



# Lavender Language in *Smile as they Bow* Translated by Alfred Birnbaum and Thi Thi Aye

Correspondence: Dr. Su Khine Oo  
<[sukhine.oo@yufl.edu.mm](mailto:sukhine.oo@yufl.edu.mm)>

Assistant Lecturer at English Department, Yangon University of Foreign Languages.

## Abstract

According to Maxwell (2003), lavender linguistics has been an intriguing study of language including pronunciation, lexicons and semantic ranges used particularly by gays and lesbians. This paper aims to investigate lavender language used by natkataws who are gay spirit mediums in comparison with male speech by straight men in Alfred Birnbaum and Thi Thi Aye's English translated version of the novel *Smile as they Bow* originally written by Nu Nu Yi (Inwa, 2007). In analyzing lavender language, gay speech characteristics proposed by Jacobs (1996), Berrett (1997), Livia (1997), Podesva, Roberts and Campbell-Kibler (2001), and Lakoff (2004) were adapted to form a model. Descriptive qualitative method was used to convey comprehensive account on gay speech features in the novel and quantitative method was applied in numerical analysis of collected data using Concordance in WordSmith Tool 8.0 and Stepwise Multiple Regression (IBM SPSS Statistics 26.0). Results of the research proved that the use of gay language expressions and their grammatical functions depended on sexuality – Gay or Straight. It is hoped that this paper will serve as an initiative for researchers of lavender linguistics to observe language used by gays and lesbians in literature to justify how natural the queer language observed in literature is.

**Keywords:** concordance, corpus, gay language expressions, lavender linguistics

## 1. Introduction

Myanmar outlook towards homosexuality was regarded as “extremely conservative” until 6 years ago (Burma's homosexuality law ‘undermining HIV and Aids fight’, 2014). Gay men especially were degraded as main sources of HIV/AIDS (Matthew, 2014). As a result, most gays used to be secretive and were not brave enough to reveal themselves as gays. The intriguing fact of gay males in Myanmar in recent years is that they have become more exposed if compared to situations back in one decade (Ferrie, 2018). They tend to be proud of being identities of their gay community. In addition, gay males in the world have come up with special language features that they use to signify that they belong to their gay community. These include slangs, coined words and even play on words whose meaning are not comprehensible for those outside gay community (Stanley, 1970). The study of language used in LGBT society is known as lavender linguistics (Leap, 1995).

Linguists with special interests on lavender language have been formulating common features found in gay male languages. Lavender linguists like Jacobs (1996), Barrett (1997), Livia (1997), Podesva et al. (2001) and Lakoff (2004) believe that gay lispings, slangs revolving around sexual matters, self-categorization as gay men, use of female pronouns and words which reflect frivolity and lack of education are common features found in gay male languages. With regard to these characteristics, this paper attempts to investigate the use of lavender language in Alfred Birnbaum and Thi Thi Aye's translated version of *Smile as they Bow* by Nu Nu Yi (Inwa).

The significance of this paper is that although lavender language is not something new in researches, none of the researchers had done on the presence of Myanmar LGBT language features in its translated version. In addition, this paper can serve as a proof which assures that Myanmar LGBT language features conform to characteristics of common lavender language proposed by Jacobs (1996), Barrett (1997), Livia (1997), Podesva et al. (2001) and Lakoff (2004). Besides, although the data were collected from a piece of literature – novel, natural traits of lavender language were significantly observed. The contribution of this research will benefit researchers and observers in the field of LGBT language study in Myanmar context.

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Lavender Language

Due to the fact that gay males tend to act and speak like women, female pronouns are used to refer each other (Livia, 1997). Moreover, Lakoff (2004) insisted that due to their expressive and emotional nature, gay males are likely to use superlative words and comments in exaggerated manner. As Jacob (1996) points out, gay male speech features slangs which are formed by using words related to sexual matters. They are not only used to show familiarity among gays but also uttered to disgrace other people – both male and female. In addition, according to Berrett (1997), gay males tend to be proud of their identity by explicitly referring to themselves as gays. The presence of expressions that reflect frivolity and lack of education, as observed by Podesva et al. (2001), is found in gay male speech.

### 2.2 Summary of *Smile as they Bow*

The setting of this novel is in Taungbyon Festival which is annually celebrated to show gratitude to two Spirit or Nat brothers named Mingyi and Minlay. Gay spirit mediums take part in this festival to enjoy lively celebration as well as to make money by fortune-telling. They serve as mediums between Nats and laypeople when they ask for help from Nats concerning their social and financial affairs. The theme of the novel is a mixture of passionate and platonic love of gay spirit medium to his errand boy.

The protagonist's name U Ba Si also known as Daisy James is a gay spirit medium and who is extremely respected by people who believe in Nats. He earns a great fortune by fortune-telling and by serving as a medium between Nats and laypeople. Min Maung is an errand boy in his late teens whom Daisy James loves more than her soul. Min Maung falls in love with a beggar girl who is feminine, beautiful and



young. One day Daisy James finds out that Min Maung and the beggar girl are in love. He disgraces Min Maung in public and in return he was given a blow by Min Maung. The beggar girl leaves Min Maung once she realizes that Daisy James and Min Maung are in complicated relationship. Although Min Maung looks for her everywhere, he has to give up. After days without proper food, Min Maung falls sick and gay friends of Daisy James take him back to Daisy James. Being a gay whose love is passionate as well as platonic, Daisy James accepts Min Maung again. The writer ends her novel with the dialogue "Try to sleep again. It's ok, Min Maung. It's ok." to reflect Daisy James' everlasting love, kindness and forgiveness.

### 2.3 Previous Research

Gaudio (1994), in his article titled "Sounding Gay: Pitch Properties in the Speech of Gay and Straight Men", attempted to address on the thriving increase in study of gay-related history and literature which had once been considered as prejudice over homosexuality and sodomy. In other words, he raised an awareness of the need to explore more about gay sociolinguistics and gay linguistics as gays have widely been regarded as a type of gender in the United States. The common interest related to gay studies shared by linguists and non-linguists, according to Gaudio (1994: 33), is gay men's lexicons which explicitly reveal their identity as gay men. His observation of the use of language features by gays proved that "words do not constitute the sum total of gay and lesbian language" (Gaudio, 1994: 30), which reinforces the fact that gays and straights share most language features.

In the paper titled "Gay and Lesbian Language", Kulick (2000) endeavored to engage in detailed analysis of gay language as he witnessed very few publications related to gay speech. His main focus of gay speech studies includes lavender lexicon and camp – words, actions and gestures in exaggerated manner. His report on findings showed that patterns used in superlatives, hyperbolic comments and slangs whose direct meanings are related to sexual matters and passionate desire cannot be formulated.

In the article "The Acoustic and Perceptual Bases of Judgments of Women and Men's Sexual Orientation from Read Speech", Munson, McDonald, DeBoe and White (2006) attempted to examine linguistic features of gay speech by Lesbian, Bisexual and heterosexual people using 3 experiments: (1) the experiment on acoustic characteristics of single words, (2) the experiment on listeners' judgement of sexual orientation, and (3) the experiment on listeners' perception of gay speech styles. Their findings showed that gay men do not always imitate women when they speak due to the fact that gay men are likely to use /s/ sound in fabricated manner and that low front vowels and back vowels are most frequent in gay men speech. In addition, they also found that acoustic features of gay speech are correlated with sexual orientation.

In the article "Language and Gender: Differences and Similarities" by Gu (2013), the researcher investigated the relationship between gender and language. Descriptive qualitative approach was applied in observing reviews of research into gender and language and limitations found in identifying differences and similarities between languages of different genders. The researcher raised the issue that the use of language depends not only on gender but also on personalities and communicative styles. In addition, she insisted that language features are used differently based on context no matter what the gender is. Moreover, social, cultural and psychological factors should be taken into consideration in exploring the use of language features. Her findings proved that language by different genders shares common features to some extent and therefore more attention should be given to similarities in language used by different genders.

The present study is similar to those chosen in previous research section as all research focus on the use of language and linguistic characteristics of gay speech. Not only phonological features but also lexical and semantic features of gay speech are taken into account in data collection. In addition, this present study shares the specific area of focus with Gaudio (1994) as both researches investigate language features by gay males in comparison with straight males whilst other previous research in this section focus on language features used not only by gay males but also by lesbians. What makes this study different from others is that data collection in this study was based on dialogues by gay males and straight men in the novel. The reason is that this paper also attempts to figure out the authenticity of gay male speech in dialogues.

## 3. Method

### 3.1 Material

The material chosen to analyze gay male language in this paper is Alfred Birnbaum and Thi Thi Aye (2008)'s translated version of the novel ပြုံး၍လည်း ကန်တော့ခံတော်မူပါ၊ ရယ်၍လည်း ကန်တော့ခံတော်မူပါ by Nu Nu Yi (Inwa) written in 1994. The focus was on dialogues by gay males named Daisy James, Ahpongyi and Ngwe Khin in comparison with dialogues by straight males named Min Min and Nat Maung.

### 3.2 Procedures

Data related to gay male speech and straight male speech were collected from the translated novel. The purpose taking straight male dialogues into consideration in studying lavender language is to reassure that straight male did not use most features of gay male speech. Concordance analysis of those dialogues were done using WordSmith Tool 8.0 (2020). Then gay male speech characteristics defined by Jacobs (1996), Barrett (1997), Livia (1997), Podesva et al. (2001) and Lakoff (2004) were identified in dialogues. Those data were entered in SPSS database and were presented using Stepwise Multiple Regression coefficients.

### 3.3 Instruments

Reliability of self-observation of gay male speech was reinforced by the following adapted model based on findings of Jacobs (1996), Barrett (1997), Livia (1997), Podesva et al. (2001) and Munson, et al. (2006).

Table 1: Adapted model for identifying features of lavender language

Sr. No.	Scholar	Feature of Lavender Language	Example
1.	Jacobs (1996)	Slangs revolving around sexual matters	whore
2.	Barrett (1997)	Self-categorization as gay men	We, gays, ....
3.	Livia (1997)	Female pronoun	she [to refer to another gay]
4.	Podesva et al. (2001)	Frivolity and lack of education	ain't
	Lakoff (2004)	Superlative (an exaggerated or hyperbolic comment)	divine

Two main instruments in addition to self-observation used in this paper were WordSmith Tool 8.0 (2020) and IBM SPSS Statistics 26.0 (2019).

3.4 Design

A correlational study of variables was used in research design. It attempts to figure out the natural occurring correlation between variables – sexuality, character, role in novel, type of gay language and their grammatical functions in particular.

This paper endeavors to answer the following research questions.

- 1) What are features commonly found in gay male speech in translated version of selected novel?
- 2) How can gay male speech features in the novel be compared with straight male speech features?
- 3) What is the correlation between sexuality, character, and the use of gay male speech?

4. Results and Discussion

The results of research in Table 2 showed that the most frequent number of the use of gay male features was found in dialogues by Daisy James who was the main character of the novel. Although he was also supporting character, Ngwe Khin used more lavender language than Ahpongyi. The reason behind that was their different characters. According to Figure 1 below, it was clear that the use of gay male features by gays depended on their character. Daring gays would explicitly use gay male features in daring manner whereas shy gay would speak less and would use gender-neutral words.

Table 2: Identification of gay male speech features

Name	Role in novel	Sexuality	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Self-categorization	Female pronoun	Superlative	Frivolity or uneducated term	Total
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	15	14	2	11	3	45
Ngwe Khin	Supporting character	Gay	2	1	1	3	0	7
Ahpongyi	Supporting character	Gay	0	0	0	1	0	1
Min Min	Main character	Straight	0	0	0	2	0	2
Nat Maung	Supporting character	Straight	0	0	0	1	0	1

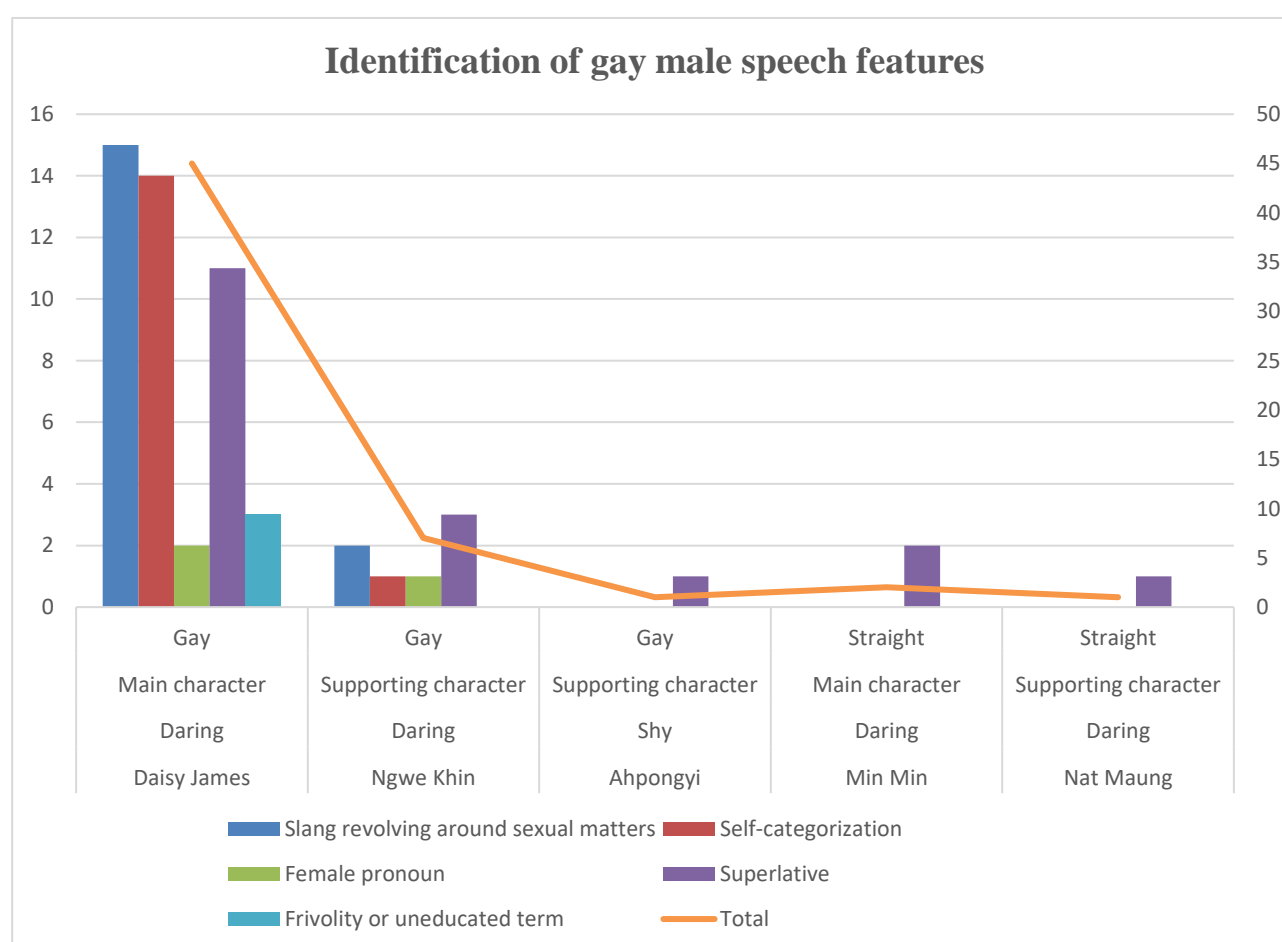


Figure 1: Identification of gay male speech features

It can be interpreted from Figure 1 that sexuality was interrelated to the use of gay male speech features. Out of 196 turns, Daisy James used 45 expressions of lavender language and thus it was found that 23% of his dialogue was influenced by lavender language. Ngwe Khin made 20 turns and used 7 gay expressions which were counted for 35%. Being daring gays who took pride in being gay spirit mediums, both Daisy James and Ngwe Khin were accustomed to using gay male speech features in arrogant manner.

Ahpongyi made 7 utterances and used 1 lavender expression (14%). As Ahpongyi was a quiet and shy gay housemaid, he did not use many gay speech features and tended to use gender-neutral words most of the time. The only utterance whose feature conformed to lavender

language was the superlative – “too late” – which in fact was used to report what Min Min had said. Being shy and timid as a gay in Myanmar society, Ahpongyi rarely used gay male features in his speech.

Min Min was a straight man and thus only 2% of gay male features was found in his 96 turns. Although he had been together with Daisy James and gay spirit medium society for almost 10 years, he conformed to masculinity in his speech as he was a straight man. Lastly, utterances made by Nat Maung showed that he was an unimportant character which Nu Nu Yi (Inwa) included to reinforce how restlessly Daisy James looked for his love, Min Min. He made only 2 utterances throughout the novel. Although 50% of his dialogue was influenced by superlative which is one of the features of gay male speech, he used it – “so beautiful” – not because he was gay but because he would like to flatter Daisy James so that he could get pocket money for drinks.

The following table show statistical data analysis of gay male speech features found in dialogues by main characters Daisy James and Min Min, and those by supporting characters Ngwe Khin, Ahpongyi and Nat Maung.

Table 3: IBM SPSS Statistics data view of gay male speech features

Name	Role_in_Novel	Sexuality	Character	Gay_Expression	Gay_Language_Feature	Grammar_Function
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Fatherfucker	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Address Term
Ngwe Khin	Supporting character	Gay	Daring	Fatherfucker	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Free-fucking	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Fuck	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Main Verb
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Fucker	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Adjective
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Fucker	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Fucking	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Fucking	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Fucking	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Fucking	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Shit	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Noun
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Shit	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Noun
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Juicy	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Juicy	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Adjective
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Prick	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Noun
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Prick	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Noun
Ngwe Khin	Supporting character	Gay	Daring	Prick	Slang revolving around sexual matters	Noun
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Mama	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Mama	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Mama	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Mama	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Mama	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Mama	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Mama	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Mama	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Mama	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Mama	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Mama	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Meinmasha	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Meinmasha	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term
Ngwe Khin	Supporting character	Gay	Daring	Natkataw	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Ma	Female pronoun	Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Old lady	Self-categorization	Self-Address Term

Ngwe Khin	Supporting character	Gay	Daring	Old lady	Female pronoun	Self-Address Term
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	Slut	Female pronoun	Address Term
Ngwe Khin	Supporting character	Gay	Daring	awful	Superlative	Modifier
Ngwe Khin	Supporting character	Gay	Daring	damn	Superlative	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	damn	Superlative	Modifier
Ahpongyi	Supporting character	Gay	Shy	full	Superlative	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	full	Superlative	Quantifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	infinite	Superlative	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	infinite	Superlative	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	infinite	Superlative	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	insane	Superlative	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	most highest	Superlative	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	most precious	Superlative	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	powerful	Superlative	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	so soft	Superlative	Modifier
Ngwe Khin	Supporting character	Gay	Daring	too pricey	Superlative	Modifier
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	transcendent	Superlative	Modifier
Min Min	Main character	Straight	Daring	so much	Superlative	Quantifier
Min Min	Main character	Straight	Daring	very cute	Superlative	Adjective
Nat Maung	Supporting character	Straight	Daring	so beautiful	Superlative	Adjective
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	ain't	Frivolity or uneducated term	Auxiliary
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	gimme	Frivolity or uneducated term	Main Verb
Daisy James	Main character	Gay	Daring	whatcha	Frivolity or uneducated term	Question

According to Table 3, it can be concluded that the most frequent lavender expressions are superlatives and slangs revolving heavily around sexual matters. The reason is that gays are womanish and thus tend to use flowery language to make a face. Gays in the novel attempted to flatter others from whom they could get financial benefit. Thus, most gay male expressions found in the novel were adjectives which served as modifiers and nouns to identify their belongingness to gay community. Moreover, they tended to use obscene words whose meaning were related to sexual matters whenever they felt angry, annoyed and repugnant. However, it will be inappropriate to overgeneralize those straight males and female abstain from using slangs related to sexual matters, superlatives and terms which reflect frivolity and lack of education. Language chosen to communicate will solely depend on how users no matter gay or straight view, feel and react.

In order to reinforce reliability of data interpretation – the frequent use of gay male language features was related to sexuality or the state of being gay, Stepwise Multiple Regression was used as follows.

Table 4: Stepwise Multiple Regression coefficients of Lavender Language

Model		Coefficients <sup>a</sup>				
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.847	.221		3.826	.000
	Gay_Language_Feature	.056	.021	.334	2.695	.009
	Grammar_Function	.036	.011	.421	3.414	.001
	Character	-.053	.209	-.031	-.253	.802

a. Dependent Variable: Sexuality

Coefficients in Table 4 strongly proved the strength of correlation which existed between sexuality and gay language feature and grammar function. Sig. for Gay\_Language\_Feature was .009 which is less than ( $p < .05$ ) and that for Grammar\_Function was .001 which is again less than ( $p < .05$ ). Therefore, it can be concluded that dependent variable – Sexuality – is related to gay language features and their grammar functions.

What can be noted from analysis of lavender language in this paper is that gay male features are not used in consistent patterns. In other words, in line with results of research done by Kulick (2000), this paper supported that gay's use of patterns like superlatives for flattering or making hyperbolic comments and slangs revolving around sexual matters cannot be formulated. It is possible that both gays and straight men would share some features depending on their needs and reactions to given situations. For instance, Min Min cannot be labelled gay because he used superlative "so cute".

The results of this research also take the stance of Munson et al. (2006: p. 203) – "gay male speech does not simply or categorically imitate females" – as address terms and self-categorization are different from female speech in real-life communication. Women rarely use the

term “fatherfucker” and hardly address themselves as “Mama”. It can be inferred from self-categorization of gays in the novel such as “meinmasha” and “natkataw” that gays tend to belong to gay community only. For this reason, it can be said that the results of this research totally contradict with Gaudio (1994: p. 42)’s findings in “Sounding Gay: Pitch Properties in the Speech of Gay and Straight Men” that gay speech is also widely stereotyped as resembling women’s speech.

Moreover, the results of this paper are in line with those of “Language and Gender: Differences and Similarities” by Gu (2013: p. 251) in that both researchers accept the similarities between language of all genders. It cannot be denied that all genders have the right to use any language expressions. All genders in real-life use slangs revolving around sexual matters when they are in their own familiar group. It is unreliable to conclude a person is gay based on language features he or she uses at one glance.

## 5. Conclusion

To wind up, this research aims to explore lavender language found in Alfred Birnbaum and Thi Thi Aye’s English translated version of the novel *Smile as they Bow* originally written by Nu Nu Yi (Inwa). As the story was based on common issues of gay spirit mediums in Taungbyon, translators’ attempt to pay scrupulous attention to the choice of language commonly used by gays. It can be concluded that the use of language expressions depends a lot on sexuality of the language user and that there is no set criteria or formulation for language patterns used by gays and straight people. Lavender language, no doubt, shares similar language features with common language as gays are also part of community, that of a country and most importantly that of the world. Gay male speech used to analyze in this small-scale research was only from literature and it is recommended that further research can be done on discourse analysis of gay male speech in authentic situation.

## Biodata of Author

Dr. Su Khine Oo is an Assistant Lecturer at English Department, Yangon University of Foreign Languages. She earned PhD (English) from Yangon University in 2017, Postgraduate Diploma in Applied Linguistics from RELC (Singapore), and Specialist Certificate in Social and Demographic Research Methods from Australian National University, Canberra. Her thesis titled “A Study of the Use of Parallelism in the Novel *A Tale of Two Cities* by Charles Dickens” explores the use of literary parallelism and biblical parallelism with focus on how parallelism highlights the elements of novel. Her thesis has been awarded *The Best PhD Thesis of the Year 2017* by Myanmar Academy of Arts and Science Board. Her research paper titled “A Comparative Study of the Effectiveness of Teaching Listening Models” has been awarded *The Best Paper Award in English* in 2018 by MAAS. She also obtained *Best Paper Award for Arts* at Myanmar Universities Research Conference in 2020. She has been working as a university teacher since 2009. She is currently carrying out research related to Subaltern Linguistics, Corpus Linguistics, Gender Representation and Demography.

## References

- Inwa, N. N. (2007). *ပြုံး၍လည်း ကန်တော့ခံတော်မူပါ၊ ရယ်၍လည်း ကန်တော့ခံတော်မူပါ*. Yangon: Ye Aung Publishing.
- Berret, R. (1997). The “Homo-genius” Speech Community. *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality*. (A. Livia, & K. Hall, Eds.) New York: Oxford University Press.
- Birnbaum, A., & Aye, T. T. (2008). *Smile As They Bow*. US: Hyperion Book.
- Burma’s homosexuality law ‘undermining HIV and Aids fight’. (2014, March 21). *The Guardians*.
- Ferrie, J. (2018, February 1). *LGBT festival opens in Myanmar after first public launch party*. Retrieved from Yahoo! finance: <https://finance.yahoo.com/news/lgbt-festival-opens-myanmar-first-110526884.html>
- Gaudio, R. P. (1994). Sounding Gay: Pitch Properties in the Speech of Gay and Straight Men. *American Speech*, 69, 30-44.
- Gu, L. (2013). Language and Gender: Differences and Similarities. *International Conference on Advances in Social Science, Humanities, and Management* (pp. 248-251). ASSHM.
- Jacobs, G. (1996). Lesbian and gay male language use: A critical review of the literature. *American speech*, 71(1), 49-71.
- Kulick, D. (2000). Gay and Lesbian Language. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 243-85.
- Lakoff, R. T. (2004). *Language and Woman's Place*. New York: Oxford UP.
- Leap, W. L. (1995). *Beyond the Lavender Lexicon*. Newark: Gordon & Breach.
- Livia, A. (1997). Disloyal to Masculinity: Linguistic Gender and Liminal Identity in French. *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality*. (A. Livia, & K. Hall, Eds.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Matthew, M. (2014, September 5). *The Outlook for LGBT Rights in Myanmar*. The Diplomat.
- Maxwell, K. (2003). *Lavender Language*. Retrieved from MacMillan Dictionary: <https://www.macmillandictionary.com/buzzword/entries/lavender-language.html>
- Munson, B., McDonald, E. C., DeBoe, N. L., & White. A. R. (2006). The acoustic and perpetual bases of judgement of men and women’s sexual orientation from read speech. *Journal of Phonetics*, 202-240.
- Podesva, R. J., Roberts, S. J., & Campbell-Kibler, K. (2001). *Language and Sexuality: Contesting Meaning in Theory and Practice*. Stanford: Stanford Linguistics Association.
- Stanley, J. P. (1970). *Homosexual Slang*. Dyke University Press. doi:10.2307/455061