

# *DUDE*

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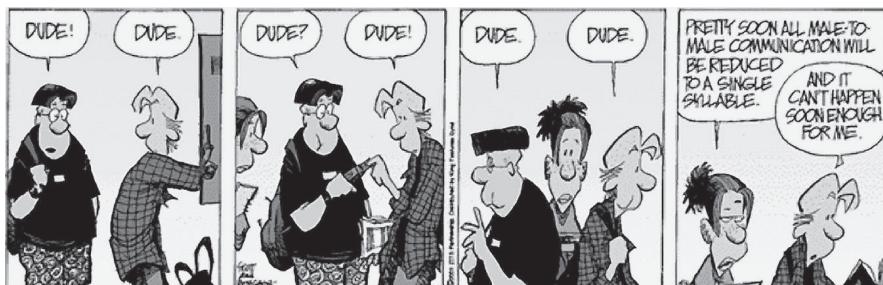
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**ABSTRACT:** The patterns of use for the address term *dude* are outlined, as are its functions and meanings in interaction. Explanations are provided for its rise in use, particularly among young men, in the early 1980s, and for its continued popularity since then. *Dude* is used mostly by young men to address other young men; however, its use has expanded so that it is now used as a general address term for a group (same or mixed gender), and by and to women. *Dude* is developing into a discourse marker that need not identify an addressee, and more generally encodes the speaker's stance to his or her current addressee(s). *Dude* indexes a stance of cool solidarity, a stance which is especially valuable for young men as they navigate cultural Discourses of young masculinity, which simultaneously demand masculine solidarity, strict heterosexuality, and nonconformity.

OLDER ADULTS, BAFFLED BY THE NEW FORMS of language that regularly appear in youth cultures, frequently characterize young people's language as "inarticulate," and then provide examples that illustrate the specific forms of linguistic mayhem performed by "young people nowadays." For American teenagers, these examples usually include the discourse marker *like*, rising final intonation on declaratives, and the address term *dude*, which is cited as an example of the inarticulateness of young men in particular. As shown in the comic strip in figure 1, this stereotype views the use of *dude* as unconstrained—a sign of inexpressiveness in which one word is used for any and all utterances. These kinds of stereotypes, however, are based on a fundamental misunderstanding of the functions and meanings of these

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FIGURE 1  
Use of *dude* in the "Zits" Comic Strip



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linguistic forms. As analyses of *like* and rising intonation have shown (e.g., Guy et al. 1986, McLemore 1991; Andersen 2001; Siegel 2002), these forms are constrained in use and precisely expressive in meaning. *Dude* is no exception. This article outlines the patterns of use for *dude* and its functions and meanings in interaction and provides some explanations for its rise in use, particularly among young men, in the early 1980s, and for its continued popularity since then.

Indeed, the data presented here confirm that *dude* is an address term that is used mostly by young men to address other young men; however, its use has expanded so that it is now used as a general address term for a group (same or mixed gender) and by and to women. *Dude* is developing into a discourse marker that need not identify an addressee, and more generally encodes the speaker's stance to his or her current addressee(s). The term is used mainly in situations in which a speaker takes a stance of solidarity or camaraderie, but crucially in a nonchalant, not-too-enthusiastic manner. *Dude* indexes a stance of effortlessness (or laziness, depending on the perspective of the hearer), largely because of its origins in the "surfer" and "druggie" subcultures in which such stances are valued. This indexicality also explains where *dude* appears in discourse structure and why it tends to be used in a restricted set of speech events. The reason young men use this term is precisely that *dude* indexes this stance of cool solidarity. Such a stance is especially valuable for young men as they navigate cultural Discourses of young masculinity,<sup>1</sup> which simultaneously demand masculine solidarity, strict heterosexuality, and nonconformity.

The discussion that follows illuminates not only the meanings and use of this address term but also the broader linguistic issue of how language-in-interaction creates and displays social relationships and identities, that is, how language is socially meaningful. An understanding of the ways in which *dude* works thus leads to a better understanding of how everyday language-in-interaction is related to widespread, enduring cultural Discourses (i.e., the relationship between first- and second-order indexical meanings, in Silverstein's 1996 terms). In this article I focus on gender meanings and on how cultural Discourses of gender are recreated in interaction with the help of *dude*.

The crucial connection between these cultural Discourses and the everyday use of *dude* is the stance of cool solidarity which *dude* indexes. This stance allows men to balance two dominant, but potentially contradictory, cultural Discourses of modern American masculinity: masculine solidarity and heterosexism. Connell (1995) argues that different types of masculinities are hierarchically ordered in Western cultures and that the most desired and honored in a particular culture is its hegemonic masculinity. Along with

Carrigan et al. (1985), he shows that heterosexuality is one component of hegemonic masculinities in Western cultures, especially in the United States. Kimmel (2001, 282) argues more forcefully that “homophobia, men’s fear of other men, is the animating condition of the dominant definition of masculinity in America, [and] that the reigning definition of masculinity is a defensive effort to prevent being emasculated,” where “emasculated” is equivalent to being perceived as gay by other men. At the same time, there is a cultural Discourse of masculine solidarity—close social bonds between men. In this cultural Discourse, a bond with, and loyalty to, other men is a central measure of masculinity. This Discourse is epitomized in the ideal of loyalty within a military unit, as outlined for American war films by Donald (2001) and illustrated vividly in Swofford’s (2003) *Jarhead*, a first-person account of the author’s experiences as a U.S. Marine in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Although this ideal of masculine solidarity could be understood to be consonant with the Discourse of heterosexism (i.e., by having a set of loyal close friends, a man need not be afraid that they will think he is gay), on another level masculine solidarity, in emphasizing closeness between men, is opposed to heterosexism, which emphasizes distance between men. Masculine solidarity and heterosexism thus delimit a narrow range of ratified, dominant, and hegemonic relationships between American men, since masculine solidarity implies closeness with other men, while heterosexism entails nonintimacy with other men. *Dude* allows men to create a stance within this narrow range, one of closeness with other men (satisfying masculine solidarity) that also maintains a casual stance that keeps some distance (thus satisfying heterosexism).

What follows provides evidence for these claims about *dude* in the details of its use. Data are drawn from a number of complementary sources. Survey data come from three surveys of two types performed by classes at the University of Pittsburgh. Ethnographic and interaction data are drawn from my observations in 1993 of an American college fraternity.<sup>2</sup> I also draw from various media sources and from my own experience as a bona fide “*dude-user*” in the 1980s. These multiple sources of data come together to present a consistent picture of the uses, meanings, and recent history of the address term.

I first investigate the wider use of the term and then excerpt several uses in the fraternity to illustrate its discourse functions and how it is used in interaction. I also discuss the personalities of the men who use *dude* the most in the fraternity, then describe the most salient phonological characteristics of the term—a fronted /u/—and possible connections between this feature of *dude* and the ongoing fronting of this vowel across North America. Finally, I explain the rise and use of *dude* by exploring cultural Discourses of masculinity and American identity more generally in the 1980s.

## HISTORY AND ORIGINS

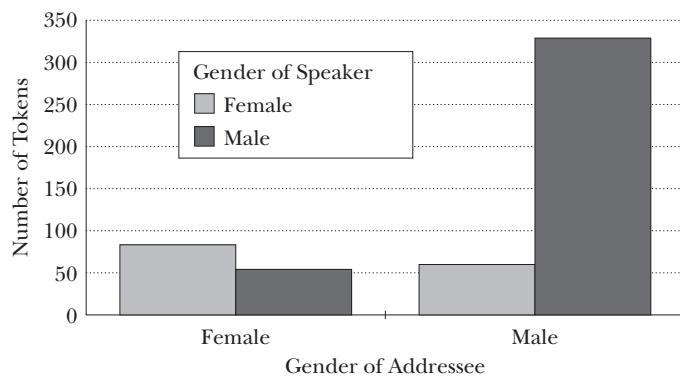
The recent history of *dude* provides insight into its indexicalities as well as its rise in use in the United States. The discussion that follows is based on Hill's (1994) history of the term until approximately the 1980s. *Dudes* originally referred to 'old rags', and a *dudeman*, 'scarecrow'. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, "*dude* became synonymous with *dandy*, a term used to designate a sharp dresser in the western territories [of the United States]" (321). There was for a time a female version of the word, but it fell out of use. According to Hill, the use of *dude* as an address term developed in the 1930s and 1940s from groups of men, "Urban Mexican-American *pachuchos*<sup>3</sup> and African-American *zoot-suiters*" (323), known for their clothes consciousness. These groups began to use *dude* as an in-group term, and it soon was used as a general form of address among men. Then *dude* followed a well-worn linguistic path from stigmatized groups such as urban African Americans and Mexicans to whites through African American music culture (much as *cool* and *groovy* did). In the 1980s, "young people began to use *dude* as an exclamation of delight and/or affection" (325). Hill predicts that *dude* may follow *fuck* and its derivatives as being able to function in any grammatical slot or as a single-word utterance that can mean anything in the right context. The history of the term, however, shows that from the time it began to be used as an address term, it was an in-group term that indicated solidarity.

It is this cool solidarity and in-group meaning that has remained with *dude* until the present, and it is the kind of stance indexed when the men in the fraternity use it. However, I show below that, while it is true that *dude* is used as more than simply an address term, it is restricted in where and how it is used grammatically in discourse structure and with what intonation.

## THE DUDE CORPUS

As an assignment for two introductory undergraduate sociolinguistics classes at the University of Pittsburgh (in 2001 and 2002), students were required to listen for and record the first 20 tokens of *dude* that they heard throughout a three-day period. They recorded the entire utterance as best as they could remember it, the gender and ethnicity of the speaker and addressee(s), the relationship between speaker and hearer, and the situation. I have compiled the results from both classes into a 519-token Dude Corpus (DC).<sup>4</sup> The impression that *dude* is used by young men (under 30) is confirmed by the survey, but young women also used the term a significant amount, particularly when speaking to other women, as shown in figure 2.<sup>5</sup>

FIGURE 2

Use of *dude* by Gender of Speaker and Addressee for People under 30 Years of Age

In addition to the overwhelming predominance of male-male uses of *dude* in these data,<sup>6</sup> it is important to note that the second most common speaker-addressee gender type is female-female, while in mixed-gender interactions there were relatively fewer uses of *dude*. This correlational result suggests that *dude* indexes a solidary stance separate from its probable indexing of masculinity, unless for some reason women are apt to be more masculine (and men, less masculine) when speaking to women.<sup>7</sup>

More clues to the solidarity component of *dude*'s indexicality can be found in the actual tokens used by women speakers to women addressees, however. The all-women tokens were not used in simple greetings, but mostly in situations where camaraderie was salient: only 1 of the 82 woman-woman tokens (1.2%) was a simple greeting (*Hey dude* or *What's up, dude*), as opposed to 7.6% (25/329) of the men's tokens. The women tended to use *dude* (1) when they were commiserating about something bad or being in an unfortunate position, (2) when they were in confrontational situations, or (3) when they were issuing a directive to their addressee. In these last two uses by women, *dude* seems to function to ameliorate the confrontational and/or hierarchical stance of the rest of the utterance.

For example, one token of commiserating was said in a whisper during a class: "Dude, this class is soooo boring." An even clearer example of commiseration (and clearly not masculinity) was recorded after the addressee had been describing a situation in which a man had been trying to "hit on" her. Following the story, the woman who heard the story replied simply, "Dude," with "a tone of disbelief and disgust." An instance of a confrontational situation in which *dude* is used was recorded after the addressee had

been teasing the speaker, who then said, "Dude, that's just not cool." Finally, a token used with a direct order while in a car: "Dude, turn signal!" There were also several instances of constructed dialogue<sup>8</sup> with men as addressees in the woman-woman tokens, which inflates the woman-woman tokens. However, these tokens also reveal information about the indexicality of *dude*, because all of these constructed dialogue tokens are used to express a stance of distance—or at least nonintimacy—from a man. For example, one token was recorded in the midst of telling a story about talking to a man. In the course of the narrative, the narrator says to the man "I'm like, dude, don't touch me!" Such tokens are clearly being used to create stances of distance between the speaker and the addressee ("don't touch me"), and these tokens thus reveal the nonintimate indexicality of the term.

*Dude* thus carries indexicalities of both solidarity (camaraderie) and distance (nonintimacy) and can be deployed to create both of these kinds of stance, separately or together. This combined stance is what I call COOL SOLIDARITY. The expansion of the use of *dude* to women is thus based on its usefulness in indexing this stance, separate from its associations with masculinity. *Dude* is clearly used most by young, European American men and thus also likely indexes membership in this identity category. But by closely investigating women's use of the term, the separation between the first-order stance index (cool solidarity) and the second-order group-identity index (men) becomes evident. These data also suggest, as would be intuitively predicted by anyone living in North American Anglo culture, an indexical connection between the stance of cool solidarity and young Anglo masculinity, thus showing an indirect indexical connection, of the kind outlined by Ochs (1992), between *dude* and masculinity.

#### SELF-REPORT STUDY

The connection between the category 'men' and *dude* was further investigated by a project of a language and gender class at the University of Pittsburgh in fall 2002. This class administered a self-report survey to their friends on the terms *dude*, *babe*, and *yinz* (the latter being a Pittsburgh dialect term for second person plural). Respondents were asked how often they used the term and then whether they would use the term with particular addressees (boyfriend/girlfriend, close friend, acquaintance, stranger, sibling, parent, boss, and professor) using a Likert scale of 1 to 5. They were also asked why they used the term and what kind of people they typically think use the term. The survey is reproduced in the appendix.

These self-report data corroborate the findings of the survey above: that *dude* is used primarily by men speaking to other men, but not exclusively so. The highest average frequency rating was for man-man interactions (3.34), but men reported using *dude* with women as well (the average man-woman frequency rating was 3.24). As shown in figure 3, the gender of the survey respondent was more important than the gender of the addressee, since the difference between male and female speakers is greater than the difference between male and female addressees (i.e., the difference between the endpoints of the lines is greater than the difference between the two lines). However, there are again clues that *dude* is restricted to nonintimate solidarity stances. Consider figure 4.<sup>9</sup> The first noticeable pattern in this figure is that the gender of the addressee makes more of a difference to the men than the women: for women respondents (represented by the squares and diamonds), there is almost no difference between male and female addressees in any category, while for men respondents (the triangles), the gender of the addressee makes a striking difference, especially in the close friend category. In fact, in figure 4 the female lines are almost always within the male lines. These data thus show that *dude* is associated with a male friendship for the men and a nonhierarchic relationship for all respondents, indicated by the low values for parent, boss, and professor.

In addition, intimacy is NOT indexed by *dude*, especially for the men, as shown by the low ratings in the “heterosexual intimate relationship” (Hetero.) category. More importantly, the difference between the “different-gender, close-friend” and “heterosexual relationship” category is greater for men than for women (a difference of 0.63 for men and 0.55 for women). The disparity is even greater between “same-gender, close-friend” and “hetero-

FIGURE 3  
Reported Frequency of Use of *dude* by Gender of Speaker and Addressee

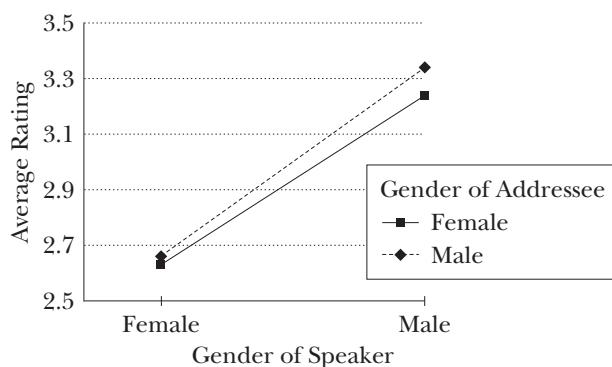
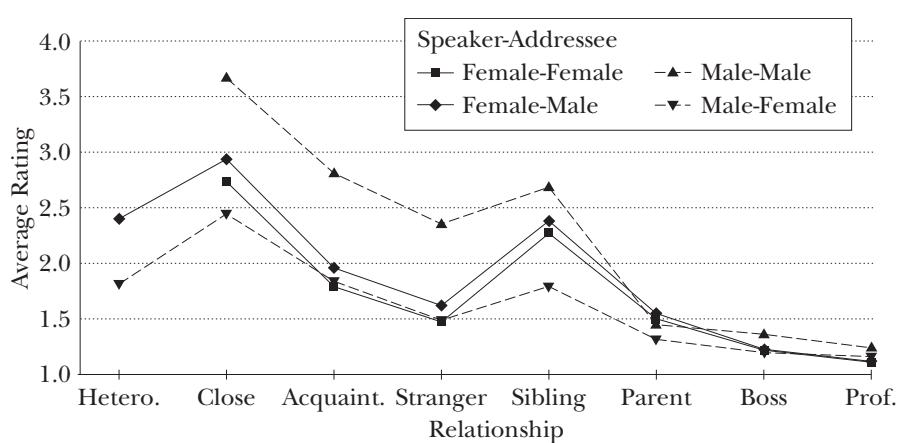


FIGURE 4  
*Dude* Reported Use by Gender of Speaker, Addressee, and Relationship  
(see note 9 for descriptions of the relationship labels)



sexual relationship" (the difference for men is 1.85, while for women it is 0.33). Thus, intimate relationships with women are among the least likely addressee situations in which men will use *dude*, while a close female friend is the most likely woman to be addressed with *dude* by a man. In simple terms, men report that they use *dude* with women with whom they are close friends, but not with women with whom they are intimate.

This survey, combined with the DC, thus supports the claim that *dude* indexes a complex and somewhat indeterminate combination of distance, casualness, camaraderie, and equality. The survey also suggests that speakers are aware of the association between *dude* use and masculinity: in the open-ended question asking who uses *dude*, all responses suggested men, specifically young, drug-using men, often with descriptions such as *slacker*, *skater* (one who skateboards), or *druggie*. This second-order indexicality, or metapragmatic awareness (Silverstein 1996; Morford 1997), is one which connects the term to counter-culture, nonserious masculinity.

These indexicalities are clearly represented in films such as *Fast Times at Ridgemont High* (1982), *Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventure* (1989), *Clerks* (1994), and *Dude, Where's My Car?* (2000), and in other popular representations of the term. In these films, some or all of the young male characters frequently use the term *dude*. The character Jeff Spicoli in *Fast Times at Ridgemont High*, played by Sean Penn, is one of the earliest, perhaps the best known and most prototypical, of these characters. This film is a comedy about a year in a southern Californian high school, with Spicoli as the do-nothing, class-cutting,

stoned surfer. While he is “clueless” and often falls on hard times, Spicoli is consistently laid back, even in exasperation, and especially in encounters with authority. The male characters who use *dude* in the other films mentioned here have similar personalities. Although they manifest it in slightly different ways, all take a laid-back stance to the world, even if the world proves to be quite remarkable, as in *Bill and Ted’s Excellent Adventure* (in which the protagonists travel through time). I was a teenager at the time *Fast Times* was released. The characters in this film resonated with me and my peers because they represented (and satirized) a distillation of the dominant identity types found in my high school of mostly middle-class European Americans. As such, these characters, especially Spicoli, became media “linguistic icons” in Eckert’s (2000) terminology. Many young men glorified Spicoli, especially his nonchalant blindness to authority and hierarchical division; in the early 1980s we often spoke with Spicoli’s voice. At first these quotes were only in stylized situations where we quoted from the movie, but eventually many of the features of Spicoli’s speech, especially *dude*, became commonplace as we endeavored to emulate the stance Spicoli takes toward the world. I will return to this film when discussing the rise of *dude*, but here it is evidence of the stances associated with *dude* as represented in popular media.

*Dude* has also been featured in comic strips, as shown in figure 1, from the comic strip “Zits,” which has as its main characters American teenagers. *Dude* is implicated in stereotypes of male communication as inexpressive and monosyllabic (see also Sattel 1983), but in this episode of “Zits” the speakers are actually performing an act of solidarity (offering and accepting chewing gum), but with limited enthusiasm. *Dude* is perfect for such an interaction, and again bolsters the understanding of *dude* as indexing cool solidarity, especially among men. Figure 5 is a “Doonesbury” comic strip of a dialogue between two male college roommates. One of the roommates, distressed that the other has stopped calling him *dude*, interprets this as a symptom of becoming a more serious student overall. Here *dude* is clearly indexed with not being serious, since not using *dude* is seen as evidence of becoming serious. All of these representations suggest that *dude*’s first-order indexicality is one of cool solidarity, with a related second-order indexicality of men who shun authority and the establishment. Cartoonist Gary Trudeau uses this indexicality to humorous effect in a later strip when one of the characters in figure 5 joins the CIA; the humor is created by the clash inherent in the “slacker” working for the agency that arguably represents the height of establishment power. The indexicalities of *dude* thus encompass not just stances but also specific kinds of masculinity, and the two are intimately bound with one another in an indexical web.

FIGURE 5  
*Dude* in "Doonesbury" Comic Strip



In sum, these examples show how the general stances indexed by *dude* can be used as a resource in interaction. By using *dude*, the men are not rigidly encoding a relationship with an addressee or addressees. Rather, they are using the indexicalities of the term to help create an interpersonal stance, along with many other resources that interact with various parts of context (the nature of the speech event, participants' previous interactions and identities within the institution, etc.). I will acknowledge the vagueness with which I have been describing the stance indexed by *dude* and at the same time argue that this indeterminacy is characteristic of the overwhelming majority of social indexes (see also Silverstein 1996, 269). Without context there is no SINGLE meaning that *dude* encodes, and it can be used, it seems, in almost any kind of situation (as shown by the "Zits" comic). But we should not confuse flexibility with meaninglessness; rather, the complex of stances indexed by the term—distance, camaraderie, cool, casualness, solidarity—can be made salient through different contexts. *Dude*, then, shows us two important ways indexicality, and meaning more generally, work in language. First, the meaning that speakers make when using language in interaction is about stance-taking at least as much as it is about denotation. Nor is this social meaning-making most often focused on signaling group affiliation or "acts of identity" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). Rather, it is about specific

relationships speakers create with each other in interaction. Second, meaning is made in contextualized interactions; words and sounds are indeterminate resources that speakers combine to perform and negotiate stances, and it is these stances which are the primary focus of interaction.

## DISCUSSION

The casual and cool stance that is the main indexicality of *dude* is an important feature of men's homosociality in North America. While masculine solidarity is a central cultural Discourse of masculinity in North America, this solidarity is nevertheless ideally performed without much effort or dependence. *Dude* helps men maintain this balance between homosociality and hierarchy. It is not surprising, then, that *dude* has spread so widely among American men because it encodes a central stance of masculinity. If *dude* use by men is related to the dominant cultural Discourses of masculinity, then why did this

term expand significantly in middle-class, European American youth in the early 1980s? What are the cultural currents that made the particular kind of masculinity and stance indexed by *dude* desirable for young men (i.e., for the post-baby-boom generation)?

Youth in general often engage in practices that are meant to express rebellion or at least differentiate them in some way from older generations (Brake 1985). In language, this nonconformity can be seen in the “adolescent peak”—the rise in nonstandard language use by teenagers (see Labov 2001, 101–20), a peak which flattens out as teenagers become older. The rise of *dude* likely took place because cool solidarity became a valuable nonconformist stance for youth in the 1980s. While I can find no studies analyzing dominant cultural Discourses of masculinity in the 1980s, I would characterize this time—the Reagan years particularly—as one in which “yuppie consumerism” and wealth accumulation were hegemonic. Edley and Wetherell (1995, 141), moreover, comment that

it could be argued that the 1980s were characterized by the reinstatement of a new form of puritanist philosophy, once again emphasizing hard work and traditional family values (Levitas 1986). Typified in the character played by Michael Douglas in the film *Wall Street*, the stereotypical or ideal 1980’s man was portrayed as a hard, aggressive person single-mindedly driven by the desire for power and status.

In perhaps the most well-known scenes in *Fast Times at Ridgemont High* (1982), a conflict is set up between Spicoli and his history teacher, Mr. Hand. In the first scene Spicoli is late on the first day of class, and in the second he has a pizza delivered to class. Mr. Hand is represented as a demanding, uptight teacher who takes stances that could hardly be further from those Spicoli adopts. Mr. Hand, of course, becomes outraged that Spicoli does not even seem to realize his behavior is unacceptable. From the eyes of a 1980s teenager, the conflict between Spicoli and Mr. Hand is an allegory for competing norms of masculinity and shows how the stances associated with *dude* are set up in conflict with stances of hard work and other “adult” values.<sup>11</sup> The “slackers” in the film *Clerks* (1994) are also the opposite of Edley and Wetherell’s “hard, aggressive person single-mindedly driven by the desire for power and status,” but in *Clerks*, the fun-loving of Spicoli has been replaced by nihilism: more “why bother?” than “who cares?” All of these portrayals, which can be connected to the use of *dude*, are part of a general American cultural Discourse which represents the post-baby-boom generation as having little or no career ambition—a whole generation of slackers. There is also a component of the surfer subculture associated with *dude* that valorizes not just skill and success, but the appearance of effortless, yet authentic, achievement. This kind of success is also quite different from the 1980s image of

success based on hard work. So in many ways the stances indexed by *dude* were (and still are) nonconformist and attractive to adolescents.

This view of the motivations for the rise of *dude* in American English shows that sociolinguistic norms are much more complex than, for example, associating a sound with prestige. The kinds of meanings indexed by language can be numerous, even if connected by a common thread, and change with each use. More importantly, *dude* shows that it is not just the indexicalities of a form that might change, but that the values and aspirations of the speakers might change as well. What was cool in 1982 is not necessarily cool in 2002 but may become cool again in 2005. In other words, the very definition of prestige changes over time. The casual stance indexed by *dude* is becoming more “prestigious” throughout the United States, so perhaps it will eventually be used by all ages and in most situations in America. For the time being, it is clear that *dude* is a term that indexes a stance of cool solidarity for everyone and that it also has second orders of indexicality relating it to young people, young men, and young counterculture men. It became popular because young men found in *dude* a way to express dissatisfaction with the careerism of the 1980s, and it has later been a way of expressing the nihilism of the 1990s. Perhaps we are becoming a nation of skaters and surfers, at least in certain cultural trappings, who only wish for, in Spicoli’s words, “tasty waves and cool buds,” and *dude* is the harbinger of things to come.

## APPENDIX

*Dude* Survey

(This form modified from the original: *yinz* has been removed.)

## LANGUAGE SURVEY

Please help me with a survey for a linguistics class. The answers should take you only a few minutes. If you are interested in the topic, I can explain what we are studying after you have taken the survey.

Your answers are anonymous and confidential. No one will know who gave your answers, and the paper will be destroyed at the end of the course.

This survey asks you to answer questions about [two] words in English. These words are all terms of address. That is, they are used to greet someone or get their attention to talk to them in a sentence like this: "Hey, **sir**, you dropped something!"

The terms are *Dude* and *Babe*.

***Dude***

1. How often do you use this term as an address term (circle one)?

Many times each day  
About once a day

About once a week  
 Hardly ever  
 Never

2. What kind of person are you likely to use it to address?

1 = Not likely at all, will never use it with someone like this

5 = Very likely, use it all the time with people like this

<i>The person is your</i>	<i>The person is also a man</i>	<i>The person is also a woman</i>
Girl/boyfriend	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A
Close friend	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A
Acquaintance	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A
Stranger	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A
Sibling	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A
Parent	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A
Boss	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A
Professor	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A

3. Why do you use the term? That is, what do you think it says about you to the person you are talking to?

4. What kind of person do you think uses it frequently?

### ***Babe***

1. How often do you use this term as an address term (circle one)?

Many times each day

About once a day

About once a week

Hardly ever

Never

2. What kind of person are you likely to use it to address?

1 = Not likely at all, will never use it with someone like this

5 = Very likely, use it all the time with people like this

<i>The person is your</i>	<i>The person is also a man</i>	<i>The person is also a woman</i>
Girl/boyfriend	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A
Close friend	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A
Acquaintance	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A
Stranger	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A
Sibling	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A
Parent	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A
Boss	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A
Professor	1 2 3 4 5 N/A	1 2 3 4 5 N/A

3. Why do you use the term? That is, what do you think it says about you to the person you are talking to?

4. What kind of person do you think uses it frequently?

### ***Now please answer a few questions about yourself:***

1. What is your age?

2. What is your ethnicity?
3. What is your gender?
4. In what city did (do) you go to high school?
5. What is your occupation?
6. If you are a college student, what is your major (or school, if undecided):