

Ollscoil na hÉireann, Corcaigh

National University of Ireland, Cork



Dykes a Lot! Encoding a Slice of *The Queens' Vernacular*

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for the degree of

Master of Arts

University College Cork

Digital Arts and Humanities

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2022

DECLARATION:

This is to certify that the work I am submitting is my own and has not been submitted for another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere. All external references and sources are clearly acknowledged and identified within the contents. I have read and understood the regulations of University College Cork concerning plagiarism and intellectual property.

ABSTRACT:

This project documents the digital encoding and analogue publishing of a portion of the 1972 dictionary of gay slang, *The Queens' Vernacular*. The dictionary is encoded using TEI Lex-0 standards and published as a traditional paper zine. This project shows the importance of digitizing LGBT+ and feminist heritage dictionaries and the possibility of small-scale dictionary encoding projects.

Table of Contents

1	<i>The Queens' Vernacular</i> in Context	6
1.1	Navigating the Dictionary	14
2	Dictionary Slice	20
2.1	Portions of Entries	23
3	Digitizing the QV	24
3.1	Correcting OCR Output	24
4	Encoding the <i>QV</i>	25
4.1	Entries	26
4.1.1	Synonyms	26
4.2	Grammatical Elements	28
4.3	Form, Pronunciation and Orthography	28
4.3.1	Alternate Forms and Orthographies	29
4.3.2	Polylexical Units	29
4.4	Cross-Referencing	30
4.5	Sense	31
4.5.1	Definitions	32
4.5.2	Quotations	32
4.5.3	Etymology	33
4.6	Usage labels	34
4.6.1	Normalising Labels	36
4.6.2	Non-Explicit Tags	37
4.7	Templates	37
4.8	Typographic Conventions	38
4.9	Future Tagging Possibilities	38
5	Zine	39
5.1	Creating Indexes	40
5.2	Appendixes to Zine	42
6.	Preservation	42
7	Technical Specifications	46
8	Conclusion	46
9	Bibliography	48

Figures

- Figure 1. Lunch Counter Slang Under *cock and balls* 15
- Figure 2. Entry for *muscle boy* 22
- Figure 3. Explanation of entry form in *The Queens' Vernacular* 25
- Figure 4. List of Abbreviations and Sources in *The Queens' Vernacular* 34
- Figure 5. Bruce Rodgers' Rejection Letter from Civil Service Commission 52

In just over three months we organized the material into a ‘monumentally bowel-testing work,’ ‘a highly specialized, wholly remarkable, one-man work [...] of love that belongs in most scholarly reference collections’; (it’s) like Chinese food in that you’ll be hungry for another look at THE QUEENS’ VERNACULAR an hour after your first exposure’; ‘read it at your own risk. But it’s worth the risk.’ (Unknown, 1980, p11)

The Queens’ Vernacular (QV), by its own back-cover definition, is a “camp thesaurus; fairy Baedeker; gay-boys, scout manual; queen’s wordbook; third sex slangue” (Rodgers, 1972). The dictionary/thesaurus/Baedeker/manual/wordbook was compiled by amateur lexicographer Bruce Rodgers and published in 1972. Dictionaries are densely organized and specialised texts. Humanities-minded granular marking-up helps to exploit texts beyond mere word lists and enables scholars and hobbyists to engage with dictionaries in more targeted ways. The *QV*, sometimes outrageous in content, is a traditional dictionary in a structural sense, and an excellent candidate to join other encoded legacy dictionaries. Its focus on synonyms offers a case study for encoding synonym-heavy monolingual slang dictionaries. Encoding this dictionary using TEI/TEI-Lex 0 standards ensures that it is structurally compatible with other encoded dictionaries. My decision to focus on encoding and publishing a small thematic portion of the dictionary is in honour of the early lesbian feminist list-makers and bibliographers whose mission and methods have inspired and been adopted for other digital humanities projects. The final published product, a paper zine with digitally-generated indexes, is in honour of early queer zine and e-zine creators who were some of the first to experiment with digital publishing. This

dual publishing strategy of dataset and zine is a small experiment in digital preservation and longevity.

1 The Queens' Vernacular in Context

Homo lexicographicus is a chalcenterous subspecies of mankind (from the Greek for brazen bowels, applied to the grammarian Didymus). [...] There must be many people—policemen, prison staff, male nurses in mental hospitals, brothel bouncers, and so on—whose normal round of duties brings them into contact with unattractive aspects of modern life, but scholars and writers can normally opt out of unpleasantness if they wish to” (New York Times review of *The Queens' Vernacular*, Burchfield, 1972).

Beyond a mere list of words (unpleasant or not), legacy dictionaries are “a text, a tool, a model of language, and a cultural artefact deeply embedded in the historical moment of its production” (Tasovac, 2010). The *QV* was published at a pivotal point of visibility and liberation in American LGBT+ culture and was a substantial addition to a surprisingly small sub-genre of queer lexicons. Pre-1900 studies of non-heteronormative speech and “linguistic styles or vocabularies—[were] often second-hand and hostile” (Turton, 2022, 539). The earliest glossary of gay slang in the English language was made in 1910 by German academic Leo Pavia for Magnus Hirshfeld’s *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (Simes, 2005). The next gay slang lexicon was a short list printed in a 1927 British psychology manual. American publishers started producing gay slang lists starting after WWII, but the lists were meagre and often censored (Ibid). Julie Coleman’s excellent survey of American glossaries of sexuality lists 16 texts published before 1972, the earliest in 1938 (Coleman, 2010). These were published by various authors, ranging from members of the LGBT+ community (*Gay Girl's Guide to the U.S. and the Western World*, c.1955, Anon. attributed in part to a “Professor of French and Clitorology,

Gomorrah Uni”), to those incredibly hostile to the community (*Sex Crimes and their Legal Aspects*, 1960, written a former New York policeman who was concerned with widespread perversion in the community) (Ibid). Feminist lexicographers continued publishing dictionaries (and dick-tionaries, contradictionaries, wickedaries, and dyketionaries) throughout the 1970s and into the 20th century, but their unorthodox lexicography was under-appreciated (Russell, 2012).¹ In the 2009 *Oxford History of English Lexicography*, feminist dictionaries received no mention at all, and gay dictionaries are given less than half a page of notice (Cowie, 2009, 334). Only five LGBT dictionaries are mentioned, including Rodgers’ *QV*. Both the author’s name and the title of the book are misspelled.²

Digital humanities and digital lexicography have an entwined and mutually beneficial relationship. Digital humanities tools allow the dense structure and rich content of dictionaries to be parsed quickly and in previously impossible (or at least tedious) ways. Meanwhile, lexicography has famously been an exercise in granularity, “dull patience,” and “sluggish resolution” (Samuel Johnson, 1747, quoted in Tasovac, 2020, 43). That is to say, the opposite of the big flashy mega-data, huge corpus distant reading projects that abound in the digital humanities sphere. In an introduction to a famous post-modernist novel-cum-dictionary the

¹ Dick-tionary: Max, H. (1988). *Gay(s) language: a dic(k)tionary of gay slang*. Austin, Tex.: Banned Books

Contradictionary: Musgrave, K. (1989). *Womb with views: a contradictionary of the English language*. Racine, WI: Mother Courage Press.

Wickedary: Daly, M., “in cahoots with” Caputi, J. (1987). *Websters’ first new intergalactic wickedary of the English language*. Boston: Beacon Pr.

The L Stop (2011). *Dyketionary*. Dyketionary. Available at: <http://thelstop.org/blogs/dyketionary/>.

² Rodgers was particularly sensitive about the spelling of his name. Upon accidentally discovering an unauthorized reprint of *The Queens’ Vernacular* at a local book store, he first “schized” and then “when the circuits in his head cleared, all he could think was, well at least they spelled my name right!” (Unknown, 1980, 2)

author describes one of the fictional lexicographers as having “lost his way in other people’s dreams and never found his way back” (Pavić, quoted in Tasovac 2020, 32). Such an existential outcome seems unimaginable in the context of, say, a project analysing millions of tweets, or hundreds of speeches. Digital humanities tools make lexicography easier, but the practice of the lexicographer ensures that the process will never be mindless or friction-free.

In conjunction with the mutually beneficial relationship between digital humanities and digital lexicography, digital humanities and queer theory are also joined in similar missions. Queer studies and digital humanities have similar aims of “exploring new ways of thinking and [...] challenging accepted paradigms of meaning-making” (Ruberg et al., 2018). However, some of the most high-profile digital humanities projects do not engage with questions of difference and identity and falsely present data and existing infrastructures as neutral. This uncritical engagement does a disservice to the potential of the emerging digital humanities field.

Digital tools have the unique capacity to make visible the histories of queer representation and issues affecting queer communities. Simultaneously, queer studies brings to the digital humanities a set of intersectional, conceptual frameworks that challenge DH scholars to reflect on the politics of their research as well as the implications of their methodologies. (Ruberg et al., 2018)

An example of this challenge: digital humanities scholar Melissa Terras suggested to the Text Encoding Initiative consortium that values for “sex” characteristics move beyond standards that saw permitted values as 0, 1, 2, and 9 (not known, male, female, and not applicable) (Flanders, 2018). The guidelines now allow data to be locally defined or linked to an external standard (TEI Guidelines Version 4.4.0., 2022). Digitising the *QV*, a relatively subjective project of one author (plus some serendipitously sympathetic editors), is a perfect way to explore the boundaries of

dictionary encoding and to unearth and publish an imperfect and misunderstood text; one steeped in the timely and messy tradition of destabilisation and desire that overcame the LGBT+ community in the wake of the Stonewall Rebellion.

This project draws upon the work and methods of the list-making lesbian feminists referenced in the essay “Remaking History: Lesbian Feminist Historical Methods in the Digital Humanities” (Crompton and Schwartz, 2018). Lesbian historiographical list making is a way to claim space, assert self-definition, and aid in intergenerational knowledge transmission (Ibid). The authors cite Jeanette Howard Foster’s 400-page long bibliography “Sex Variant Women in Literature,” which she started in 1917 and finished 40 years later as a foundational example of the patient, thorough, and exhaustive efforts made by list-makers. Scholars like Lillian Faderman and Barbara Grier took over the reins, publishing books such as Faderman’s celebrated 1981 *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* and Grier’s rollicking 1990 *Lesbian Lists*. Soon, there was a small but mighty genre of lesbian history...

written by women delving into obscure archives and mouldy books to carefully compile volumes listing every previously ignored or forgotten instances of friendly spinsters who kept odd company, Boston marriages, romantic friendships, cross-dressers, mannish inverts, female husbands, hermaphrodites, and more. (Crompton and Schwartz, 2018)

Happily, digital humanities and dictionary encoding in particular are well-suited to continue the mission began by lesbians with their noses in mouldy books. Crompton and Schwartz used this ethos to create a project wherein they used the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) standards to encode the entire existing encyclopaedia of Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada. The result is a linked project where scholars can use the TEI encoding plus a web interface to pull up

encyclopaedia entries based on attributes such as places, activist groups, years, people, and more. This project's focus on granular, linked encoding mirrors digital lexicography projects in many ways.

A dictionary is a “socio-technical assemblage.”(Tasovac, 2022, 21) The term ‘assemblage’ conveys that a dictionary is a concrete collection of a wandering and slippery subject matter. Any dictionary “delimits a territory (a language, a national identity, a state), but in reality, it shows that the limits are extremely porous: that words come and go, in and out of usage (fashion or style), from and to other territories (domains, dialects, languages)” (Ibid). *The Queens’ Vernacular* is a perfect example of this contradiction: according to the author’s introduction, it seeks to “make available a dictionary of homophile cant” (Rodgers, 1972, 11). However, in that same introduction, Bruce Rodgers acknowledges the extremely kinetic nature of this cant:

Slang is secretive, a form of protest and an expression of social recognition. Secret, because it leaves outsiders where they usually are. Yet this secretiveness is not restrictive or snobby: Anyone interested can break the code. Slang is a tricky piece of pun acrobatics; the more subcultures one contacts, the more meanings slang words project. (Ibid)

The back cover of the dictionary promises that, “what gays taunt campingly today, the rest of the world will use knowingly tomorrow.”

A dictionary can symbolise order and subvert that order at the same time. Encoding provides a scaffolding to support discussion and delineation of these contradictions. While the *QV* represents an inherently subversive culture, it comes in the same orderly system that any ‘straight’ dictionary would. There are a multitude of attributes that can be encoded depending on

the aims and background of a scholar. This is multiplied by the ethos of queer digital humanities, which encourages examination of subtext, implication, desire, and other intangible and unwritten details. The possibilities of encoding are theoretically infinite but somewhat asymptotic, and I was encouraged by every lexicographer with whom I communicated to keep my focus small and targeted.

The technical framework for my project is XML encoding using standards from the TEI, and more specifically TEI Lex-0. The Text Encoding Initiative is an encoding standard and community of practice which sets guidelines for the encoding of digital texts. TEI's guidelines are set by an active consortium of members from institutions worldwide. The TEI guidelines are regularly updated by the consortium, and the current version has been in place since 2007. TEI guidelines are used on hundreds of digital humanities projects. Chapter 5 of the current TEI guidelines addresses dictionaries (TEI Guidelines Version 4.4.0, 2022).

TEI Lex-0 was developed 2016 under the DARIAH working group on lexical resources. It is a more specific, simplified, and updated framework for encoding dictionaries than its predecessor, the dictionaries chapter of the TEI guidelines (Romary and Tasovac, 2017). The more a dictionary is marked up, the more analysis can be performed. All text of the dictionary is maintained as-is, but markup can be remarkably specific depending on the focus of the dictionary project. For example, one TEI Lex-0 encoding project of the 17th century French *Dictionnaire Universel* has focused on usage labels within definitions. Rather than encode every entry on first pass, researchers first encoded only those entries that had usage labels. Using encoding tools, scholars are able to quickly compare types of information between the original 1690 Antoine Furetière's publication and the vastly augmented 1701 Henri Basnage revision. With a few keystrokes, one can assemble all entries related to a specific *metier* and compare their

sources for a better understanding of the web of knowledge available to lexicographers of the time (Williams, 2017).

Another benefit of TEI and TEI Lex-0 is the potential for integration of different sources for easy querying and comparison. Different versions of the same dictionary, different dictionaries of the same languages, and dictionaries of similar subject matters in different languages can all be compared when encoded with the same techniques. An encoding lexicographer could encode all of the aforementioned historical queer and feminist lexicons to better understand the journeys taken by certain words through different communities. Well-formatted encoded dictionaries can be integrated into larger projects and compared on similar terms. In Coleman's list of gay glossaries pre-1972, there are approximately 1,900 terms listed across the 18 texts. In his bibliography, Rodgers cites 72 sources, only four of which are in Coleman's list.³ While Coleman is able to make some comparisons between texts, encoding could reveal the wider web of knowledge available to LGBT+ lexicographers, just as scholars working on the *Dictionnaire Universel* have been able to uncover.

For my final artefact, I have chosen to present a portion of *The Queens' Vernacular* as a zine with a digital companion. In their study of list-making lesbian feminists, Crompton and Schwartz describe the evolution of the "paper lesbian renaissance" that led to the dissemination of the aforementioned lesbian lists (Crompton and Schwartz, 2018). Not content to rely on the biases of the mainstream publishing industry, these practices, "ran from guerrilla printing

³ In chronologic order, texts included in both *The Queens' Vernacular* bibliography and Julia Coleman's "Glossaries of Sexuality" in *A History of Cant and Slang Dictionaries: Volume IV: 1937-1984*. Mercer, J.D. (1959). *They Walk in Shadow*. NY: Comet Press.; Cory, Donald Webster and LeRoy, John P (1963). *The Homosexual and His Society*. NY: Citadel Press.; Niemoeller, A.F. (1965). *A Glossary of Homosexual Slang*. Fact 2, 25–27.; Stearn, Jess (1965). *The Guild Dictionary of Homosexual Terms*. Washington, D.C.: Guild Press Ltd.;

operations using ‘liberated’ office supplies and workplace typewriters to the establishment of full-scale lesbian feminist publishing companies” (Ibid). The nature of gay liberation has historically been conducive to non-traditional and sometimes felonious publishing practices. These practices live on in the zine. Paper zines are “homemade, non-commercial, small-circulation publication[s] of original or appropriated text, image, and collage” (Gerber/Hart Library and Archives, 2021). They are usually self-funded, sometimes with appropriated materials, and circulated within communities. The practice is as old as 1940s pro- and anti-union tracts (or perhaps as old as the printing press; there are many different theories and histories), but the word originated in publications advertising bands in the punk scene of the 1970s, just as photocopying machines became cheaper and widespread (O’Brien, 2012). The DIY aesthetic has drawn marginalised communities to the medium, as there is minimal start-up cost, editorial oversight, or duty to advertisers. LGBT+ independent underground publishing, well documented since the days of beefcake-heavy “physique magazines,” continued with the zine. Simply put, the zine “connected audiences underwhelmed with mainstream gay culture, offering an alternative space for people to share their passions and sensibilities” (Cane, 2015). Paper zine culture reached its heyday in the pre-internet ’90s, with wide distribution networks and desktop publishing software making it easier than ever to make attractive layouts.

Finally, a fundamental motivation behind encoding the *QV* is that it is deeply pleasurable. In her 1936 book of essays “Personal Pleasures,” Rose Macauley describes recording “emendations, corrections, additions and earlier usages” of words in her dictionary. She describes the pure joy of annotating the dictionary: “I feel myself one of its architects; I am Sir James Murray, Dr. Bradley, Sir William Craigie, Dr. Onions. I belong to the Philological Society; I have delusions of grandeur” (Macaulay, 1936). In the introduction of his PhD thesis,

Toma Tasovac describes discovering the *Lexicon-Serbico-Germanico-Latinum* as a ten-year-old and being entranced by the smell, the font, the uncut pages of the dictionary. He recalls the stories within: “Stories of vengeful fairies and mighty dragons; of children getting devoured by witches, [...] and stories of noisy village carnivals, cross-dressers and shape-shifters, of rainbows turning men into women and women into men” (Tasovac, 2020). In the paper “Why do large historical dictionaries give so much pleasure to their owners and users?” John Considine gives several answers to the titular question. The first of which is particularly relevant to *The Queens’ Vernacular*: “Seeing taboo words in print gives the readers who search them out the thrill of transgression or the similar thrill of reprehension” (John Considine, 1998). He also mentions the joy of spontaneous cross reference, large wordlists, and etymology (“not particularly useful, but much enjoyed by readers”) (Ibid.) Quotations, examples, and discussions of words “relieve the labour of verbal searches and intersperse with verdure and flowers the dusty deserts of barren philology” (Ibid). The verdure and flowers in Rodgers’ *Vernacular* are plentiful (and not just figuratively, there is a *lot* of gay action happening in the parks.)

1.1 Navigating The Dictionary

For all the whimsy and subversion of the subject matter, Bruce Rodgers rarely strays from sound, standard lexicographic format, and *The Queens’ Vernacular* at first glance looks like a very typical dictionary. But as delightful as is to peruse, the text is difficult to navigate in a logical, methodological way. Although well-formatted, the content and ‘usefulness’ is playfully arranged in a way that would give a proponent of Function Theory a migraine. Headwords are sometimes used as punchlines, there are no indexes beyond a 40-page term list, and some

definitions are tucked away inexplicably under tangential headwords (such as a trio of poetic slang diner orders under the main entry of *cock*.)

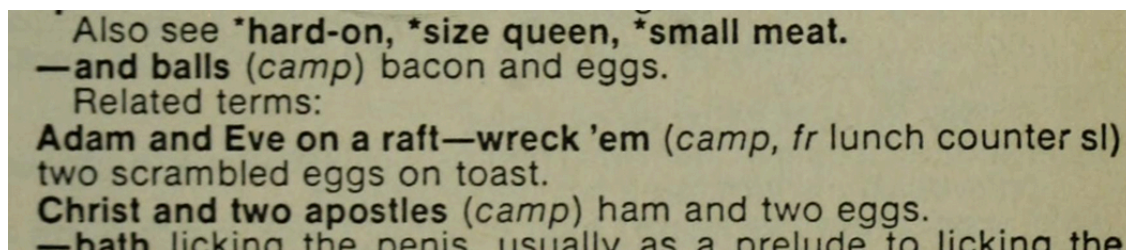


Figure 1: Lunch Counter Slang under cock and balls

This phenomenon of subjective and questionably practical dictionaries is not unique to the *QV*. In fact, it is in line with trends observed in other dictionaries, including feminist dictionaries (Russell, 2012). These texts were published between 1970 and 2006 and most of them “readily defy hallowed principles of consistency in classification and treatment at the same time they paper over the incommensurability of ‘real’ words in common use and ones that are ‘simply’ made-up or wished-for” (Ibid, 4). These feminist dictionaries, as well as the *QV* indulge in...

‘the Johnsonian effect’ in which the dictionary becomes a conveyance for a lexicographer’s personal, political, socio-cultural preferences, not just within definitions of individual words or phrases but across micro-structural features including definitions, parts of speech, pronunciation, etymology, etc (Ibid, 5).

To give an example of important but difficult to find information, one can look to the *QV*’s treatment of law enforcement. Historically, the police have had an incredibly antagonistic relationship towards the LGBT+ community, enforcing oppressive social mores through humiliation and violence. Bruce Rodgers himself was not spared by the long mahogany dildo of

the law.⁴ In his papers left to the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco, Rodgers included a 1963 letter from the United States Civil Service Commission informing him that he “did not meet the strict standards of suitability” for a federal post office job because of an arrest for “prowling” (an offence most likely related to cruising but applied liberally to gay people existing in public (Espinoza, A. 2019. See figure 5 for the letter). In true *QV* style, there are a multitude of terms related to law enforcement with a wide temporal and geographic spectrum, a myriad of synonyms, campy quotes, and a visceral sense of the violence and disrespect visited upon the gay community by the police. However, the main entry related to the police is under the headword *Lilly Law*. While there is no shortage of synonyms for the police (*Alice Blue Gown*, *Alice Blues*, *Belle Star*, *Blue Ballerina*, and *Blue Bellies* are just the first five), there is no entry in the index for “police” or “law enforcement” at all. Nor are police-related entries confined only to the *Lilly Law* heading: police-related words like *abdicate*, *bait*, and *Hollywood rejects*, are scattered throughout the book.

There has been a darker history of analysing The *QV* in semi-methodical ways. In an unattributed and unpublished biography of Bruce Rodgers, found in his personal papers at the GLBT Historical Society, a biographer shares a story of gross misuse of the spirit of the lexicon:

In 1978 at the height of the anti-gay Anita Bryant number, a propaganda tract called THE HOMOSEXUAL REVOLUTION by David A Noebel was published by the American Christian College Press and about nine pages of the *QV* was used as a glossary (again without knowledge or consent) to point out by using their own words, “the depravity of homosexuals.” Scattered throughout were standard definitions of sexual acts

⁴ **meat tenderizer** billyclub. Syn: **mahogany dildo** (camp). (Rodgers, 1972, p. 127).

like pedophilia, misogyny, exhibitionism, voyeurism, etc. and statements like, “It also confirms the fact that homosexuals do seduce and molest youth.

The use of his work towards so malicious and fallacious a purpose tore Bruce apart. It added to his guilt that revealing mysteries hurts not only the one who does it but even tragically the group whose ways and words he is revealing. We are a community many times threatened with violence and death and there is the real fear within Bruce that his work can be taken and inverted and used against us. (Unknown, 1980).

The abuse of *The Queens’ Vernacular* was not constrained to the 1970s. Another later citation of the dictionary is found in a homophobic amicus brief. The case, *Steffan v. Aspin*, involved a decorated Naval Academy Midshipman who was punished for coming out as gay. The United States Court of Appeals heard the case in 1994, the same year that Bill Clinton’s “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” banned people who "demonstrate a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts" from serving in the United States military (Frost, 1994).

The brief staunchly supported the Navy’s decision and was written on behalf of the Naval Aviation Foundation, Inc. and The Institute for Media Education. The authors of the brief, in an attempt to demonstrate the “irreconcilable nature of the homosexual character with American Naval character,” turned to the pages of the *QV* (Ray and Reisman, 1994). With apparent time on their hands, the brief writers offered some of the earliest quantitative analysis when no one else would:

Of 12,000 entries in this well cited homosexual lexicography, which claims "language is culture" a rank order of "slanguage" entries finds the largest number of citations for the word 1) fuck (~186 references), followed by 2) cock (~178 references), 3) boy or "chicken" (~104 references) and 4) the "Armed Forces" (~72 citations). In contrast, there

are no references or entries in the vernacular for words used to describe any of the ideal characteristics of a Naval midshipmen, i.e., "virtue" "honor" "courage" "patriotism" "self-sacrifice" "discipline" "authority" "subordination" "faithfulness" "temperance" "chastity" "fidelity" and "duty." Nor are there any words which are fundamental to the common law and most of America's institutions: "monogamy," or "chastity" or "fidelity" or "faithful." (Ibid, Appendix 10)

While the intentions of the authors are horrifying, the tract and the brief provide a small glimpse into the possibilities of an encoded future of the *QV*.⁵ Even well-meaning references to the *QV* are imperfect. For example, in a review of a dictionary of Polari slang (a gay argot used in England and based in lingua franca), the reviewer mentions that there are only 11 words from Polari in the *QV* (Jonathon Green, 2019). By my count, there are 13. The reviewer could be pulling this number from imperfect OCR. For example, one instance of the word "Parlyaree" (Rodger's interpretation of Polari) is read as 'Pariyaree' in the OCR used on the version of the *Gay Speak*, the unauthorized reprint digitised on archives.org. Julia Coleman provides a very interesting table of analysis, including percentages of main entries and subentries with citations, usage labels, semantically related terms, etymology etc (Coleman, 2012). However, her sample size is 1,204 entries and sub-entries, about a fourth of the total text.

Using TEI Lex-0 allows the *QV* to be compared to other similarly encoded documents. The following quote is from Bruce Rodgers' unpublished biographical sketch and outlines Rodgers' diverse lexicographic collecting interests:

⁵ To be fair, the dictionary covers several of the concepts that are purported to be missing including a definition for "*chastity case* singularly faithful one who finds promiscuity distasteful; chaste to the point of neurosis." (Rodgers, 1972, 43). Self-sacrifice, discipline, and subordination are covered in a lengthy definitions/discussion of Sadism/Masochism.

Maybe he would get what he wanted: the chance to revise the *QV*, a real update reflecting seven years of new words, clearer etymologies, a slew of new sources from Greek, Arabic, Turkish, Hebrew, Spanish, Russian, French, German, Hungarian. All these derivations so important in establishing the universality of our slang. And in tracing the geographic and historic findings of homosexuality as an inherent vector in the natural range of human feelings and desires.”

Rodgers to his biographer...“There’s so much that I’ve researched and collected, and not just gay American slang. There’s Greek gay slang, a translation of *Kaliardá* by Elias Petropoulos. And I can do a small dictionary of *Rotwelsch*, a dead German argot with its modern offshoot, *Yenisch* which is only spoken—no don’t laugh—by about three thousand basketmakers in Germany.” (Unknown, 1980, p. 9)

Rodgers’ papers are abound with hundreds of handwritten word lists; scribbled in notebooks, on napkins, and even one on the back of a debt collections notice. The publishing industry took advantage of the less-than-enterprising lexicographer. He earned about two thousand dollars for his efforts. The rights to the *QV* were sold without his permission to another company who reprinted the book as *Gay Talk*, keeping the contents exactly the same, but changing the title and cover matter to be less camp and vulgar. Undaunted and single-minded, Bruce Rodgers collected gay slang into the 21st century. These unpublished lists could easily be encoded and incorporated into an updated digital lexicon, avoiding the corporate publishing apparatus and providing insight into how one lexicographer experienced gay culture as the gay rights movement progressed and cataclysmic events such as the AIDS epidemic and crack cocaine ravaged his beloved community.

2 Dictionary Slice

At the beginning of my project, I realised that I would be unable to complete the entire dictionary in a narrow timeframe. Instead of limiting myself to certain pages or letters of the dictionary, my portion is terms related to lesbians. This is in honour of the aforementioned lesbian feminist list makers and is also my personal area of knowledge. The dictionary slice is a concept introduced by Toma Tasovac and is defined as “a list of entries that share a certain lexicographically identifiable and computationally addressable feature” (Tasovac, 2021, p. 224). Ideally, a dictionary slice would be extracted from a lovingly and fully encoded text, conjured up via tags and attributes. My ‘slicing’ is somewhat artificial, as it was created before the text included was fully encoded and therefore computationally addressable.

While words relating to lesbians are a paltry percentage of *The Queens’ Vernacular*, it is a relatively substantial list in the milieu of lesbian lexicography. To make a quantitative comparison: the first work that appears when I searched “lesbian lexicography” in my library’s OneSearch is “The Lexicographical Lesbian: Remaking the Body in Anne Lister’s Erotic Glossary.” In the paper, Stephen Turton explores Anne Lister’s glossary of 14 total words: twelve copied terms and two of her own (Turton, 2022). The beloved 1990 book *Lesbian Lists* by Dell Richards has the following lists: 14 epithets for lesbians, 16 euphemisms for lesbians and lesbian relationships, and 23 trash terms for women’s genitals (Richards, 1990, pp. 145, 146, 161). The one lesbian-specific glossary in Coleman’s list (*Gay Girl’s Guide to the U.S. and the Western World*) has 90 headwords (Coleman, 2012).

Meanwhile, the *QV* has 58 synonyms and 31 related terms under the definition for *dyke* and 40 terms under *muff*. In total, I collected 499 terms in my portion from 80 main entries. Rodgers adds dimension with usage labels, etymologies, and quotes. Lesbian prison life, gender

and hormone adventures, and relationships with their gay brothers are all referenced in the *QV*. Online lesbian dictionaries have carried on the tradition of expansive and detailed lesbian lexicons. Still, the tucked-away lesbian wordlist within the *QV* is a goldmine and deserves to be extracted. Although Rodgers' definitions are written imperfectly, subjectively, and sometimes with a touch of scorn, it is a worthy endeavour to assemble the definitions. To echo Toma Tasovac, "Historical dictionaries, however, are important, and often fascinating, objects of study because, among other things, they reveal sociolinguistic perceptions and culturally shaded conceptualisations of a particular epoch's lexical knowledge" (Tasovac 2020, p. 54) For a more comprehensive bibliography of queer linguistics up to 2006, see Gregory Ward's *Studies on LGBTQ Language: A Partial Bibliography* and for more contemporary lesbian lexicons, see the bibliography of (Morgan, Taralee, 2017).

To pick definitions to use in my slice, I followed the wisdom of the lesbian feminist list makers and of late Early Modern Literature professor Paula Blank. In her paper, Blank describes the somewhat surprising etymological history of the word 'lesbian,' beginning the paper with a quote from Erasmus' *Adages* (Blank, 2011, p. 108). The quote is an etymology which includes ancient Greek references to lesbians as having invented fellatio. Blank makes a case for embracing and examining all etymologies of the word "lesbian," no matter how vastly they may differ from contemporary understanding and usage. Etymology is not to be seen as a history of the truth of the word, or a policing of etymologies as true or false; but a palimpsest of the journey of a word and the people who identify with it. Scholars can consider all of the wanderings taken by a term, even if the etymologies are not "verified by linguists [but] merely propagated, unwittingly, by the 'folk'" (Ibid, 114). While a gay man not particularly ensconced in the lesbian culture of the time may not be a source for the pure, academic truth of lesbian language, it is

worthwhile to consider his collection of words and phrases. Rodgers specifically includes the “[...] women who don't shave their legs, [and] all those who find it difficult to be accepted for what they feel they are even within the pariah gay subculture” among his sources for the *QV* (Rodgers, 1972, p. 11). As Blank concludes in her paper:

But perhaps the risks we take in further queering ‘lesbian’ may be a source of a further pleasure, of a kind—the feeling of taking control of a language that is ours by surrendering to it as also not ours, the satisfaction of *knowing more about where it has been and whom it has been with, and thus, perhaps, what it might yet mean to us.*

(emphasis added) (Blank, 2011, p. 134)

In the spirit of contemplating where and with whom lesbians have been, I added definitions that were even tangentially related to my slice. I included peripheral lesbians in example sentences and far-flung synonyms. For example, under the headword for *muscle-boy* (defined as “1. the young body-building herculean” and “2. a muscle man: body builder”), *topless lesbian* is included as a synonym. While the definition itself is not related to lesbians, I have included the entry for *muscle-boy* in recognition of the hulking lesbian ancestors who inspired the camp comparison.

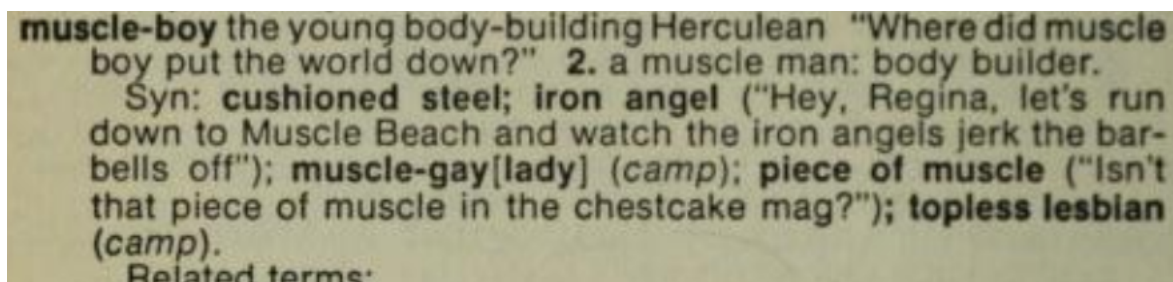


Figure 2 *muscle-boy*

Definitions related to gender non-conforming women (*Bill, hard daddy*) and lesbian sex (*finger, dildo*) generally were marked as lesbian slang. I did not necessarily include entries related to women in general or their genitalia. Often the latter two definitions were used synecdochally (see: *wet and warm, three ring circus*.) An exception is *cunt*, which was included on the basis of having many lesbian slang (“les sl”) terms within the large entry.⁶

encoded letters A-F. Any definition with the usage of “les sl” went into my new lesbian-specific XML file. After this, I began encoding definitions from G-Z more selectively. That is, only focusing on definitions related to lesbians. First by searching “les sl,” then the words “lesbian,” “les,” “lez,” “female homosexual,” “dyke,” and “butch.” For “butch,” I encoded the entry whenever the definition related to butch lesbians rather than butch gay or straight men (see discussion of the two *QV* definitions of butch below under *Cross-Referencing*).

2.1 Portions of Entries

On five occasions, I decided to take a portion of the main entry rather than the entry as a whole. In all instances, the terms were a part of very large entries: *blow off steam* (a subentry of *blow*), *cruising clothes* (a subentry of *cruise*), *drag butch* (a subentry of *drag*), *dizzy lizzy* (a subentry of *dizzy*), and *dig boy ass* (a synonym of *fuck* [verb form]). Twice, I avoided a lesbian-related definition within large entries: *licker* which is a synonym under *blowjob*, a subentry of *blow*; and *jakey* which is a synonym for *cock*.

Blow off steam, cruising clothes, drag butch, dizzy lizzy, and dig boy ass had their own explicit definitions following the headword, whereas *licker* and *jakey* had usage tags, but no explicit definition. Lexical units within larger entries with explicit definitions are called

⁶ From the New York Times review of *QV*: “Curiously neither author seems to know of the existence of the list of some 650 words and circumlocutions for the female genital organ printed in Farmer and Henley’s “Slang and Its Analogues” (1896).” (Burchfield, 1972)

“lexicographically non-transparent” whereas “lexicographically transparent” units are not accompanied by an explicit definition (Tasovac et al., 2020). Being unable to change the text of the dictionary, I could not easily add *licker* and *jakey* without adding the massive and generally unrelated entries for *blow* and *cock*.

3 Digitising the QV

The text of *The Queens’ Vernacular* had not yet been digitised. To encode it, I first had to transfer the text of the book into a usable format. The *QV* is an easier text to work with than some other legacy dictionaries, as the format is standard modern typeface. The only discrepancies are diacritical marks in pronunciation guides, some of which appear to be handwritten. These diacritical marks were generally ignored for this project, as pronunciation was not included in my limited chosen encoding elements.

3.1 Correcting the OCR Output

At first, I used a high-resolution book scanner to make TIFF scans of the dictionary. I used a free online OCR service to extract text from the images. My scanned pages made from the intact book had a high error rate, so starting with the letter C, I extracted the images from a scanned online copy of *Gay Talk*, the identical reprint of *The Queens’ Vernacular*. Using the screenshots, I once again ran the images through a free online OCR and keyed in corrections line by line for letters C-O. Starting with the letter P, I experimented with using the “find/replace in files” tool to correct common OCR errors. I ran P-Z through the OCR and started searching for common errors as they came up. This was hugely successful. For example, the OCR reader that I used would frequently mistake *sl* (slang) for *si* or *s!*. Using the find/replace function, I was able to make 125 corrections immediately just for “sl”. Overall, I made over 500 corrections of

common mistakes. I backtracked to apply common error corrections to A-O afterwards and was able to correct about 200 errors that I had missed as I went line-by-line.

4 Encoding The Queens' Vernacular

I used Oxygen XML editor as the platform for my encoding. Oxygen is a highly adaptable tool for encoding text in XML and it was very easy to incorporate the schema of TEI Lex-0. The training module “Mastering oXygen XML Editor for Dictionary Nerds” was a great help in acclimating to the program (Tasovac 2022).

Bruce Rodgers explained his own protocols as such:

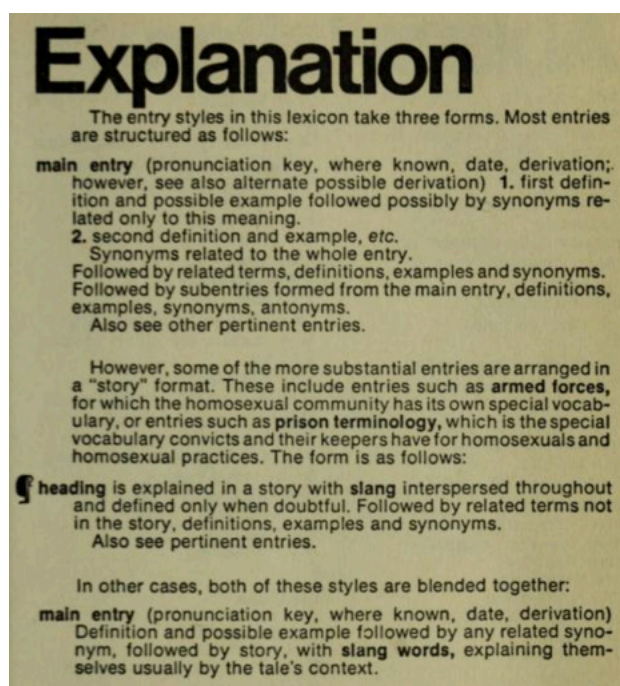


Figure 3 *Explanations in the QV*

I tried to follow the guidelines of TEI Lex-0 to the best of my ability, although there are some aspects of the *QV* that cause slightly different protocols.

4.1 Entries

An entry is the main unit of the dictionary. In TEI Lex-0, the two mandatory attributes for the <entry> tag are @xml:id and @xml:lang. The xml:id was created with the prefix “QV.” followed by the lemma. In the case of alternate word forms (described below), I chose the main word or phrase rather than including the variants.

```
<entry xml:id="QV.dude" xml:lang="en" type="mainEntry">
  <form type="lemma"><orth>dude</orth></form>
  <sense xml:id="QV.dude.1">
    <pc> (</pc>
    <usg type="socioCultural" norm="black">black</usg>
    <pc>,</pc>
    <usg type="socioCultural" norm="hip">hip</usg>
    <pc>,</pc>
    <usg type="socioCultural" norm="les sl">les sl</usg>
    <pc>)</pc>
    <def> any man.</def>
  </sense>
</entry>
```

TEI Lex-0 only allows <entry> to be used for a headword, whereas the TEI dictionaries chapter allows five different options for encoding entries: <entry> <entryFree> <superEntry> <re> and <hom>. While I was encoding, I became familiar with projects such as *Lexicon Serbico-Germanico-Latinum* that use <entryFree> for entry-level lexical data (Tasovac, 2020, p.152). This tag has the benefit above <entry> of allowing unencoded text within the entire entry. In my project, using only the <entry> tag, the schema required every single character to be encoded. This caused much clutter from encoding stray punctuation marks and required me to encode aspects of the text that are not relevant to my project.

4.1.1 Synonyms

The Queens' Vernacular has a dizzying array of synonyms for most entries and is perhaps closer to a thesaurus in this way. TEI Lex-0 suggests encoding synonyms with the <xr> tag. This tag denotes a cross-reference. However, in Rodgers' organizational structure, cross-

references are explicitly denoted with an asterisk. The synonyms, in bold within the entry, are usually the only occurrence of the term within the dictionary.

```
<entry xml:id="QV.cookiebuster" xml:lang="en" type="mainEntry">
  <form type="lemma"><orth>cookie duster</orth></form>
  <sense xml:id="QV.cookiebuster.1">
    <def> any mustache, but usually the bristles found on the upper lip of some women
      charged with being lesbians</def>
    <cit type="example">
      <quote>"A Van Dyke is a bull-dagger with a cookie duster."</quote>
    </cit>
  </sense>
  <lbl>Syn:</lbl>
  <entry xml:id="QV.mufftickle" xml:lang="en" type="relatedEntry">
    <form type="lemma"><orth>muff tickler</orth></form>
    <pc>, </pc>
  </entry>
  <entry xml:id="QV.pussybuster" xml:lang="en" type="relatedEntry">
    <form type="lemma"><orth>pussy duster</orth></form>
    <pc>; </pc>
  </entry>
  <entry xml:id="QV.wombbroom" xml:lang="en" type="relatedEntry">
    <form type="lemma"><orth>womb broom</orth></form>
    <sense xml:id="QV.wombbroom.1">
      <pc>(</pc>
      <etym>fr black sl</etym>
      <pc>).</pc>
    </sense>
  </entry>
</entry>
```

I decided to make use of nested entries and encoded each bolded word as its own entry (except for explicit cross-references.) I tagged main entries with the @type="mainEntry" attribute, and synonyms within entries with @type="relatedEntry". There are 80 main entries in my chosen portion and 499 entries in total (including variants.) To give an example of the highly nested nature of the *QV*, three entries are entries within an entry within an entry within an entry (e.g.: *birdie joint* is a synonym of *truck stop*, which is a related term under *gay bar*, which is a subentry of *gay*.)

4.2 Grammatical Elements

The tag that encloses a word's grammatical structure is `<gramGrp>`. However, I chose to forgo this category wholesale to prioritize other elements within entries. Compared to other dictionaries like the enormous dictionaries published by national academies, or bi-and tri-lingual texts, the *QV* has a relatively small amount of grammatical information for each term. While certain words change meaning depending on their grammatical usage, ex. *fuck* as a noun vs a verb, this difference is usually captured in the usage. In my selection, there were only about dozen instances where I might have used `<gramGrp>`. Coleman estimates about 4.5% of entries have parts of speech information (Coleman, 2010, table 9.1). I hope encoding lexicographers will forgive me for placing these grammatical into a `<usg type="hint">` tag.

4.3 Form, Pronunciation, and Orthography

The `<form>` tag groups all the information on the written and spoken forms of the headword. TEI Lex-0 recommends that the `<form>` element be followed by a `@type` attribute. By far the most common type is "lemma" which denotes a headword. Nested within `<form>` is the element `<orth>`, which denotes the orthography of the word. Mostly, the orthography was aligned with the headword. However, there were some alternate or additional forms of orthographies which are addressed below.

Pronunciation is also nested within the `<form>` element. As mentioned above, I tagged all pronunciations, but the text generally went uncorrected in my encoding. Pronunciation is, however, an important aspect of certain definitions in the *QV*. Some definitions of English words gain their sense, or a certain pizzazz, from pronunciation and there are many entries from non-English languages whose usages are illuminated by pronunciation.

4.3.1 Alternate Forms and Orthographies

In certain instances, there was more than one form of the lemma such as *nooky* [*nookie*, *nookey*], *yodel* [*in the canyon of love*], or *-diver* [*duffer*] (the last example coming under the headword of *muff*). In these instances, I nested the element <form> and added the attribute @type="variant". To keep the encoding simple, I only used @type="variant" rather than the other options (compound, derivative, inflected, phrase, simple). I also made use of the attribute @expand within the <orth> tag. I used this to spell out the entire word when it was impossible to surround the entire word or phrase with the <orth> tag (e.g. *muff diver* and *muff duffer*). Every entry with an alternate form has the expanded orthography attribute.

```
<entry xml:id="QV.muffdiver" xml:lang="en" type="relatedEntry">
  <form type="lemma"><orth expand="muff diver">-diver</orth><form
type="variant"><orth
  expand="muff duffer">[duffer]</orth></form></form>
  <sense xml:id="QV.muffdiver.1">
<!--very long list of synonyms-->
  </sense>
</entry>
```

Standard TEI recommends use of the <oRef> tag to point to the headword to resolve instances such as “-diver,” but TEI Lex-0 does not include this tag.

4.3.2 Polylexical Units

In their paper “Encoding polylexical units with TEI Lex-0: A case study,” Toma Tasovac, Anna Salgado, and Rute Costa describe their observations and suggestions about encoding multi-word entries in the *Dictionary of the Portuguese Academy of Sciences*. The authors note that because of typographic and layout constraints, “In most general-language dictionaries, polylexical units do not appear as headwords, i.e., independent lexical units in the dictionary macrostructure, but rather as sub-units within entries that have a monolexical headword” (Tasovac et al., 2020, p. 34). This could not be further from the truth in *The Queens’*

Vernacular where entries go flagrantly beyond the traditional one-word lemma and entries like *I bet I can flip you and dick you before you can throw me and blow me* are treated the same as the entry for *flip* or *dick*. The paper authors recommend adding a `@type="polylexicalUnit"` attribute to the `<entry>` tag. In their project, polylexical units are tagged because it “is crucial not only to be able to extract all polylexical units but also to have the possibility to individualize them” (Ibid).

I have decided to forgo encoding polylexical units as the user requirements of *The Queens’ Vernacular* are different from *Dictionary of the Portuguese Academy of Sciences*. A user of the latter might benefit from the explicit tagging in order to retrieve the occasional polylexical unit. However, a user of the *QV* should expect that a large segment of the entries are polylexical units, with differentiation focused more on shades of usage than grammar. For example, in the index for the letter “A,” there are 54 one-word entries and 67 multiple word entries. This paper also recommends encoding lexicographically non-transparent polylexical units as their own nested entries and lexicographically transparent polylexical units within `<form>`. In all instances, the polylexicality should also be noted in a `<gramGrp>` tag. As mentioned above, I did not use the `<gramGrp>` tag.

4.4 Cross-Referencing

While I forewent using `<xr>` for most synonyms, there are certain specifically labelled cross-references in *The Queens’ Vernacular*. According to Rodgers’ list of abbreviations in the front matter, an asterisk is an indication to “look up main entry alphabetically.” In these instances, I followed the TEI Lex-0 encoding scheme for cross-referencing. Per TEI Lex-0 guidelines: “In TEI Lex-0, we use `<ref>` as the general element for a lexical reference and `<xr>` as the enclosing element that groups all information related to this reference, including explicit

labels such as "Syn.", "Cf.", "See also" etc" (Bowers, Jack et al., 2021). I did not include the @type element in the <xr> tag. For the @type element in the <ref> label, I used "entry" instead of the other options, "bibliography" or "sense." A more thorough encoding might include more specific references to specific senses. For example, the cross-reference in the definition for *dyke* within the entry for *lesbian* is presented as follows: "It now falls into the classification of a "dirty" word, calling to mind the stereotype *dyke." Between the two definitions in the entry for "dyke," this cross-reference appears to be referencing the first, stereotypical definition ("the mannish, swaggering, cigar-puffing lesbian"), rather than the second more general one ("(pej) any gay woman").

I used the @target attribute whenever the cross-reference was within my chosen wordlist. In all, there were 42 cross-references in my selection, 26 had targets within my smaller slice and 16 referenced entries outside of my selected slice. Cross-references are found within the <entry>, <sense>, <def>, and <etym> tags, where appropriate.

```
<entry xml:id="QV.dike" xml:lang="en" type="mainEntry">
  <form type="lemma"><orth>dike</orth></form>
  <sense xml:id="QV.dike.1">
    <xr>
      <lbl>see</lbl>
      <ref type="entry" target="#QV.dyke">*dyke</ref>
    </xr>
    <pc>.</pc>
  </sense>
</entry>
```

4.5 Sense

The <sense> tag is used for sense information in the entry. This tag encompasses definitions, quotes, etymology, usage, names, and cross-references.

I avoided placing other <entries> within the <sense> tag even when a synonym entry is associated with a certain sense. This dictionary would be an excellent candidate to examine the

delineation of the usage of the <sense> tag, as there are a variety of complicated ways that sense information is conveyed. For example, there are a handful of entries arranged in ‘story’ format, such as the over-800 word entry under the heading “armed forces” with rich and winding sentences such as: “If **Tina Tuna** (camp, kwn SF, ’71: nickname for any sailor) gets too out-of-hand, the **jumper** (obs, hustler sl, mid ’60s) is thrown into the brig by the naval MP’s [**sea-lions, sea- wolves, sharks**] and, if caught in flagrante delicto with another man, he is given a dishonorable discharge (**donald duck**, in general, but a **blue discharge** when handed down by the Army and a **green discharge** when arranged by the Naval department).” Disappointingly, none of the lesbian-related definitions were in story style. These story-style entries would be a challenging problem to solve for a digital lexicographer with more time on her hands.

Even in non-story entries, <sense> information seems to be key for meaningfully linking all types of synonym entries to meaning. To return again to the problem of *jakey* and *licker*, a well-connected <sense> infrastructure could allow someone using a digitally published version of the *QV* to quickly navigate between the relevant information on the parent words (in this case, *cock* and *blowjob*), grandparent words (*blow* for *licker*) as well as information on sibling and cousin entries (for which there are 238 for *cock* and 98 for *blow*).

4.5.1 Definitions

The <def> tag is always nested in the <sense> tag. Text tagged with <def> may have a quotation or cross-reference nested within, although these generally appear alongside, as siblings.

4.5.2 Quotations

Quotations are tagged with the <quote> tag, nested within a <cit type=“example”> tag. The TEI Lex-0 recommends using <cit> when there is a bibliographic citation supplied for the

source of the quotation. Rodgers' biographer noted that entries were ostensibly added after "three people strangers to one another used the word or term in the same way" (Unknown, 1980). The sources for the *QV* are never named, and the activities during which he collected these terms were often very anonymous. However, the TEI Lex-0 schema used in the Oxygen program does not allow a <quote> tag within a <sense> tag on its own, so one has to use imagination for the sources of the original quotes.

```
<entry xml:id="QV.Penelope" xml:lang="en" type="mainEntry">
  <form type="lemma"><orth>Penelope</orth></form>
  <sense xml:id="QV.Penelope.1">
    <usg type="hint"> (voc)</usg>
    <def>nickname for one who pines away needlessly</def>
    <cit type="example">
      <quote> "Poor Penelope! She's still waiting for that Les who went out ten years to
        buy some trojans."</quote>
    </cit>
  </sense>
</entry>
```

4.5.3 Etymology

For etymological information I took a minimal approach, encoding the etymological statement with the <etym> tag and any reference of language origin with the <lang> tag. I included the attributes @expand and @norm to document the language. For the normalized value, I used the acronyms provided by the Language Subtag Registry from the Internet Assigned Numbers Authority. (Jack Bowers, Axel Herold, Laurent Romary, Toma Tasovac, 2021). The only language I could not encode in my project with the standardised labels was the Pachuco Spanish dialect, spoken in Rodgers' beloved American Southwest. In this instance, Pachuco is tagged only with an @expand attribute.

```
<entry xml:id="QV.mal-flor" xml:lang="en" type="relatedEntry">
  <form type="lemma"><orth>mal-flor</orth>
  <pc>(</pc><pron>mal-flor'</pron></form>
  <sense xml:id="QV.mal-flor.1">
    <pc>,</pc>
```

```

<etym>fr <lang expand="pachuco Spanish">Pach</lang> // <lang expand="Spanish"
norm="es">Sp</lang> marimacho = tomboy; but cf <lang expand="Spanish"
norm="es">Sp</lang> mal = bad [masculine] + flor = flower [feminine], a
linguistic castration of the lesbian just in case she should have balls?</etym>
<pc>;</pc>
</sense>
</entry>

```

As evidenced above, some etymologies are detailed with grammatical information and editorial comments, but I kept my focus only to the languages described therein.

Abbreviation	
Ans = answer	Ger = German
Ant = antonym	Gk = Greek
camp = sex reversal, strictly humorous, self-mocking	Gullah = S Carolina Black dialect formed from English and African Gold Coast languages.
cent = century	Haw = Hawaiian
cf = compare	Heb = Hebrew
colloq = colloquial, well known regionally	Ir = Irish
dated = dates the user	It = Italian
dial = dialectal	Jap = Japanese
= = equals	L = Latin
eg = for example	La Creole = Louisiana Creole
etc = and so forth	M = middle, eg ME = Middle English
fr = from	Mex = Mexican
// = from previous derivation	O = Old, eg OFr = Old French
hetero = heterosexual	Pach = pachuco Spanish
ie = that is	Pariyaree cant = largely composed of Italian words salvaged from Lingua Franca.
kwn = known in	Russ = Russian
les = lesbian usage	Skt = Sanscrit
lit = literally	Sp = Spanish
* = look up main entry alphabetically	Yid = Yiddish
med = medical terminology	
narc = narcotic usage	
naut = nautical	
obs = obsolete	
orig = originally	
pej = pejorative	
pl = plural	
? = perhaps	
+ = plus	
pros = prostitute	
sl = slang	
SM = sado-masochistic	
usu = usually	
var = variant	
vul = vulgar	
Sources	
Am = American	
AS = Anglo-Saxon	
Aus = Australian dialect	
Brit = British	
carnival/carry sl = pig-latin whereby syllables are camouflaged by "e(a)za," eg house = hazouse.	
Chin = Chinese	
Du = Dutch	
E = English	
Fr = French	
Locations	
Arg = Argentina	
Ariz = Arizona	
Cape Town = Capetown, South Africa	
Chi = Chicago	
Ill = Illinois	
LA = Los Angeles, California	
LV = Las Vegas, Nevada	
NYC = New York City	
PR = Puerto Rico	
SF = San Francisco, California	
Wis = Wisconsin	
Parts of speech	
adj = adjective	
adv = adverb	
exclam = exclamation	
imp = imperative	
interj = interjection	
n = noun	
pron = pronoun	
v = verb	
voc = vocative, name-calling	

Figure 4 Abbreviations in the QV

4.6 Usage Labels

I was most interested in usage labels for this project. Most of the entries in the dictionary slice I made were chosen because of their usage labels. For TEI Lex-0, the <usg> tag requires the @type attribute. For this project I used the @types of attitude, domain, frequency, geographic, socioCultural, and time. Below are some examples of text tagged with each attribute.

attitude	domain	frequency	geographic	socioCultural	time
pej	hust/hustler sl	dated	Aus sl	black sl	20s
	jazz musician	obs	Brit sl	camp	30s
	pros sl	rare	Haw gay sl	hetero sl	30s-'40s
			Ill	les sl	40s
			LV	prison sl	40s-mid '60s
			many more...	many more...	many more...

Being a dictionary outside of the academy traditions, the *QV* has some usage labels that are not neatly categorised. For example, “camp,” a word whose implications are notoriously difficult to pin down. There are 13 different senses within the definition of *camp*, by far the most in the text, as well as 14 related entries/synonyms and 18 example quotes. “Camp” could be tagged with the “attitude,” “socioCultural,” “meaningType,” or “textType” (Salgado et al., 2019). In the world captured in *The Queens’ Vernacular*, some people camp, some people are camp, some people talk camp, some situations are camp, some actions are camp, some things are camp (Rodgers mentions pop posters, gorillas, and Batman as examples). Rodgers also warns in the main definition of *camp* that “Today's camp is not necessarily tomorrow's” (Rodgers, 1972, pp. 40-42). In the front matter, Rodgers defines the “camp” label as “sex reversal, strictly humorous, self-mocking.” I decided to encode “camp” under the socioCultural tag, which covers “use of a given lexical unit by particular social groups and/or in certain types of communicative situations depending on their level of formality” (Salgado, Costa and Tasovac, 2019). I felt that the combination of social group and situation covered the spirit of the word the best, although another encoding lexicographer or queer theorist could certainly make the case for other tags.

4.6.1 Normalising Labels

The TEI Lex-0 standards encourage normalising labels. These normalised labels should be added to a category description in the TEI header (Salgado, 2022). For the attitude, frequency, and domain @type attribute within the <usg> tag, there were few enough within the categories that I copied the text directly into the @norm label. Any slight variations were assigned the standard normalising label (“kwn les” tagged with “les sl”, “hip gay sl” tagged with “hip” etc).

I created a category description in the TEI header based on geography. I made eight categories that encompassed all of the geographic labels: Australia, California, Great Britain, Hawaii, Mexico, Midwest, New York, and Southwest. This allowed me to add the @corresp attribute which points to the taxonomic categorisation of locations. Ideally, this would further be linked to a standardised list, like the one used for languages in the above etymology section.

For the usage type of “time,” I created two @norm attribute labels with my project and interests in mind. The text tagged with <usage type=”date”> were varied and overlapping. For example, ‘40s-mid ‘60s, late ‘50s-mid 60’s, early-mid ‘60s, and mid-late ‘60s are all included in my portion and could all include the year 1965. Moreover, these dates might be considered an approximation considering the lexicographer’s unorthodox methods of collecting lexical information (“It is the result of years of interviews with hundreds of informants whom Bruce Rodgers sought out in bars, steam baths, dance halls, public johns and on street corners”) (Mount, in Rodgers, 1972, p. 10). Instead of attempting an exact normalisation of the dates, I chose two categories: @norm=”pre 1950” and @norm=”post Stonewall’ (after 1969). These delineations are somewhat arbitrary, but help to highlight certain temporal outliers, as most

definitions were collected during what must have been a very exciting and fruitful decade of research for Rodgers in the 1960s.

4.6.2 Non-Explicit Tags

For this project, I decided to focus on encoding and tagging only those attributes that were explicitly labelled or mentioned in the dictionary text. There were many entries that could be construed as lesbian-related but were not labelled as such. However, TEI Lex-0 allows an encoder to create an empty tag, and it is eminently possible to add more tags outside of explicit labels.

I used empty tags sparingly: adding `<lang expand="Spanish" norm="sp"/>` for terms that were in Spanish, but labelled as “Mex”; `<lang expand="Hawaiian" norm="haw"/>` for terms that were in Hawaiian, but labelled geographically instead of etymologically. I did create one small experiment in empty tagging. I added `<usg type="domain" expand="truck"/>` for terms related to truck driving, a surprisingly common occurrence.

To use the “Lilly Law” example above, a further marked-up version of the dictionary could have standardised labels for terms associated with law, violence, or incarceration. Without changing any of the original text or needing to be hip to cheeky Nixon-era slang, a researcher can conjure not only “Lilly Law” and law enforcement slang, but also prison slang, lesbian prison slang, prison slang from Las Vegas, prison slang from the 1930s etc. using simple queries.

4.7 Templates

Templates are a feature within Oxygen XML which makes encoding entries take much less time. I encoded the letter A without using templates, which was very time consuming, as TEI Lex-0 is very verbose. As I learned more about encoding in Oxygen (namely from Toma Tasovac’s unpublished “Customizing Dictionary Editing Workflows”), I began to formulate

templates to make encoding a much faster practice. With less than 5 few keystrokes, I can turn “love nuts” into `<entry xml:id="QV.love nuts" xml:lang="en"><form type="lemma"><orth>love nuts</orth></form><sense xml:id="QV.love nuts.1">`. While this still requires me to delete the spaces from the `xml:id` (a process that can be addressed later with an XPath query), it makes encoding the headword go remarkably faster. Other templates that I use frequently are those that end an entry with either a quote, definition, usage statement, or etymology; and one that establishes a cross-reference between entries in the dictionary.

4.8 Typographic Conventions

While encoding lexicographers are not supposed to alter the text of the dictionary, I decided to delete hyphens that divide words at the end of lines. This goes against the recommendations of the TEI chapter on dictionaries, which encourages all typographic minutiae to be encoded.

4.9 Future Tagging Possibilities

The first task is coding, and that requires scrolling through the dictionary while resisting the temptation of reading everything. The temptation is great as this is a window on another world (Williams, 2017).

An encoded *QV* can add value to other LGBT+ digital humanities projects. The *Homosaurus* is a project which provides an international linked data vocabulary of LGBT+ terms (Homosaurus, 2022). Having a numbered standard helps to enhance discoverability of specific terms and topics. Using the *Homosaurus*’ identifiers would seamlessly integrate Rodgers’ definitions with other resources, such as the Digital Transgender Archive. In the future, it would be an exciting endeavour to enable members of the LGBT+ community to tag entries that apply to certain identities or areas of expertise. Although the terminologies between Rodgers’ time and

ours have changed substantially, the actions identities of the characters in the dictionary are resonant.

Mapping the Gay Guides is another digital humanities project mapping sites found in the Damron travel guides. These travel guides were aimed at gay men and provided details about the bars and other gathering places. The guides, published between 1965-1980, have been digitized onto a searchable map of gay culture. Rodgers is generous with geographic detail in his dictionary. The *QV*'s colourful definitions and quotes could be easily extracted from encoding that includes these geographic categories and add value to the project. Researchers can discover what not only where gay bars were, but what they were nicknamed (*fruit bin, pansy-palace, turkey club, truck stop*) and what patrons were saying and doing during their visits.

5 Zine

I decided to make a zine as a companion to my final encoded dictionary slice. This was partially for practical reasons. My timeline was short, and my expertise does not extend to digital publishing. The zine tradition extends far behind me and is in acknowledgement of queer creators who also did not have much time, financial resources, or technical background but nevertheless felt an urgency to publish and disseminate. I count Bruce Rodgers among that crowd. Rodgers and his editor completed the *QV* in just over three months from his lists of thousands of gay slang words. Rodgers earned only two thousand dollars for his work, less than his editor made in those three months. The *QV* had a print run of about five thousand copies, with an unknown number sold. Rodgers never saw a profit from the unauthorized reprint, *Gay Speak* (Borelli, 2019). He had no formal training in lexicography and did not graduate college. According to Rodgers: "I would have to go back and get three degrees before they would take me seriously and I have neither the time nor the money for that. My work is too important. I'm

doing the work of collecting languages that are endangered species while the academics argue trivia or dream up theories for the purpose of credentials” (Rodgers in Unknown, 1980, p.10).

To create the zine, I went very low tech and used a copy machine to copy every page that had a main entry in my dictionary slice. I cut out the entry from these copied pages and pasted them onto a blank page, in alphabetical order. This would obviously be more attractive and interactive with a proper API and digital hosting mechanism. But in a way, this copy/paste collage technique is the ancient non-digital ancestor of the sleek, encoded, digitised, and linked dictionary slice.

5.1 Creating Indexes

While the publishing of the zine was decidedly low-tech, the indexes that I created would have been impossible (or deeply tedious) without the encoding work. The key to the indexes were xPath queries. xPath stands for XML Path Language and uses path-like syntax to find very specific nodes. Using very basic xPath queries, I was able to generate lists of entries that had certain attributes (Tasovac, 2019).

For example, below is the query I used to assemble every headword that had the usage label of “les” or “les sl” written in the entry.

```
//entry/sense/usg[(@norm="les sl")//ancestor::entry[1]/form//orth[not(@expand)]
//entry/sense/usg[(@norm="les sl")//ancestor::entry[1]/form//orth/@expand]
```

This is a translation in basic terms:

- //entry represents any entry within the text
- /sense represents senses that are a direct descendant of that entry
- /usg represents usages that are direct descendants of that sense

- `[(@norm="les sl")]` represents all usages that include the `@norm` attribute with the value of “les sl” (as mentioned above, this ensures the inclusion of all variants of the lesbian usage labels, such as “les,” “les sl,” “kwn les”)
- `//ancestor::entry` represents an additional axis of the search i.e., going from the specific “les sl” usage label back out to the entry that is its ancestor
- `[1]` represents that we are looking only for the preceding entry of that usage label (this allows us look either the main entry tagged with “les sl” OR just the tagged related entry/synonym, not the untagged main entry)
- `/form` represents the form within that entry
- `//orth` represents all orthographies within that form

Certain entries had multiple orthographies or variations. Using the two options of `//orth[not(@expand)]` and `//orth/@expand` allows the query to identify alternate orthographies as well as orthographies that are explicit e.g.: *baby butch* (the headword with no changes), both *dime-a-dance* and *dime-a-dance* (represented in the headword as *[a] dime-a-dance*), and *butch school* (represented as *–school* under the main entry of *butch*.)

Using xPath queries, I created different indexes, using `<usg>` and `<lang>` tags. The indexes are as follows:

1. Entries marked as lesbian slang (“les sl,” “les,” or “kwn les”)
2. Entries From French, German, Haitian, Spanish, Yiddish
3. Entries from Great Britain, Las Vegas, Los Angeles, the Midwest, New York City, and San Francisco
4. Entries from pre-1950 and Post-Stonewall (1970-1972)
5. Entries marked as black slang, camp, hetero slang, prison slang, and prostitute slang

6. Entries marked obsolete or pejorative
7. Entries related to truck driving

5.2 Appendixes to Zine

Expanded Entries

To the zine's appendix, I have added the entire entries for 5 sub-entries that are included as entries in my dictionary slice: *blow*, *cruise*, *dizzy*, *drag*, and *fuck*. Encoding lexicographers are not supposed to alter the text in any way. However, if *blow* etc. must be excluded from the encoding for clarity, it can still be easily added to the analogue version.

List of Feminist Dictionaries

In the interest of connecting dictionary researchers to the works of similarly unorthodox lexicographers, I have added the list of feminist dictionaries from Lindsay Russel's "This is What a Dictionary Looks Like."

6 *Preservation*

I discovered *The Queens' Vernacular* serendipitously. I fled my hellish temp job a few hours early and on the train home, I realized that the Newberry Library's annual used book sale had started just minutes before and I was only two train stops away. *The Queens' Vernacular*, with its funky and bright fuchsia cover, caught my eye in the section for LGBT+ works. The dictionary was on sale for \$2, a good deal for a book that had sold for \$3.50 in 1972. I realize that not everyone can be guided to one of the 5,000 or so copies of the *QV* by the hand of 'Miss God' (as Rodgers calls her), so a thoughtful approach to documentation and publication of this project must be pursued. This section examines the current recommendations for storage, preservation, and archiving of digital humanities projects.

In their paper, “Sustainability of Digital Humanities Projects as a Publication and Documentation Challenge,” Francesca Morselli and Jennifer Edmond consider different sustainability models for digital humanities projects (Edmond and Morselli, 2020). While the focus of their paper is on much larger-scale infrastructure projects (chiefly the Collaborative European Digital Archival Research Infrastructure, CENDARI), the authors give five universal high-level principles to secure the reuse potential of any digital project. The principles are quoted in italics, followed by a summary, and finally my plan specific to my project.

- 1) *Embed into partnerships and networks.* Widely embedding digital humanities projects allows a network of possible partners to continue oversight and development of data sets and tools.

This project could be of interest to digital humanities scholars, digital lexicographers, and LGBT+ scholars. For the analogue side of my project, the zine, I decided to submit it to multiple archives for preservation including: The Gerber/Hart library in Chicago (the Midwest’s largest LGBT+ archive), the GLBT Historical Society (which also houses Bruce Rodgers’ papers), and the Lesbian Herstory Archives in New York, and the Cork LGBT Archive.

- 2) *Develop with modularity and openness.* Digital humanities projects should be available on common and open platforms, using relevant standards of publication and documentation. Individual elements of projects should be able to be reused, but there should always be reference to the larger context of the project for which the data were used.

For my project, I have used XML encoding using the standards of TEI Lex-0, a set of rules derived from the standards of the Text Encoding Initiative. To reference the larger project, I have

added a link in the TEI header <respStmnt> to a GitHub repository which includes this paper and the entire encoded text.

3) *Document, validate and share*. This principle stresses the importance of knowledge sharing and external validation chiefly for larger, infrastructural projects. The second part of this recommendation encourages:

- a) a thorough data management plan,
- b) technical documentation of tools, and
- c) a “tacit knowledge audit.”

As my project is a smaller-scale endeavour, with one author and no funding, suggestions for mapping large project structures and implementing an external academic validation structure are not as relevant to my work.

a) Data management plan: The data will be stored on my GitHub and I have ensured that the Wayback Machine of the Internet Archive has made a pass on all materials, available theoretically forever.

b) Technical documentation of tools: The tools I used for encoding were Oxygen XML editor, using a schema provided by the authors of TEI Lex-0.

c) Tacit knowledge audit: This recommendation ensures that “applied knowledge and lived experience does not get lost with project closure but can rather be shared explicitly in an appropriate format.” The reason I chose a lesbian slice of the dictionary is because I am a member of said community, or, to put it in *QV* terms, I “know the words and the music” (Rodgers, p.95). I am a former volunteer at the Gerber/Hart archives, an enthusiast of LGBT+ history, and frequent slang user (and misuser). While some entries leave me utterly baffled, I feel confident that I understand *most* shades of meaning. I have learned a lot about the life of Bruce

Rodgers and the tacit knowledge that he held. I am appending some of the archival files from his papers at the GLBT Historic Society to my GitHub repository, including the biography quoted within this paper, for a more complete picture of his tacit knowledge.

- 4) *Maintain clarity of purpose and simplicity of access.* Digital projects should be clear about “what it has created or collected, what its value is, and for whom.” Additionally, projects should be reliably accessible and have a consistent central communication point so that end users can contact the creators to ask questions, add content, and report bugs.

This dictionary is for the hilarious gays, whose camping taunts shine through all the encoding. My email is in my GitHub.

- 5) *Approach sustainability as a process, not an end product.* Project teams should consider the survival of their project through the ‘post-funded period’. Projects should also guarantee the availability of their formats for 3-5 years after their close. If there is a continued interest in the utility of the project, it should be easy to continue improving and collaborating. If there is less enthusiastic, or “sporadic and specialized” interest, it should be easy for a project to be documented, deconstructed, and archived in a long-term stable resource.

This project has received no funding. As mentioned above, I have archived my project digitally. I am assuming that my project will fall into the “sporadic and specialised” category. The multi-pronged archiving regime will ensure that the constituent parts of the encoded dictionary are available freely to interested readers and researchers.

7 Technical Specifications

- Fully encoded dictionary slice available at github.com/junemu/QV

- TEI Dictionaries Chapter: <https://tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/DI.html>
- TEI Lex-0 Guidelines: <https://dariah-eric.github.io/lexicalresources/pages/TEILex0/TEILex0.html#>
- Oxygen XML Editor: <https://www.oxygenxml.com/>
- *Gay Talk*: <https://archive.org/details/gaytalkformerlye00rodg>
- Free online OCR Reader <https://www.onlineocr.net/>
- Digitizing Dictionaries Course: <https://teach.dariah.eu/course/view.php?id=20>
- Extracting Lexical Data: XPath for Dictionary Nerds
<https://elexis.humanistika.org/resource/posts/xpath-for-dictionary-nerds>

8 Conclusion

It is my hope that this book will be more than a study of sex behind the English laboratory; that it will spur further study of homosexual slang patterns. No study can ever be conclusive; it can however, point the way to further research and more advanced analysis. (Rodgers, 1972, p. 12)

During the 12 weeks this paper was written, a terrifying number of homophobic and transphobic laws were passed in the U.S., including laws banning discussion of gender and sexuality in schools. While this news broke in the background, I was immersed in the words left by queer ancestors who survived the same violence and discrimination creeping in from all levels of society today. A rollicking and indomitable discussion of gender and sexuality carries on in the *QV* 50 years after its publishing and 13 years after the death of Bruce Rodgers.

The goal of this project is to begin the advanced analysis of the *QV* that Rodgers foresaw. I was able to take a small sample of a dictionary and turn it into a format with powerful

possibilities. I hope this project shows the importance, potential, and joy of encoding dictionaries that are the farthest-flung from the traditional academy-produced text. The *QV*, a lexicon, jokebook, folkloric study, and autobiography is a cheeky and rewarding subject. Using the new and evolving practices of encoding dictionaries was a perfect way to accomplish this task. Even as an encoding neophyte, I was able to accomplish more analysis than I ever thought I could with limited time and technological background.

The next step in a digital life for the *QV* would be a digital publishing mechanism that accommodates the rich and nested structure of the text. The *QV* also deserved to be joined by its compatriots. Early dictionaries of LGBT+ slang are vital texts, and small enough of a corpus to imagine every lexicon fully digitized, encoded, and digitally published. It would be a timely project.

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IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO
SF:I:4:eb

PERSONAL

Mr. Bruce G. Rodgers
240 North 23rd Street
Las Vegas, Nevada

Position: Sub. Clerk Carrier
Application dated: 1-29-63

MAR 21 1963

Dear Mr. Rodgers:

In your application for the above position, you reported an arrest in July 1962 for prowling for which you were fined.

After careful consideration it has been determined that under Section 2.106 of the Civil Service Regulations you do not meet the necessarily strict standards of suitability for the above position with the Post Office Department because of your recent arrest and conviction. Therefore, your application has been rated ineligible.

Sincerely yours,
Malcolm R. Stuart
Malcolm R. Stuart
Chief, Investigations Division

Figure 5 Bruce Rodgers' Rejection Letter from Civil Service Commission