可以談戀愛的人 *gen suoyou xingqingxiang dou keyi tan lian'ai de ren*). Others included gender identity, whether with or without sexual orientation, such as "any non-cisgender-heterosexual" (任何非順性別異性戀者 *renhe fei shunxingbie yixinglianzhe*), "a different sexual orientation or gender identity from straight people" (與異性戀不同的性取向或性別認同 *yu yixinglian butong de xingquxiang huo xingbie rentong*), and "those who identify outside of binary gender" (自我認同超出二元性別者 *ziwo rentong chaochu eryuan xingbie zhe*). For one respondent, *ku'er* could refer to people who are "not yet sure of their sexual orientation or gender identity" (對自己的性傾向或性別認同尚不確定 *dui ziji de xingqingxiang huo xingbie rentong shang bu queding*). Gender presentation was also an element for another respondent, who wrote that in addition to girls who like girls, she defines this word to include "handsome girls" (帥帥的女生 *shuaishuai de nüsheng*), a word which strongly implies masculine gender presentation. Two other responses indicated that the

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[5] While it is possible to distinguish gender from sex in Mandarin with additional descriptors, the generic term *xingbie* does not do so and will be translated as "gender/sex" for that reason.

options provided in the question were insufficient: one wrote "not related to [one's] dating partner" (無關交往對象 *wuguan jiaowang duixiang*), and the other wrote "none of these" (都不是 *dou bu shi*). Finally, one person responded with the English phrase "internalized homophobia", likely indicating a belief that the term *ku'er* is used by those with internalized homophobia.

Table 6 below gives the results of the definitional questions about gender labels. As with the sexuality labels, participants were able to choose as many definitional criteria as they used to determine whether the given label should be ascribed to a person.

Table 6. Definitional Criteria of Gender Labels

	Appearance	Personality	Sexual orientation	Sexual behavior	Birth gender	Self-identified gender	Other	Respondent does not use this label
T	49 (58.33%) 64.47%	26 (30.95%) 34.21%	29 (34.52%) 38.16%	7 (8.33%) 9.21%	6 (7.14%) 7.89%	57 (67.86%) 75.00%	8 (9.52%) 10.53%	8 (9.52%)
P	46 (54.76%) 60.53%	28 (33.33%) 36.84%	28 (33.33%) 36.84%	10 (11.90%) 13.16%	8 (9.52%) 10.53%	58 (69.05%) 76.32%	8 (9.52%) 10.53%	8 (9.52%)
bufen	25 (29.76%) 33.78%	24 (28.57%) 32.43%	26 (30.95%) 35.14%	10 (11.90%) 13.51%	6 (7.14%) 8.11%	50 (59.52%) 67.57%	7 (8.33%) 9.46%	10 (11.90%)
zhongxing	54 (62.29%) 68.35%	32 (38.10%) 40.51%	12 (14.29%) 15.19%	0 (0%) 0%	3 (3.57%) 3.80%	42 (50.00%) 53.16%	5 (5.95%) 6.33%	5 (5.95%)
kuaxingbie	20 (23.81%) 25.32%	8 (9.52%) 10.13%	5 (5.95%) 6.33%	1 (1.19%) 1.27%	30 (35.71%) 37.97%	72 (85.71%) 91.14%	3 (3.57%) 3.80%	5 (5.95%)
fei'eryuan	7 (8.33%) 12.50%	4 (4.76%) 7.14%	10 (11.90%) 17.86%	8 (9.52%) 14.29%	11 (13.10%) 19.64%	47 (55.95%) 83.93%	1 (1.19%) 1.79%	28 (33.33%)

Self-identified gender was the most common criterion for every word examined here except for *zhongxing*. It was most prominent for *kuaxingbie* and *fei'eryuan*, followed by P and T,

then followed by *bufen*. For T and P, self-identified gender was followed in prominence by appearance, selected by over 60% of participants who use those labels. Slightly over a third of participants selected personality and sexual orientation, while sexual behavior and birth gender were fairly marginal. For *kuaxingbie*, the second most important factor was birth gender, selected by 37.97% of participants who use the term, followed by appearance, selected by 25.32% who use the term, with personality, sexual orientation, and sexual behavior all relatively marginal. For *fei'eryuan*, birth gender was also second most important, followed by sexual orientation, sexual behavior, appearance, and personality, though none of those were selected by more than twenty percent of respondents.

Zhongxing was the exception to the above pattern: the most prominent criteria was appearance, chosen by 68.35% of respondents who use the label, followed by gender identity. Personality was also a fairly relevant factor, selected by 40.51% of participants. Sexual orientation was selected by only 15.19% of respondents, and birth gender and sexual behavior were very marginal, with sexual behavior not selected by any respondents.

The "other" option produced a variety of responses for the labels T and P. Both labels received identical responses: participants identified "identification of their own sexual orientation" (對自己性傾向的認同 *dui ziji xingqingxiang de rentong*), "self-identified gender qualities" (自我認同的性別氣質 *ziwo rentong de xingbie qizhi*), and "identification with the label *nü tongzhi*" (自我認同的女同志標籤 *ziwo rentong de nü tongzhi biaoqian*). Two other responses also indicated that the respondent generally used the label T based on the desires or self-identification of the person being discussed. *Bufen* received five responses similar or identical to those listed for T and P, though one respondent indicated that to them, the label *bufen* can be used for anyone identifying with the *tongzhi* label, including men. *Zhongxing*, *kuaxingbie*,

and *fei'eryuan* also received responses indicating a desire to rely on a person's self-identification, but not those referencing sexual orientation. It appears that in the case of T, P, and *bufen*, gender and sexual orientation are closely intertwined, but the same is not the case for all labels. Over all, the theme of self-identification with labels was much more prominent for the gender labels than the sexual orientation labels.

4.5. Summary: Labels

No single label has emerged as purely definitional of Taiwanese queer women from this study. Instead, Taiwanese queer women draw on a shared pool of labels with different meanings and connotations, even between different people. To a greater or lesser degree, that pool of labels can be said to include every label used in this study, with the exception of *kuaxingbie* "transgender". Though all but five respondents were able to provide a definition and assessment of this label, none of them chose to use it to describe themselves. There were slight preferences for certain labels according to age and the location and size of participants' hometowns, but no major patterns emerged. Participants also tended to have fairly neutral evaluations of labels, though the majority had a positive or negative evaluation of at least one label. There was room for variation in definitional criteria for most labels. With the exception of *shuangxinglian* "bisexual", most sexuality labels were considered inclusive of relationships with both men and women by about a quarter of respondents— far from the majority, but also a proportion that cannot be discounted. Self-identified gender and appearance were largely the most important criteria for gender labels. These multiple-choice questions are, of course, insufficient to grasp how people define and use labels. For that reason, labels will be discussed further in Section 1 of Chapter 5.

4.6. Language Stereotypes

The final set of survey questions asked if participants believed that they could identify sexual orientation from the speech of men and women, as well as whether they believed others could identify their sexual orientation from their speech. Results of these questions are given in Table 7 below.

Table 7. Language Stereotype Questions

	I can identify a man's sexual orientation from the way he speaks	I can identify a woman's sexual orientation from the way she speaks	Others can identify my sexual orientation from the way I speak
True	10 (11.90%)	7 (8.33%)	8 (9.52%)
Somewhat true	39 (46.43%)	19 (22.62%)	23 (27.38%)
Somewhat false	17 (20.24%)	28 (33.33%)	19 (22.62%)
False	18 (52.94%)	30 (35.71%)	34 (40.48%)

These results demonstrate that among the survey respondents, there are stronger beliefs about sexual orientation and language for men than for women: 58.33% of respondents indicated that it was "true" or "somewhat true" that they could identify a man's sexual orientation from his speech, compared to 30.95% for a woman's speech. A similar but slightly higher percentage, 36.90%, felt that others could identify their sexual orientation based on their speech, indicating that they may believe that there are certain ways that sexual orientation presents in speech, but that those are not generalizable to all queer women.

Participants who selected "true" or "somewhat true" were presented with an optional write-in question asking which elements of language hint at a person's sexual orientation. For men, some respondents gave generic answers such as "language" (語言 *yuyan*) and "sound" (聲音 *shengyin*), or that they were able to determine the sexual orientation of an interlocutor with

"inuition" (直覺 *zhijue*). Otherwise, the answers could be divided into several categories: pitch, enunciation, femininity, attitude, content, and physicality.

Three respondents made some mention of pitch as an index of sexuality, mentioning "tone" (音調 *yindiao*), "a rising tone" (上揚的音調 *shangyang de yindiao*), and "lexical tone" (聲調 *shengdiao*). Two respondents indicated that they believe that queer men have clearer enunciation, using the phrases "clear enunciation" (咬字清晰 *yaozi qingxi*) and "degree of fineness" (細膩程度 *xini chengdu*). An additional respondent mentioned "speech rate" (語速 *yusu*) as an element that indicates a man's sexual orientation.

Two respondents used the word "feminine" (陰柔 *yinrou*), which specifically connotes softness or tenderness. Seven respondents mentioned the idea of attitude, including three simply providing the word for "tone" or "attitude" of speech (語氣 *yuqi*), a further expressing the same idea with a different word for attitude (態度 *taidu*), one mentioning specifically the speaker's tone when talking to men (對男人的語氣 *dui nanren de yuqi*), and a seventh mentioning the speaker's attitude towards women (對女人的態度 *dui nüren de taidu*).

Three respondents mentioned the idea that there are certain words (用語 *yongyu* or 用詞 *yongci*) that indicate sexual orientation without giving examples. Other respondents gave examples of words with feminine meanings such as "sisters" (姐妹 *jiemei*), the first-person pronoun used by empresses and high-ranking consorts (本宮 *bengong*), and a first-person pronoun traditionally used by older women (老娘 *laoniang*). The usage of feminine terms, including these three, has been cited as a feature of Taiwanese gay men's language and humor in Shiau (2015), Pan (2018), and Chen (2022). There were also words referring directly and indirectly to queer identity or community, such as the English "gay", "male comrade" (男同志

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nantongzhi), and "people within the circle" (圈內人 *quanneiren*), as well as a man's mention of gay nightclubs. In addition to these nouns, one respondent mentioned "sentence-final particles" (結尾的語助詞 *jiewei de yuzhuci*) as an indicator of sexual orientation.

Finally, respondents mentioned certain elements of physicality that may make indicate a man's sexual orientation, such as gesture (手勢 *shoushi*), (facial) expression (表情 *biaoqing*), and movement (動作 *dongzuo*), as well as makeup (化妝 *huazhuang*) and fingernails (指甲 *zhijia*), further indications of stereotypes about the femininity of queer men.

Fewer of the indicators listed above were given for women's speech than for men's. In addition to two answers of "sound" (聲音 *shengyin*), one "intuition" (直覺 *zhijue*), and one "[I] can just see" (就看得出來 *jiu kan de chulai*), the categories of pitch, attitude, content, and physicality were mentioned. "Tone" (音調 *yindiao*) and "intonation" (語調 *yudiao*) were listed as general indicators of sexual orientation alongside the more specific "masculine intonation" (陽剛的語調 *yanggang de yudiao*).

Within the attitude category, respondents mentioned the general word "tone/attitude" (語氣 *yuqi*), "attitude towards men" (對男人的態度 *dui nanren de taidu*), and "attitude in bringing up lgbtqia+ topics" (提到lgbtqia+議題的態度). It is interesting to note the usage of "lgbtqia+" in the latter answer. In addition to two mentions of "words" (用詞 *yongci* or *yongyu*), most of the items in the content category were related to the LGBT community, including the words "comrade" (同志 *tongzhi*) and "bisexual" (雙性戀 *shuangxinglian*), as well as "topics related to queer women" (女同相關話題 *nütong xiangguan huati*). Another respondent mentioned the "forms of address or synonyms used for [her] partner" (對伴侶的稱呼或代名詞 *dui banlü de*

chenghu huo daimingci), and a final respondent mentioned the "series or artists or Internet celebrities that [she] follows" (關注的影集或是藝人或是網紅 *guanzhu de yingji huo yiren huo wanghong*). Finally, one respondent mentioned physicality in the form of "expression" (表情 *biaoqing*) and "gesture" (手勢 *shoushi*).

For respondent's own voices, there were certain overlaps with the aforementioned terms, including "sound" (聲音 *shengyin*), "words" (用詞), and "topics related to queer women" (女同相關話題 *nütong xiangguan huati*). Two participants mentioned gender, one saying that their "sound tends comparatively masculine" (聲音比較偏男 *shengyin bijiao pian nan*) and the other saying that their voice is "androgynous" (中性 *zhongxing*). Another mentioned physicality, using the term "short hair" (短髮 *duanfa*). In both of these cases, gender non-conformity is clearly thought of as expressing queerness. In terms of content, several respondents mentioned how they might express their queerness more directly, using phrases like "likes pretty girls (literally "older sisters")" (喜歡漂亮姐姐 *xihuan piaoliang jiejie*), "likes girls" (喜歡女生 *xihuan nüsheng*), and "likes that sort" (喜歡那一型的 *xihuan na yi xing de*). Finally, one participant said that she "mentions men less" (少提到男生 *shao tidao nansheng*).

The final question of this survey asked about words that might indicate that a woman is queer. Naturally, some answers were shared between this question and the previous two open response questions. The most common categories of response in this section were culture, labels, and words for one's partner. Some vague responses referred to "artists that [she] likes" (喜歡的藝人 *xihuan de yiren*), "queer movies and tv shows" (同志影視作品 *tongzhi yingshi zuopin*), or "names of Internet celebrities and YouTubers known in queer circles" (同志圈認識的網紅Yt名稱, *tongzhiquan renshi de wanghong Yt mingcheng*). Specific examples of musicians liked by

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queer women were given, including Hebe Tian (Tian Fuzhen 田馥甄), anpu (Jiao Anpu 焦安溥, also called Deserts Chang/Zhang Xuan 張懸), and K-pop girl group Mamamoo.

The labels mentioned by respondents included T/P, TB (short for tomboy), "female comrade" (女同志 *nü tongzhi*), and the English "lesbian", as well as the more ambiguous term "person within the circle" (圈內人 *quanneiren*). Words for one's partner included the obvious "girlfriend" (女友 *nüyou*), but also the deliberate usage of non-gendered words such as "partner" (伴侶 *banlü*) and "other half" (另一半 *ling yi ban*). Other words which could not fit into one category included "bed death" (the phenomenon of decreasing sexual activity in a long-term relationship, stereotypically associated with relationships between women) (死床 *sichuang*), "straight girls are poison" (直女有毒 *zhi nü you du*), and "radar/gaydar" (雷達 *leida*).

4.7. Summary: Language Stereotypes

Stereotypes about queer men's speech in Taiwan align in certain ways with those in the English-speaking world— high pitch, clear enunciation, and general femininity— while also incorporating elements specific to Mandarin Chinese such as sentence-final particles and historically and culturally meaningful first-person pronouns. Queer women's speech, however, is more amorphous. It is clear that, just as queer men's speech is associated with femininity, some respondents associate queer women's speech with masculinity. However, most respondents rely not on linguistic indicators but on a shared lexicon of labels and cultural works and figures in order to identify each other.

Chapter 5. Interview Results

For the interview portion of my research, I interviewed seven respondents to the survey. Their demographic information is given in Table 8 below. The interview participants were comparatively older and more educated than the survey participants as a whole, and a larger proportion of them are from northern Taiwan.

Table 8. Interviewees

Interview Number	Age range	Educational level	Region of origin	Hometown population
1	18-24	College (ongoing)	North	Over 1 million
2	25-35	Graduate school (ongoing)	North	Over 1 million
3	25-34	Graduate degree	North	100,000-500,000
4	25-34	Graduate degree	North	10,000-50,000
5	25-34	Graduate school (ongoing)	North	Over 1 million
6	18-24	College (ongoing)	North	50,000-100,000
7	25-34	College degree	South	Under 50,000

5.1. Label Definitions and Evaluations

The first set of interview questions asked participants to define, in their own words, the labels that they selected in the survey. Participants were also asked to explain their evaluations of labels, if any were provided. Even for participants who did not provide any positive or negative evaluations of labels, however, some degree of evaluation was often provided as part of the label definitions. Because participants were asked about labels they themselves used or gave evaluations of, information was not gathered for all labels.

5.1.1 *Tongzhi* "Comrade" and *Tongxinglian* "Homosexual"

Four of the seven interviewees selected the labels *tongzhi*, *tongxinglian*, or both to describe themselves. Interviewee 3 defined *tongzhi* simply as "having a rather large attraction to

the same sex/gender" and stated that the meaning of *tongxinglian* was about the same. Interviewee 5, however, gave a similar definition for *tongxinglian* ("people who like the same sex/gender"), but a different one for *tongzhi*. She said: "*Tongxinglian* is more about the person you love, it's [who] you like… *tongzhi* is, it's difficult [to define], it's what kind of person you think you are, it's not about love". Her definition made a distinction between *tongxinglian* as a label that indicates sexual orientation and *tongzhi* as a label that indicates how a person relates to their sexual orientation.

Some participants who selected these labels still had a reluctance to fully identify themselves with them. According to interviewee 1, who selected the label *tongzhi*, "I think that in Taiwan talking about this seems to have a bit of a negative feeling… If I want to discuss it in a relatively reserved manner I might say that I like girls; I won't say it so directly… *tongxinglian* and *tongzhi* I might use rather rarely". Despite having a negative evaluation of the word, interviewee 1 still selected it on the form. When asked if *tongzhi* and *tongxinglian* are the same, she said: "I think [*tongzhi*] has more of an official feeling… it seems like it contains a bit more of a limited identity… many people who say that they're *tongzhi*, their identification with their sexuality is a bit more active, maybe they'll attend the parade, or attend activities, they're a bit more lively, but I… want to be like regular people…I don't need to be special. Living the same as everybody is alright."

Interviewee 4 did not have a negative association with the word *tongxinglian*, describing it instead as "neutral". However, she said, "Truthfully, I generally won't express myself this way… Particularly in situations like filling out surveys I'll say it this way, [but] normally I won't emphasize". She stated that the word *tongxinglian* is more "serious", while she might use *tongzhi* when chatting with friends.

5.1.2. *Shuangxinglian* "Bisexual"

Interviewee 2 defined *shuangxinglian* as "having good feelings, physically, towards men or women, or being able to have a romantic connection [with either]." Interviewee 6 defined the word similarly, stating "I like men and also women; men and women are both acceptable".

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, there was variation in the degree of perceived overlap between *shuangxinglian* and *tongzhi/tongxinglian*. Interviewee 2 drew a clear line of distinction, saying: "In my opinion, *tongzhi* or *tongxinglian* is more like being able to produce romantic feelings with only one gender/sex, but because I'm not [that way], I rather tend to call myself *shuangxinglian*." Interviewee 6 also did not use *tongzhi* or *tongxinglian*, but her explanation was different. She said: "I think [*tongzhi*] is similar [to *shuangxinglian*], but it doesn't sound as good. It's more masculine, for example if a man likes men he'll say *tongzhi*".

5.1.3. T, P, *pian* T "T-aligned", *pian* P "P-aligned", *bufen* "non-differentiating", and *zhongxing* "androgynous"

Of the seven interviewees, three used P and/or *pian* P, three used *bufen* (including one who also used P and *pian* P), and none used T or *pian* T. Interviewee 7, who used the label *bufen*, referred to T and P as "additional gender divisions within [the category of] women". Other interviewees defined P in terms of physical appearance, behavior, and sexual orientation. To interviewee 5, P means "feeling that you aren't mimicking men in your appearance or behavior, [and] liking to be more feminine". Interviewee 6 said simply that "P is long-haired girls who like girls".

Most interviewees who chose the label P or *pian* P, however, did not associate with it strongly. According to interviewee 1, "I think I only use it when using social apps… at first when people meet you they'll ask if you're P or T, but once they've met you they won't keep

using those terms". Interviewee 5 had a similar perspective, saying that "when people ask me, for example on social apps, when some people will ask are you T, P, or H I'll answer [*pian* P]". Interviewee 7 had a similar perspective on *bufen*: "[I'll use *bufen*] if someone asks my sexual orientation, [but] I won't actively bring up this word". *Bufen* was the only label that interviewee 7 selected in the survey, and it's clear from this statement that she considers it to express her sexual orientation as well as her gender expression.

When asked to define *bufen*, a label that she chose, interviewee 4 gave her definition of the entire system, first saying that there were three categories: P, T, and a third category, H. She said that that "maybe an androgynous (*zhongxing*) way of dressing and short hair is T, and then longer hair is P. I think this is too narrow… needing to apply this type of heterosexual, or general stereotype to people who like the same sex… I think it complicates things." Following this logic, it can be assumed that discontent with the entire scheme of categorization led her to identify with the label *bufen*, though she never explicitly stated so. When asked to clarify H, she said "I forget why it's called H but it's really the same meaning as *bufen*, maybe because [someone] isn't that masculine but also isn't that feminine in dress, maybe their hair is pretty androgynous (*zhongxing*), they'll be rather close to H… or maybe I think some people will be H because they don't want to be categorized into T or don't want to be categorized into P, then they'll say 'I'm H'… it isn't a very strict definition so it depends on how people identify". Interviewee 7 similarly defined *bufen* as "in terms of gender, not wanting to be further categorized into leaning masculine or feminine".

Interviewee 3 also identified H as a term associated with P and T, coming from the English "half". She did not choose these labels to identify herself, but indicated that hearing someone else use them would lead her to believe that the speaker is queer. She said that T is a

"rather masculine *nü tongzhi…* [and] P… is a rather feminine *nü tongzhi*, and there is also a type who call themselves H…. H will say she's *bufen*, she won't feel that she's T or P, she'll feel that she's 'half', she's half and half." These definitions of H and *bufen* were similar in identifying that people who use these labels don't wish to be categorized as T or P, but whether they felt that these identities encompassed both T and P or were fully outside of them varied.

Interviewee 4 above associated the idea of *bufen* with a *zhongxing* gender presentation. Though interviewee 3 did not herself choose the label *bufen*, her definition of *zhongxing* shared elements of her own and others' definitions. She defined *zhongxing* as "not wanting to be categorized into masculine or feminine". To her, *zhongxing* was a neutral word, but interviewee 6 found it negative. When asked why, she said: "the essential impression is that that sort of girl could be mistaken for a boy". While this word was a desirable or accurate form of self-identification for some participants, the gender ambiguity that it evokes led this interviewee to interpret it negatively.

5.1.4. *Ku'er* "queer" and *lazi*

None of the interviewees used the words *ku'er* or *lazi* for themselves. Interviewee 2 had negative evaluations of both. When asked to elaborate, she said: "I think *ku'er* is negative because in the news media, if a journalist doesn't really have a way to define a person's sexual orientation, then they'll tend to use this sort of word with a broad meaning, like *ku'er,* to define this group. Often when these sorts of reports come out they're negative, so that's why I chose that this word is negative… if they use relatively neutral words like *tongxinglian* or *tongzhi*, then I'll feel like they're treating this group neutrally and objectively."

Interviewee 6 also had a negative evaluation of *ku'er*. She said that "Honestly I rarely use this word; in my life I rarely see this word. The meaning of *ku'er* is sort of like short-haired

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girls." To her, the word was not one that was overly relevant to her everyday life. The association with gender non-conformity (the reason for her negative evaluation of *zhongxing*) may also have contributed to her negative evaluation of *ku'er*.

Interviewee 2 had different reasoning for her negative evaluation of *lazi*: "I think that now it seems like relatively few people will use this word for *nü tongzhi*, and I think when you say it aloud the feeling isn't very good". Her former statement is supported by the small proportion of survey respondents who chose the word *lazi*.

5.2. Stereotypes

The interviewees were representative of the survey respondents as a whole in claiming to be more able to identify a man's sexual orientation by the way he talks than a woman's. All but two interviewees, when asked if they could tell a man's sexual orientation from his voice, responded in the affirmative. The examples that they gave were similar to those given in the survey. Potential indicators of queerness in men's speech included high pitch, clear enunciation, and "femininity", a feature which likely encompasses several of the gendered linguistic stereotypes of gay men that have been discussed in this paper, including pitch, intonation, and use of feminine terms.

Only interviewee 1, however, said that she felt she could identify a woman's sexual orientation from her voice. When asked how she identifies sexual orientation from voice, she said that "I've met a few people who, when they meet with unfamiliar people or with people they know, will have two voices. Many people might lower their voices; when they're with someone who likes girls they'll lower their voices, and for men their voice will be a bit higher." Rather than claiming that queer women's or men's voices are categorically different, this interviewee identified queer people as performing style shifting depending on their interlocutors.

Both those who claimed to be able to identify sexual orientation from speech and those who didn't acknowledged that any phenomenon of "gay voice" is often based in stereotypes. Interviewee 1 followed up her description of style shifting with "although this can be a bit of a stereotype, it seems to be common that it is the case." Interviewee 4, who said that she could not identify sexual orientation from a person's voice, said that "I should say that sometimes when privately joking around I'll say that there is this sort of thing, maybe based on someone's way of speaking or moving, but in real situations I prefer to respect how a person identifies themself. If the other person hasn't expressed it or has expressed that they aren't [queer], I won't usually subjectively believe that they're that way". Finally, one interviewee simply expressed that she wouldn't guess a person's sexuality because "it's not polite."

5.3. Language Use

In addition to directly asking participants about labels, the interview portion provided the opportunity to observe how participants use labels and other strategies to discuss Taiwan's LGBT community. A total of 82 explicit references to queer people, the LGBT community, and LGBT life in Taiwan were collected from the interviews. These references were divided into seven broad categories, given in table 9 below.

Table 9. Terms Referring to Queerness

Category	Number	Examples
Labels	33 (40.24%)	同志 *tongzhi* "comrade" "Gay" (English)
Sexual orientation	2 (2.44%)	自己的性向 *ziji de xingxiang* "one's own sexual orientation"
Preferences	15 (18.29%)	喜歡女生的 *xihuan nüsheng de* "those who like girls"
People	5 (6.10%)	男生 *nansheng* "boys" 女性 *nüxing* "women"
Group	6 (7.32%)	圈內人 *quanneiren* "people within the circle" 這個族群 *zhe ge zuqun* "this group"
Type of person or thing	16 (19.51%)	差不多的人 *chabuduo de ren* "similar people" 相關的話題 *xiangguan de huati* "related topics"
To be	2 (2.44%)	他是 *ta shi* "he is"
Pronoun	3 (3.66%)	我們 *women* "we" 他們 *tamen* "they"

Around 40% of all references to queer people or the queer community in the interviews used a label. The labels used by participants are given in table 10 below

Table 10. Labels Used in Interview

Label (Characters)	Pinyin	Meaning	Instances
同志	*Tongzhi*	Comrade	13 (39.39%)
女同志	*Nü tongzhi*	Female comrade	8 (24.24%)
男同志	*Nan tongzhi*	Male comrade	1 (3.03%)
同性戀	*Tongxinglian*	Homosexual	2 (6.06%)
同性	*Tongxing*	Same-sex	2 (6.06%)
雙性	*Shuangxing*	Both-sex	1 (3.03%)
"Gay" (English)	N/A	N/A	3 (9.03%)
"Lesbian" (English)	N/A	N/A	1 (3.03%)

By far the most popular label was *tongzhi*, making up a total of 66.67% of all labels used in the conversation. Though *tongxinglian* was more popular among all survey respondents, in conversation it trailed by a large margin. This may be due to the fact that the interviewees did not in fact prefer the term *tongxinglian* over *tongzhi* for themselves: four of the seven selected

tongzhi and two of those four also selected *tongxinglian*, but none selected *tongxinglian* but not *tongzhi*. The word *tongzhi* was also popular to refer to places and events, such as the pride parade (同志大遊行 *tongzhi da youxing*), gay bars (同志的酒吧 *tongzhi de jiuba*), and the same-sex marriage law, which was referred to with both *tongzhi* and *tongxing* "same-sex" (同志婚姻 *tongzhi hunyin* "*tongzhi* marriage" and 同性婚姻法 *tongxing hunyin fa* "same-sex marriage law"). There was only one single usage of 雙性 *shuangxing* "both-sex" (a shortened form of *shuangxinglian*), used by one participant to explain her own sexuality. Though other labels, such as *ku'er*, were discussed as words (often in phrases like 酷兒這個詞 *ku'er zhe ge ci* "the word *ku'er*"), they were not invoked to describe people or the community and were not counted.

The usage of the English words "gay" and "lesbian" by three of the respondents is also interesting to note. The term "gay" was particularly popular as a term to refer to gay men, outnumbering *nan tongzhi* (because most of the interview was about queer women, non-gendered references to *tongzhi* and *tongxinglian* referred either to women, mixed-gender groups, or gender-neutral concepts). The two participants who used the word "gay" were asked whether they used it to refer to men, women, or both, and both answered men. One participant also used the English "lesbian" to explain her sexual orientation. When asked why, she said: "it's relatively good for explaining to people; it's very simple." This participant saw an English borrowing as less ambiguous than any of the terms in Chinese.

When not using labels, the second most common way to refer to queerness was as a type of person or thing. Participants used words like "similar" (差不多 *chabuduo*), "this kind of" (這樣 *zheyang*), "this aspect" (這方面 *zhe fangmian*), and "related" (相關 *xiangguan*). Generic words for people were the third most common: "boy" (男生 *nansheng*), "girl" (女生 *nüsheng*),

"man" (男性 *nanxing*), and "woman" (女生 *nüxing*) all appeared referring to queer men or women. Queerness was also described by referring to the type of people that a person likes: in most cases *nüsheng* "girls". The remaining references included the plural pronouns "they" (他們 *tamen*) and "we" (我們 *women*), the usage of the word "to be" without an explicit complement, as in "he is" (他是 *ta shi*), and the word "sexual orientation" (性向 *xingxiang*).

There was an additional way of referring to queerness or queer people in the interviews that could not be counted in this table: the use of a null subject or object. Mandarin allows for the omission of the subject (Li and Thompson 1989: 89) or direct object (159) of a sentence when it is known from context. As such, sentences such as one said by interviewee 1 that literally reads "also directly put out there on Instagram and stuff" (IG 什麼還是直接放出來 *IG shenme hai shi zhijie fang chulai*) are commonplace. In this sentence, both the subject and the object are implied from context: it can be more clearly translated as "[I] also directly put [my sexual orientation] out there on Instagram and stuff".

The difficulty of counting null subjects or objects lies in their inherent ambiguity. I asked interviewee 2 about the feeling when the same-sex marriage law was passed in 2019 and she responded "happy, extremely happy" (開心啦，超級開心啦 *kaixin la, chaoji kaixin la*). She did not explicitly state whether she was referring to her own feeling, the feeling in her social circle, or the feeling in Taiwan's LGBT community as a whole. The first context would not be counted, the third likely would, and the second is more ambiguous. For this reason, I have elected not to attempt to count null subjects or objects, but it can be confidently stated that they were used by all participants frequently.

This data shows a relatively even balance between direct label usage and indirect strategies for discussing sexual orientation. The indirect strategies can be attributed to the

cultural preference for tacitness or indirectness identified by Chou (2001) and Tan (2011). Brainer (2018) also identifies a preference for indirectness among older Taiwanese queer people, but indicates a trend towards directness and "coming out" among younger people, as well as their families (929). The approximately even mixture between the two strategies may be reflective of this hybrid form of management of queer identity.

It is important, however, to resist the temptation to universalize this data. It is possible that my presence as a foreign researcher and non-native speaker of Mandarin Chinese impacted the ways that interviewees chose to express themselves, perhaps leading them to be more explicit in their usage of labels to maximize clarity. Additionally, though I attempted to mirror both the labels and strategies preferred by each speaker in the more conversational portions of the interview in order to maintain a casual and comfortable conversational environment, the very structure of the interview necessitated the use of labels. Interviewees may have chosen to use more labels in return.

On the other hand, it would be an overgeneralization to attribute all usage of indirect strategies to a cultural preference for indirectness. Indirect strategies can reduce repetition in speech and be more concise. *Nanxing* "man" has fewer syllables than *nan tongzhi* "male comrade" or *nan tongxinglian* "male homosexual", and the same is naturally true of pronouns. In cases where labels have ambiguous definitions and are not preferred or used by many speakers, a phrase such as "I like girls" can be clearer than and just as direct as a label. Finally, a phrase like "similar people [to me]" or "people within the circle" are ambiguous in their meaning to a person without knowledge of the context, but serve to situate the speaker within the community that is being discussed. These terms are indirect in their reference to a queer community, but direct in

their statement that the speaker belongs to that community, rather than leaving room for any plausible deniability.

5.4. Queerness and Community Life

In addition to information about language use, the interviews provided key information about the communities in which participants live and use language. Those communities included both varying types of queer communities and participants' jobs, homes, and non-LGBT-oriented social lives.

The most significant site of queer community across my participants was the Internet. The outsized importance of the Internet is likely a result of my survey recruitment process, but also is reflective of the general importance of the Internet to modern LGBT life in Taiwan. All seven interviewees found my survey via Dcard and reported it to be their primary form of LGBT social media. No interviewee reported frequently posting on Dcard, but all frequently read posts on the "rainbow board" (彩虹版 *caihong ban*). The rainbow board is a popular forum for LGBT users. As of the writing of this thesis, it receives approximately 100 new posts per day. The description of the rainbow board reads "Love Wins! A forum exclusively for rainbow (LGBTQ) [people], here you can share your story without pressure" (*Caihong*). Posts frequently feature stories of people's same-sex relationships and navigating life as queer people.

For many interviewees, reading posts on the rainbow board allowed them to feel a sense of community and sympathy. According to interviewee 3, "There are things that may be difficult to experience in life, or maybe I don't meet many *tongzhi* in life. Other people may not want to come out or discuss this sort of thing… Because of Dcard's anonymous function… people are willing to talk about their moods or express their ways of thinking. When I see it it resonates with me". Interviewee 5 does not explicitly discuss an emotional resonance, but says that while

reading the stories about relationship trouble posted on the rainbow board, "I'll consider whether or not in the course of my relationship with my girlfriend I might do anything that makes her uncomfortable, anything that I hadn't considered before." For her, Dcard also serves a community function in helping her better get along with her girlfriend.

Other forms of social media that were mentioned as ways of interacting with queer people and the LGBT community included the bulletin board system PTT, groups on the messaging app Line, and X (formerly Twitter). In addition to providing the functions of an online community, the Internet served to facilitate real-life meetings and even was the way that two interviewees met their partners. One theme across the interviews was that for those living outside of the central areas of Taiwan's largest cities, gay bars and similar venues were not particularly accessible, but some areas without dedicated queer spaces still had in-person events for the LGBT community organized over the Internet. For these participants, the Internet allows for a de-centralization of Taiwan's LGBT culture, facilitating both in-person and online interaction without requiring physical presence in the small number of geographic locations where Taiwan's queer culture has traditionally been centered.

Though the Internet compensated for a difficulty in regularly accessing queer spaces for the interviewees, spaces such as gay bars still played a role in participants' interaction with an LGBT community. Only one speaker, a college student living in Taipei, reported somewhat regularly visiting gay bars and music venues. All but one, however, had visited a gay bar at least once, and all had attended the Taiwan Pride parade, held annually in Taipei, at least once. Many reported positive experiences and feelings. Interviewee 1 said of the experience: "It's a very relaxed feeling. Since everyone is similar to you, you don't need to be shy. When you bring your

partner, you don't need to be afraid of interacting with her because of other people or fear having other people's eyes on you."

Chao (2000) and Pai (2017) identified the university campus as an important place where LGBT people in Taiwan form communities, including LGBT-specific groups, and meet romantic partners. This was not the experience of most of my interviewees, despite their high level of education. For one, their university experiences were fairly diverse: for example, one attended a small, conservative teacher's college and another had attended night school while working full-time. Graduate students also reported not engaging with university clubs and activities because they were generally geared towards and attended by undergraduates. One participant, however, met her partner in college. Rather than attending specifically LGBT-focused groups, she reported that at her school, women's sports teams were an important nexus for queer women.

In addition to the LGBT community, interviewees had to decide whether and how to express their queer identities in interactions with their families, workplaces, and heterosexual friends. When asked whether they had come out, most interviewees expressed unsureness or asked how I defined "coming out". When instructed to answer the question however they liked, three answered in the affirmative and four in the negative, but they all said that there were or they suspected there were people in their lives who knew.

Among the interviewees who said that they had come out, there were a variety of ways of revealing one's sexual orientation. Interviewee 2 said that she had directly came out to both her family and friends. Interviewee 4, on the other hand, had a variety of coming out experiences. She said: "My family and regular friends, most of them know… maybe in middle school it sometimes counted as coming out. I'd say that my family found out themselves. Because my high school was a girl's school… most people were very open to things between classmates. But

when I got together with my girlfriend I was in graduate school, during this graduate school stage I'll rarely specifically talk about this, so people at school mostly don't really know." Interviewee 1 said that she had come out, but not directly told her parents: "I've never hidden this. I put it directly out there on Instagram and stuff. My mom knows; my dad must know, because I bring my partner home. As for the older generations like my grandmother, I won't say it to them directly but they can feel it."

The interviewees who said they had not come out often said that there were still ways that people may have been aware. According to interviewee 3, "In Asian society people will suspect. For example, having short hair and being pretty androgynous, even though you haven't told anyone they can pretty much guess your sexual orientation." Interviewee 7 also referred to herself as "very obvious" and assumed that her family and friends could tell, with the exception of her father. Interviewee 6 said that people in her life may know because she never has a boyfriend. Finally, although interviewee 5 did not consider herself to have come out, she still felt that certain people might know. She also said that "I'll discuss it with particular friends, for example if I know that someone is gay, if I'm sure because he has a boyfriend then I'll discuss it." Interviewee 5 had also brought her partner to her home, but introduced her as a "college classmate".

Clearly, there is a great deal of ambivalence about coming out amongst the interviewees. To some, the idea of coming out overlaps with being found out, rather than requiring a direct conversation. There were numerous ways of being identified as queer without directly stating it: physical appearance, bringing home a girlfriend, posting on social media, or not engaging in dating in the way that is expected for heterosexual women. To others, however, this is not

sufficient to be called coming out. Either way, all interviewees made decisions about how, when, and to whom they expressed their identities.

Some participants, even those who had not had a direct coming out experience, had discussions with their friends and family around LGBT issues. Interviewee 3, for example, was willing to discuss these topics with her mom, friends, and younger relatives, despite not feeling that she had fully come out. Interviewee 4 described straight friends sometimes asking her questions because of curiosity about the LGBT community in Taiwan. These friends generally were exposed to news or entertainment media discussing LGBT themes and went to her when they did not understand something or wanted clarification. She often took on a role of challenging stereotypes, such as explaining that not all relationships between women contain one partner who is masculine-presenting and one who is feminine-presenting. While these experiences were generally neutral or positive, interviewee 2 had a more negative experience: though her family had shown accepting attitudes towards LGBT people in the past, their attitude towards her was different because they wanted her to get married and have children— despite the fact that, as she said, both of those things are possible for queer women in Taiwan now. It is noteworthy that interviewee 2 was the only participant to discuss pressure from her family to get married and have children, despite this family pressure being one of the most important factors in queer people's relationships with their families in studies such as Tan (2011) and Pai (2017). This may be reflective of the relatively young ages of participants, many of whom were still in higher education, shifting values in Taiwanese society, or the legalization of same-sex marriage.

5.5. Summary

The interview portion of this investigation showed a great deal of both variation and ambivalence surrounding label use by interviewees. Labels like *tongxinglian*, *tongzhi*, and

shuangxinglian were largely defined according to the gender a person is attracted to and labels like P, T, and *zhongxing* were largely defined according to appearance, but the definitions and evaluations of these labels also tied in to how a person related to their queerness and the larger LGBT community. How a person related to the T-*po* binary and the extent to which they were involved in LGBT events and considered their sexual orientation as part of their identity were also identified as key factors. As such, many participants showed ambivalence towards labels, using them when asked or to clarify facets of their identity or experience but not without being prompted. In the interviews themselves, participants referred to queerness or queer people with labels about 40% of the time. The other 60% was made up of indirect references using strategies such as referring to a kind of group or person, describing who a person likes, or simply saying that somebody "is".

Interviewees generally did not believe that they could identify a woman's sexual orientation from her voice, though one indicated that Taiwanese queer women and men may engage in style shifting depending on the sexual orientation of their interlocutor. This stands in contrast to men's speech, which was more broadly believed to indicate sexual orientation, though some interviewees saw this as a stereotype that was not to be taken seriously.

Participants in this interview structured a large portion of their interactions with a broader LGBT community around the Internet and social media, engaging to a lesser extent with traditional in-person venues such as gay bars, pride parades, and school groups. They also had to determine whether and how to reveal their sexual orientation to the (mainly heterosexual) people around them in real life. Interviewees embraced a range of strategies including directly discussing their sexual orientation, but preferred instead strategies which can be construed to a greater or lesser degree as indirect, including posting on social media, bringing a partner home,

or simply presenting in a gender non-conforming way. While certain interviewees identified

differences between themselves and other queer people who were more direct and open in

expressing their queerness or identified more strongly with it, all performed queer identities in

some direct or indirect way.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

6.1. Conclusion

Rather than gathering participants from a physical location such as a gay bar or recruiting from a web of friends and acquaintances, this study gathered respondents via the Internet and, as such, drew from a community for which the Internet was one of the primary loci of queer identity and community formation. The geographic dispersion of respondents and the ability to participate in online communities without outing oneself to the people one interacts with in daily life likely contributed to the ambiguity, ambivalence and variation in language use and attitudes shown by participants both as individuals and as a group. Despite this, though, there were attitudes shared by large proportions of respondents, no doubt shaped by both the general cultural and societal milieu and their interactions with queer communities both online and in person.

Participants in this survey did not share one single label among them, but drew on a shared pool of labels capable of indicating gender, sexuality, or both, all of which appeared to be able to co-occur with each other. Though there was not necessarily consensus on the labels' definitions, labels were still drawn upon to provide clarity of explanation when necessary. That pool of labels includes terms originating in Taiwan's unique T-*po* culture, terms translated indirectly from English alongside the importation of Western sexual science in the late 1800s, and terms both translated from English and coined in the Chinese speaking world during the more recent birth of Asia's LGBT rights movement. Global and local LGBT discourses and terms exist alongside each other and are both used to define queer identity.

The labels which can be said to be most central to this community are *tongzhi* "comrade", *tongxinglian* "homosexual", and les. These labels were chosen by the largest proportions of

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respondents, and the former two were used in speech during the interviews. Their broad acceptance, however, was not uncomplicated: a full 25.58% (n=22) of survey respondents did not choose any of the three, while still self-selecting to participate in the survey. And *tongzhi* and *tongxinglian*, despite being commonly selected and used in speech, were still considered negative by ten and five respondents, respectively.

When responding in their own words, respondents defined sexuality labels largely based on who a person likes, is attracted to, or could have a relationship with. With the exception of *shuangxinglian* "bisexual", which was almost uniformly defined as attraction to both men and women, most labels indicated a romantic preference primarily towards women, with varying degrees of acceptance of attraction to both women and men.

Beyond simple romantic preference or appearance, however, sexuality labels and their usage could also serve to describe how one relates to their own sexual orientation. In the interviews, no respondent reported frequently using labels in everyday life, indicating a hesitance to engage with discourses of the homosexual as a type of person. To use a label, after all, indicates and reifies that the people described by that label are a discrete group. Referring to oneself with a label also places the speaker as a member of that group. Sexuality labels were instead used when a person was directly asked, whether in a survey, on a dating app, or by a curious heterosexual friend. These are scenarios in which the undesirable aspects of labeling took a backseat to the necessity of the clarity that labels can provide. However, the use of a label could indicate that a person saw their sexual orientation as a more integral part of their identity or engaged with it more actively, leading some participants to avoid labels. Participants in the interview combined the direct use of labels with other forms of indicating queerness, such as describing a person's romantic preferences (indicating a preference, at times, to discuss

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homosexuality as a behavior as in the older Chinese discourse) or stating nothing directly about a person, leaving the listener to fill in the blanks.

Similarly, gender labels were generally defined by one's appearance and/or gender identity. Labels like P, T, and *bufen* "non-differentiating", however, did not only provide information about how a person dresses and looks, but also how one relates to one's identity, especially in relation to a P-T binary. Just like sexuality labels, gender labels were often only reported to be used when respondents were asked. No interviewee reported enthusiastic identification with a P or T identity; however, they encountered these identities both in heterosexual people's understandings of queer women's lives in Taiwan and in queer spaces such as social media. They then had the choice to affiliate themselves with a label, fully or using the qualifier *pian* "aligned", or reject the system with a term like *bufen*— or to do both.

Respondents' ambivalence regarding labels is reflected in their assessments of those labels: all labels were considered neutral by the vast majority of the respondents, with smaller groups finding them to be positive or negative. Though negative assessments were slightly more common, labels such as *zhongxing* "androgynous" and *bufen* received more positive assessments than negative. Negative assessments were often due to the feeling that the label represented some facet of queer experience that they did not wish to be associated with, whether that facet was straight people's misunderstandings of Taiwan's queer community or a type of person who is more actively involved in LGBT life than the interviewee. The overall neutrality, however, likely reflected that participants saw these labels as a relatively small facet of their life: capable of describing something about their experience but not something they identified themselves with strongly.

Just as participants were ambivalent about labels, so too were those who participated in the interview ambivalent about the idea of "coming out". Few reported having directly told the people in their life, especially their families, their sexual orientations, but most expressed their sexual orientations in some way and discussed LGBT issues with some of the people in their lives. They varied in whether they considered this to be "coming out". The universality of this type of identity work points to a similar phenomenon to the centrality of the closet in Western queer culture as theorized by Sedgwick (1990).

Speech was one way in which a person could express a queer identity in an indirect way, without necessarily coming out. For a sizable chunk of survey respondents, but not the majority, their own voices could serve as a clue to their sexual orientations, and a similar but slightly smaller number believed they could identify other queer women from their speech. Ultimately, however, there were fewer and less concrete stereotypes about the sound of a queer woman's voice than a queer man's. While some participants may listen for a masculine tone in a woman's voice, respondents were far more likely instead to draw on a shared vocabulary of popular culture and, for some of those who lived in an urban area such as Taipei, local places and events in order to identify a person's sexuality. Furthermore, several participants placed importance on respecting the self-identification of others rather than reliance on stereotypes. Instead of listening for specific linguistic indicators, then, participants relied on a shared cultural lexicon, including both in-group terms such as *quanneiren* "person within the circle" and cultural figures such as musicians, to identify other queer people.

Ultimately, the language use and beliefs of the queer women surveyed and interviewed in this study indicate a subtle balancing act of discourse that is used to construct and perform each person's individual and group identity. Each participant makes decisions about when to express

their queerness directly or indirectly. They find ways to actively engage with the queer community and express their identities while distancing themselves from forms of queerness that they perceive unfavorably. Whether one is a homosexual, a girl who likes girls, a person within the circle or neither or something else entirely depends on which aspects of their identity they which to highlight and which they wish to downplay, which is then determined by the context and the preferences of the speaker themself.

6.2. Further Directions

I hope that this study will provide a springboard for future research on queer women's language use in Taiwan. While there are advantages to conducting research over the Internet, there are also drawbacks: the broadness of my sample and the short time I spent with interviewees can give a broad overview of the language use and beliefs of this group of speakers, but lacks the depth of long-term participant observation. An examination of the label use of a single queer social group could paint a much more in-depth picture of how labels are used to create identity and delineate the boundaries of a group.

Though it is apparent that there are not strong stereotypes about queer women's language use in Taiwan, those that were uncovered provide a useful starting point for further linguistic investigation into this group. The most promising variables that emerged from this investigation are tone and intonation. The mention of masculinity by one respondent is also worth taking into consideration, not because we should expect queer women on the whole to speak more like men, but because masculinity, femininity, and androgyny have been shown to be elements in how queer women construct their identities. Based both the explicit descriptions given by the participants and their general attitude towards queer identity, I do not expect there to be a single "queer woman voice" observable in this population, but I do suspect that, for at least some

speakers, situational style shifting occurs as one context-dependent method of expressing, or concealing, queerness.

Another potential area for exploration is the relationship between queer women's language and other factors which have been shown to be expressed in language, such as gender, region, and class. A correlation between Ts and non-standard Mandarin (associated with the working class and a southern identity) has already been briefly discussed in the literature (Chao 2000: 380), but it is worth reexamining this question after a quarter century of changes in the linguistic and social landscape of Taiwan. It is also worth investigating the role that concepts used to evaluate and control women's language, such as *sajiao*, *qizhi*, and the label *tai*, impact the ways in which queer women in Taiwan express themselves.

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Appendix A. Degree of Co-Occurrence Between Labels

	tong-xing-lian	*tongzhi*	T	P	*pian* T	*pian* P	*bufen*	*zhong-xing*	les	*ku'er*	*lazi*	*shuang-xing-lian*	*fei'er-yuan*	*shun-xingbie*
Total	50	37	14	10	7	16	26	26	39	4	5	24	6	10
tongxing-lian	6.00%	78.38%	71.43%	40.00%	71.43%	50.00%	65.38%	73.08%	84.62%	25.00%	100.00%	37.50%	0.00%	50.00%
tongzhi	58.00%	0.00%	50.00%	40.00%	71.43%	62.50%	57.69%	69.23%	58.97%	100.00%	100.00%	33.33%	66.67%	60.00%
T	20.00%	18.92%	14.29%	10.00%	42.86%	0.00%	3.85%	23.08%	23.08%	0.00%	40.00%	12.50%	16.67%	10.00%
P	8.00%	10.81%	7.14%	0.00%	0.00%	6.25%	7.69%	3.85%	15.38%	0.00%	0.00%	16.67%	0.00%	20.00%
pian T	10.00%	13.51%	21.43%	0.00%	14.29%	6.25%	7.69%	11.54%	10.26%	50.00%	20.00%	4.17%	16.67%	10.00%
pian P	16.00%	27.03%	0.00%	10.00%	14.29%	0.00%	26.92%	11.54%	20.51%	25.00%	20.00%	25.00%	0.00%	20.00%
bufen	34.00%	40.54%	7.14%	20.00%	28.57%	43.75%	11.54%	34.62%	38.46%	50.00%	80.00%	7.69%	0.00%	70.00%
zhong-xing	38.00%	48.65%	42.86%	10.00%	42.86%	18.75%	34.62%	3.85%	25.64%	25.00%	40.00%	20.83%	66.67%	20.00%
les	66.00%	62.16%	64.29%	60.00%	57.14%	50.00%	57.69%	38.46%	0.00%	50.00%	100.00%	33.33%	0.00%	70.00%
ku'er	2.00%	10.81%	0.00%	0.00%	28.57%	6.25%	7.69%	3.85%	5.13%	0.00%	20.00%	4.17%	33.33%	10.00%
lazi	10.00%	13.51%	14.29%	0.00%	14.29%	6.25%	15.38%	7.69%	12.82%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	20.00%
shuang-xinglian	18.00%	21.62%	21.43%	40.00%	14.29%	37.50%	7.69%	19.23%	20.51%	25.00%	0.00%	20.83%	33.33%	30.00%
fei'er-yuan	0.00%	10.81%	7.14%	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	0.00%	15.38%	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	8.33%	16.67%	10.00%
shun-xingbie	10.00%	16.22%	7.14%	20.00%	14.29%	12.50%	26.92%	7.69%	17.95%	25.00%	40.00%	12.50%	16.67%	0.00%

Appendix B. Survey (Mandarin Chinese)

Part 1：Demographic Data

年齡:

- 18-24 歲
- 25-34 歲
- 35-44 歲
- 45-54 歲
- 55 歲以上

教育程度:

- 國中以下
- 國中（完成）
- 高中（進行中）
- 高中（完成）
- 大學 （進行中）
- 大學（完成）
- 研究所(進行中）
- 研究所（完成）

縣市:

- 台北市
- 新北市
- 桃園市
- 台中市
- 台南市
- 高雄市
- 基隆市
- 新竹市
- 嘉義市
- 新竹縣
- 苗栗縣

- 彰化縣
- 南投縣
- 雲林縣
- 嘉義縣
- 屏東縣
- 宜蘭縣
- 花蓮縣
- 台東縣
- 澎湖縣
- 連江縣

家鄉人口:

- 百萬以上
- 五十萬-百萬
- 十萬-五十萬
- 五萬-十萬
- 五萬以下

Part 2: Labeling Practices

你用哪些詞來指代你自己?（選擇所有符合條件的)

- （女）同性戀
- （女）同志
- T
- P/婆
- 偏 T
- 偏 P
- 不分
- 中性
- les
- 酷兒
- 拉子
- 雙性戀
- 跨性別
- 非二元
- 順性別
- 其他 _____

我覺得 [同性戀、同志、T、P/婆、不分、中性、les、酷兒、拉子、雙性戀、跨性別、非二元、順性別] 這個詞是:

- 褒義
- 不褒義不貶義
- 貶義
- 我沒聽說這個詞

我覺得 [女同志、女同性戀、les、酷兒、拉子、雙性戀] 包括 (選擇所有符合條件的):

- 只跟女的談過戀愛的女性
- 跟男的和女的談過戀愛的女性
- 以前跟男的談過戀愛但是現在只跟女的談戀愛的女性
- 我不用這個詞來指代自己或別人

我會以某個人的_____來決定是否要用[T、P/婆、偏 T、偏 P、不分、中性、跨性別、非二元]來指代她 (選擇所有符合條件的):

- 體貌
- 性格
- 性向
- 性行為
- 出生的性別
- 自我認同的性別
- 我不用這個詞來指代自己或別人

Part 3: Language Stereotypes

我會以一個男人的說話方式辨識他的性向 。

- 對
- 有點對
- 有點不對
- 不對

If above answer is true/somewhat true: 你用哪些語言提示來識別男人的性向?

_____

我會以一個女人的說話方式辨識她的性向。

- 對
- 有點對
- 有點不對
- 不對

If above answer is true/somewhat true: 你用哪些語言提示來識別女人的性向?

_____

別人會以我的說話方式辨識我的性向 。

If above answer is true/somewhat true: 哪些語言提示表示你的性向？

_____

有沒有詞語能讓你辨識某個人是女同志？

_____

Part 4: Survey Recruitment

你是否願意接受後續視頻採訪? 如果你選擇"願意"，你會收到一個關於後續採訪的郵件。
收到了郵件之後，我們可以安排後續採訪或者你拒絕參加後續採訪。

- 願意
  - 電子郵件：
- 不願意

Appendix C. Survey (English Translation)

Part 1: Demographic Data

Age:

- 18-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55 and over

Education level:

- Less than middle school
- Middle school (completed)
- High school (in progress)
- High school (completed)
- College (in progress)
- College (completed)
- Graduate school (in progress)
- Graduate school (completed)

Administrative region:

- Taipei City
- New Taipei City
- Taoyuan City
- Taichung City
- Tainan City
- Kaohsiung City
- Keelung City
- Hsinchu City
- Chiayi City
- Hsinchu County
- Miaoli County
- Changhua County
- Nantou County
- Yunlin County
- Chiayi County
- Pingtung County
- Yilan County
- Hualien County
- Taitung County
- Penghu County
- Lienchiang County

Population of home town:

- 1 mil. +
- 500k-1mil.
- 100k-500k
- 50k-100k
- under 50k

Part 2: Labeling Practices

Which of the following labels would you apply to yourself? Select all that apply.

- （女）同志 (*(nü) tongzhi*, "(female) comrade")
- （女）同性戀 (*(nü) tongxinglian* "(female) homosexual")
- T (similar to butch)
- P/婆 (*po*, similar to femme)
- 偏 T (*pian T*, "T-adjacent")
- 偏 P (*pian P*, "P-adjacent")
- 不分 (*bufen*, neither T nor P)
- 中性 (*zhongxing*, androgynous)
- Les (shortened form of English "lesbian")
- 酷兒 (*ku'er*, "queer")
- 拉子 (*lazi*, "lesbian")
- 雙性戀 (*shuangxinglian*, "bisexual")
- 跨性別 (*kuaxingbie*, "transgender")
- 非二元 (*fei'eryuan,* "nonbinary")
- 順性別 (*shunxingbie*, "cisgender")
- Other: _____

Do you see [*tongxinglian*, *tongzhi*, T, P/*po*, *bufen*, *zhongxing*, les, *ku'er*, *lazi*, *shuangxinglian*, *kuaxingbie*, *fei'eryuan*, *shunxingbie*] as:

- Positive
- Neither positive nor negative
- Negative

I would use [*nütongxinglian*, *nütongzhi*, les, *ku'er*, *lazi*, *shuangxinglian*] to include (select all that apply):

- A woman who has only had relationships with women
- A woman who has had relationships with both men and women
- A woman who has previously had relationships with men, but now only has relationships with women
- Other: _____
- I would never use this label to refer to myself or another person

I would determine whether to use the label [T、P/婆、偏 T、偏 P、不分、中性、跨性別、非二元] to refer to someone based on (select all that apply):

- A person's physical appearance
- A person's personality
- A person's sexual orientation
- A person's sexual practices (tasteful reference to topping/bottoming)
- The gender a person was born as
- The way a person labels their own gender
- Other: _____
- I would never use this label to refer to myself or another person

Part 3: Language Stereotypes

I think I can identify a man's sexual orientation by the way he speaks.

- True
- Somewhat true
- Somewhat false
- False

If above answer is true/somewhat true: What speech cues do you use to identify sexual orientation?

_____

I think I can identify a woman's sexual orientation by the way she speaks.

- True
- Somewhat true
- Somewhat false
- False

If above answer is true/somewhat true: What speech cues do you use to identify sexual orientation?

_____

I think others can identify my sexual orientation by the way I speak (rate on a scale true-false)

- True
- Somewhat true
- Somewhat false
- False

If above answer is true/somewhat true: What speech cues identify your sexual orientation?

_____

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Are there any words that identify someone as a lesbian?

_____

Part 4: Survey Recruitment

Are you willing to participate in a follow-up video interview? If you select "yes", you will receive an email with information about the follow-up interview. After receiving the email, you may schedule a follow-up interview or decline to participate.

- Yes
    - Email:
- No

Appendix D. Interview Guide (Mandarin)

1. Survey Follow-up Questions

- 你怎麼定義【label】？

    ◦ 你為什麼用【label】指代你自己？

    ◦ 你為什麼覺得【label】的意義很褒義/貶義？

- 對你來說，【description of language stereotype】是什麼意思？

- 你覺得你的性向影響不影響你的說話方式？

- 你覺得不同的身份、不同的背景的同志的說話方式一樣不一樣？

2. LGBT Life

- 你去同志酒吧或者其他同志很多同志去的地方嗎？

- 你使用哪些網路的同志群體？你在這些群體裡做什麼？

- 你參加大學的同志活動或社團嗎？

- 你有對象嗎？你們是怎麼認識的？

- 你出櫃了嗎？

- 你會不會跟家人和朋友討論同志的議題？討論同志議題的時候你覺得自在不自在？

- 你參加我沒有提過的同志活動嗎？

Appendix E. Interview Guide (English Translation)

1. Survey Follow-up Questions

- How do you define [label]?

    ◦ Why do you use [label] to describe yourself?

    ◦ Why do you feel that [label] is positive/negative

- What does [description of language stereotype] mean to you?

- Do you think that your sexual orientation influences the way you speak?

2. LGBT life

- Do you to go gay bars/other LGBT spaces?

- What online LGBT groups do you use? What do you do there?

- Do you attend your university's LGBT activities or groups?

- Do you have a partner? How did you meet your partner?

- Have you come out of the closet?

- Do you discuss LGBT issues with your family/friends? Do you feel comfortable doing so?

- Do you attend any LGBT activities that I have not mentioned?