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1 Introduction

I was eighteen years old when I signed a pact with Mephistopheles and joined a group-sex conclave for the first time. I traded the disguise of a cherub of innocence for the dissed guise of a fornication demon. It was exactly because of my cherubic nature that these demonic powers were unleashed. As a cherub I had four faces. The charming faces of a human and an angel and the savage faces of an eagle and a lion. All were equally magnetic and alluring, but while the human feet and angelic wings kept me upright,

the animal claws and incisors allowed me to bend my flesh and soul in every transverse and perpendicular dimension. So, although the youngest in the troop, I relished this synod of debauchery with all its notes, scents, and tastes. We, four boys on a summer camp, eagerly embraced the blaze that had been consuming our stomachs - - - and dived, remorseless, into the pulsating waters of tenderness and transgression.

The present text emerges from my experience of participating in GBMSM (gay, bisexual and other men-who-have-sex-with-men) group sex such as the event described above.¹ Group sex – an activity that involves more than two people engaging in various types of sexual behavior that range from passive observation to more active involvement, be it oral, anal, penetrative, ejaculative, or any other – has formed part of my life | occasional yet viscerally persistent. It has substantially contributed to how I perceive the world, other human beings, and myself, and I would perhaps not be who I am had I not fucked in groups.

Since I am committed to combating oppressions that permeate the academy – including its strangulating decorum and puritanism (Foucault 1978, Paglia 1990, Jakobsen & Pellegrini 2003, Rubin 2011: 148-155, Spoto 2014: 79, Andrason 2025 & 2026), which no doubt are reflections of the academy's heteronormativity – I view the disclosure of this counter-(hetero)normative facet of my life in research as a liberatory praxis, both in reflection and in action (Freire 1993). Although it renders me vulnerable and potentially exposes me to further homophobic attacks, it emancipates and empowers me. That is, “by [...] writing about (radical) homosexual erotic practices and, more importantly, celebrating them openly, I seize and occupy the scholarly space from which such positive and unapologetic homosexual discourses have traditionally been expelled [and] in so doing, I not only tell my story, I remake myself as well” (Andrason 2026: 32). This liberatory aspiration in studying GBMSM group sex becomes more evident if one considers the stigmatization of such

sexual acts. Indeed, GBMSM group sex remains one of the sexual performances that (hetero) normativity tolerates the least, and even in countries where GBMSM (and LGBTQIA+) people enjoy some liberties, GBMSM group sex was outlawed until very recently. For example, in South Africa until 1998, in England and Wales until 2000, and in Canada until 2002. Had I lived in these countries as a young adult, I would have been a criminal.

As a hyper-polyglot whose language repertoire has been shaped by homosexuality and queerness (Andrason 2025), in my study of GBMSM group sex, I focus on the multilingualism of this sexual practice – a topic that has not yet been addressed in scholarship. Specifically, I aim to verify whether GBMSM group-sex events attest to multilingual patterns and, should this be the case, what characteristics such multilingual communication tends to exhibit. I develop my research against the backdrop of studies dedicated to the intersection of multilingualism and GBMSM (Tewksbury 1996 & 2002, Tattelman 1997 & 1999, Haubrich et al. 2004, Holmes, O'Byrne & Gastaldo 2007, Sierra Madero 2012, Baudinette 2017, Cashman 2018, Lucido Santos & Saisuwan 2023, Perez Toledo 2023, Andrason 2025, 2026, forthcoming (a) & under review) and couch it within the subjective methodologies of erotic (naked) embodied autoethnography, existential naturalism, and artisticization of science on the one hand (Holman-Jones 2005, Ellis 2008, Blinne 2012, Langarita Adiego 2019, Andrason 2026, forthcoming (a) & under review), and the more “positivistic” approaches imported from sociolinguistics, language-contact studies, and

¹ While the label ‘GBMSM’ suggests cis-male gender (i.e., assigned male gender at birth), it is also inclusive of transgender men (who may themselves identify as gay, bisexual, or MSM) as well as those persons who, although assigned the male gender at birth, identify as gender fluid and/or gender non-specific.

cognitive linguistics on the other hand (Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002 & 2006, Muysken 2000, Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000, Evans & Green 2006, García 2009, Matras 2009, García & Wei 2014, Janda 2015, Mazzaferro 2018, Sabino 2018, Heine 2023).

To achieve the above objectives, I organize my text as follows: I first review scholarly literature dedicated to multilingualism and GBMSM sex(ualities) (section 2) and explain the methodology of data collection, presentation, and analysis (section 3). Subsequently, I introduce my data as artisticized narratives (section 4) and after evaluating them against the scholarly backdrop, propose answers to the research questions (section 5). The article concludes with another personal narrative vignette profiling the liberatory and vulnerable sides of GBMSM group sex (section 6).

2 Literature review: Multilingualism and GBMSM sex

To the best of my knowledge, there are no peer-reviewed studies that explicitly analyze multilingualism – or the absence thereof – in GBMSM group sex. Nevertheless, scholarship has studied – to various extents and depths – three related issues: the language of GBMSM sexual/erotic encounters, the multi-/monolingualism of the linguistic landscape of GBMSM spaces and, more broadly, the relationship between the multi-/monolingualism of speakers and their GBMSM sexualities.

In GBMSM sexual/erotic encounters, which may, although need not, take place in radical GBMSM spaces (i.e., public cruising areas, dedicated cruising clubs, and gay bath-houses), the use of canonical verbal language – i.e., a language produced orally, captured with the International Phonetic Alphabet, and (potentially) codified in orthography – is report-

edly sparse. Communication occurring in such sexually loaded areas and situations draws more prominently on non verbal modalities: visual (e.g., gestures, body movements, and worn apparel), somatosensory (e.g., touches), olfactory (e.g., bodily scents) and gustatory (e.g., the taste of bodily secretions), as well as an auditory mode expanding beyond language understood narrowly (e.g., paralinguistic oral articulations and non-oral sounds) (see Leap 1996, Tewksbury 1996 & 2002, Tattelman 1997 & 1999, Haubrich et al. 2004, Holmes, O’Byrne & Gastaldo 2007, Sierra Madero 2012, Perez Toledo 2023, Andrason 2026, forthcoming (a) & under review). When canonical linguistic verblativity does transpire during sexual/erotic interactions (especially at the above-mentioned radical places), it seems to exhibit the following properties: it is “brief”, “succinct”, and “low” in its volume (i.e., often “hushed”) and involves the speakers who tend to be “less than arm’s length away” (Tewksbury 2002: 102). Crucially, instead of using word classes of sentence grammar (e.g., verbs, nouns, and adjectives) and their combinations into phrases, clauses, and sentences, the verbal language deployed in the above-mentioned spaces and situations – especially during the climactic stage of an encounter – primarily draws on interactives (Andrason forthcoming (a), under review). The interactive categories that are typically harnessed in such instances include attention signals, response elicitors and response signals, vocatives and directives, and discourse markers, evaluatives, and interjections (Andrason forthcoming (a), under review). More “regular” conversations that exploit sentence-grammar lexical classes and their phrasal/clausal/sentential combinations take place in public non-GBMSM-exclusive areas, “sex-free” parts of GBMSM establishments, as well as at the stages of erotic encounters that are less sexualized, e.g., pre- and

post-climactic (Tewksbury 2002: 102, Andrason forthcoming (a), under review; for the definitions of interactive and sentence grammar see section 3).² Generally, “as communication advances, [...] language [...] transitions from more traditionally linguistic to [...] extra-/para-/non-linguistic” with auditory modality (particularly its verbal type) being supplanted by other sensorial modes (Andrason under review, p. 38). Indeed, at a climactic peak, an interaction tends to be “auditorily non-verbal, minimally visual, centered on olfactory and especially [...] somatosensory and somatic gustatory modes” (Andrason under review, p. 39). Nevertheless, such non-verbal sounds and modalities play a highly relevant role at non-climactic stages too, especially when establishing and terminating communicative channels.

The presence of canonical (named) languages in their written forms is somewhat more pervasive in the linguistic landscapes of GBMSM spaces. English tends to occupy a dominant position in these sites. In English-speaking areas (regions or countries), English is generally the only variety used. In areas where other languages are spoken, local varieties (especially, if they hold an official status) can be found in signage too. Nevertheless, English often accompanies local languages or even substitutes them (Baudinette 2017, Lucido Santos & Saisuwan 2023, Andrason 2026). Therefore, while some GBMSM landscapes may, to a certain degree, be multilingual, monolingualism seems to predominate (Motschenbacher 2020, Lucido Santos & Saisuwan 2023, Andrason 2026). This erasure or marginalization of local languages, especially non-(Indo-) European ones, stems from and further am-

plifies “the perceived whiteness of [GBMSM] space[s] and [their] globalized Western character” (Andrason 2026: 30). Again, the relevance of the modalities other than verbal (whether auditory, visual, somatosensory, olfactory, or gustatory) in the GBMSM landscapes increases in sites that are radically counter-normative (e.g., cruising clubs, bathhouses, and restrooms) and, particularly, the so-called climactic spaces within these (e.g., dark rooms, steam rooms, and slings; Tewksbury 1996 & 2002, Tattelman 1997 & 1999, Sierra Madero 2012, Evangelista 2014, Baudinette 2017, Andrason 2026 & forthcoming (a)).

The body of works examining the relationship between the multilingualism of speakers and GBMSM sexualities is much larger than research studying the role of multilingualism in GBMSM sexual acts and in the spaces where such acts (may) occur, which I discussed above. Drawing on Cashman (2018), three clusters of topics can be distinguished within this type of the linguistic scholarship. One strand of studies analyzes “language contact and LGBTQ[IA+] lives” (Cashman 2018: 226) and the resultant multilingualism of LGBTQIA+ communities or, on the contrary, their (more or less pronounced) monolingualism, with English being a dominant variety (Cashman 2018; cf. Milani 2013, Milani & Kapa 2015). The second research area examines properties of the varieties used by multilingual (usually, bilingual) LGBTQIA+/GBMSM individuals (Cashman 2018: 226). For instance, the language choices of Filipino gay men speaking Tagalog and English (Manalansan 1995), the so-called ‘swardspeak’ or a blended language that draws on Tagalog, English, and Spanish (Manalansan 2003), and the

² Additionally, canonical verbal language features more prominently in conversations between visitors/patrons who are acquaintances (Tewksbury 2002: 102).

prosodic, morphological, syntactic, and lexical elements in other mixed varieties deployed by LGBTQIA+/GBMSM persons. The third class of works pertains to language learning, both formal and informal; especially the relationship between the second or further language acquisition and (romantic) LGBTQIA+/GBMSM desire (Piller 2002) as well as the impact of tourism on the development of linguistic repertoires (Rowlett 2020; for a detailed review of the three research clusters consult Cashman 2018). To the scholarship cluster described in this paragraph, one may additionally include studies investigating the “statistically significant” correlation between polyglotism (i.e., being a speaker of six or more languages) or, at least, a predisposition to a faster and more successful second language acquisition on the one hand and “homosexual behaviors, preferences, and/or orientations” on the other (Erard 2012: 178).

While the above publications are related to the topic of my article quite loosely, two autoethnographic studies, both authored by me, mention the (hyper)multilingualism of GBMSM sex practices and people who partake in them more overtly, without limiting such research and its ramifications to group-sex activities and attendees. First, I argued that a person may become hyper-multilingual due to their “unapologetic and rebellious queer love and [...] struggle” (Andrason 2025: 89). That is, it is “the fascination, spiritual and carnal” that one experiences towards their own sex that, at least for some, constitutes the principal motivation for language acquisition – much more critical than other reasons, e.g., educational or professional – leading to the formation of a hyper-multilingual repertoire (Andrason

2025: 84). In other words, successful language learning resulting in polyglotism stems in such cases from “the [...] love [one] ha[s] felt and made to real and imaginary people” – i.e., intimate encounters with the members of one’s own sex, “whether these took place in the imaginary landscape of [...] dreams or in [...] streets, saunas, and trains” (Andrason 2025: 84–85). Second, after examining the language of GBMSM anal interactions – i.e., “interactions that at some point involve anal sex between two mxn” – I conclude that, should the anal language involve genuine verbal elements, this material is often multilingual (Andrason under review, pp. 4, 30).³ On the one hand, communications leading to anal sex to which I have contributed regularly exploit different languages. They tend to respond to the geographic context of their occurrence by centering the language of the respective area (city, region, or country). On the other hand, sexual partners may sometimes draw on and mix various languages and even act as each other’s teachers. Again, this harnessing of many distinct named languages during anal sex may be regarded as not only the result of one’s hyper-multilingualism but also the reason thereof (Andrason under review, p. 30). That is, one fucks “multilingually” because one knows many languages; and conversely, making love with linguistically diverse partners expands the language repertoire of a person – me, in that study.

Overall, scholars agree – we need more studies that examine the multilingualism of LGBTQIA+ people and their communities (including the GBMSM subset) and thus the intersection of LGBTQIA+ sexualities and multilingualism (Cashman 2018: 222, 230). Due to

³ ‘Mxn’ is a term that includes both cis- and transmen.

the prevalence of research centering English, this need is especially patent for languages (whether L1 or L2) different from English – a necessity that holds true for all language-and-gender studies in general (Pujolar 2008).

3 Methodology

The methodology underpinning my study is complex and eclectic. It is so because I harness distinct strategies when collecting, presenting, and analyzing data – something unavoidable given the topic of my research and my commitment to conducting it in a counter-normative yet ethical manner.

To collect my data, I exploit (my) subjectivity. Subjectivity is an anti-positivist, anti-modernist, anti-scientist paradigm which has become increasingly relevant in qualitative research and has indeed characterized my own recent pedagogical, sociolinguistic, and GBMSM scholarship. Following many others (see Finlay 2002, 2008 & 2009, Olmos-Vega et al. 2023), I embrace subjectivity in research, considering it an asset that enhances the breadth and depth of data (and their analysis and interpretation) instead of treating it as a limitation that should, if possible, be avoided and/or eliminated. Within the gamut of approaches to subjectivity – and in further alignment with my previous research – I use erotic (naked) embodied autoethnography (Blinne 2012, Langarita Adiego 2019, Andrason 2026, forthcoming (a) & under review). This means that: (a) my ethnographic technique reflexively pertains to the researcher's life (Holman-Jones 2005, Ellis 2008); (b) it centers the body of the researcher, including their anatomy and physiology as well as all the sensorial modalities, i.e., visual, auditory, somatosensory, olfactory, and

gustatory (Andrason 2026, forthcoming (a) & under review; see also Finlay 2006, Blinne 2012, Langarita Adiego 2019); and (c) it approaches the body in one of its most vulnerable states, i.e., when naked (or semi-clothed) and engaged in erotic/sexual practices (Ellis 2008, Blinne 2012, Spatz 2017, Langarita Adiego 2019, Andrason 2025, 2026, forthcoming (a) & under review).

For the purpose of the present study, this translates into the following: I draw on the experiences of sharing my naked (or semi-clothed) body with others during group-sex events. These experiences cover decades of my life, spanning my entire adulthood. They also involve a range of spaces – those that are normative and counter-normative and those where GBMSM encounters (sexual or not) are covert and overt – across Asia (Turkey and Israel), Africa (Morocco and South Africa), and especially Europe: northern (Iceland and Sweden), southern (Spain and Italy), western (Germany and France), and eastern (Poland and Hungary).

To compile these experiences, I delved into my memories. Although I had to draw on *a posteriori* reflections – sometimes recalling events years after their occurrence – I did so in a systematic manner: I wrote notes, recorded thoughts, and continuously revised all such recollections, improving their detail and veracity or verisimilitude. In autoethnography, memory is certainly not seen as a repository of “truths” or static facts to be retrieved from the past and corrected but rather as the primary site of inquiry itself. Therefore, my engagement with memories of the group-sex events I had experienced concerned their existence at present, i.e., in the moment of remembering – *now*. Nevertheless, through the above-mentioned systematicity, I wanted to avoid narcissistic embellishments of past events, without

aiming at journalistic accuracy (see further below). The entire process lasted five months and, while enriching and moving overall, was uncomfortable and distressing at times.

To present my data, I draw on existential naturalism – a combination of several tenets of literary naturalism and philosophical existentialism (Andrason under review). Accordingly, I eliminate (or at least blur) a rigid separation between art and creative writing on the one hand and science and academic writing on the other. I integrate artistic/creative genres and styles into scientific/academic work, turning a linguist like me into a scientist and an artist at the same time. This approach results in the artisticization of science whereby the manner of presenting the material collected (the story/plot and its style/form) matters as much as the content itself (e.g., data collected and argument made) (Andrason 2025, forthcoming (a) & under review; see also Holman-Jones 2005, Ellis 2008). This artisticization is necessitated ontologically and epistemologically (Andrason under review). First, contrary to canonical reportative scientific sentences, it allows one to present reality as less sanitized, regimented, de-temporalized, and universalized but cruder, messier, more ephemeral, historical, and contextual (as it realistically is, according to complexity science; cf. Hooker 2011). Second, regardless of the historical or merely experiential veracity of the events that are being described, it allows readers to experience the reconstructed reality as if they themselves lived through it – something that, for several qualitative social-science researchers, is the necessary foundation of any analysis and understanding. In other words, the artisticization of science responds to the claim that human experiences must be lived through to be comprehended and that

this living-through exercise may be achieved via evocative, both lyrical and narrative, images (Aronson 2022, Andrason forthcoming (a) & under review).

One consequence of this artisticization, relevant for the present text, is the acceptance of registers, devices, and expressions that depart from standard academic style – not only poetry, rhythm, rhymes, and evocative images, but also colloquialisms and swearwords. This stylistic rudeness is inherent to my methodological commitment as both naturalism (e.g., Zola) and existentialism (especially, Sartre and Genet) aim to engage with all aspects of human life, including obscene and vulgar, whether “intestinal [or] scatological” (Colin 1988: 9-10) and whether pertaining to “anal intercourse [...] spit, sperm, [...] shit, organic smells, [or] farts” (Sartre 1963: 127, 490, 501). Importantly, such naturalistic literary forms are not deployed for mere provocation. Their *raison d'être* is more profound. They are critical elements that allow authors to present reality in a manner that, as required by the existential naturalist program, is unadorned and thus free from normative and sanitizing constraints, including those entrenched in academic discourse (Andrason forthcoming (a) & under review).

After months of the introspective research journey described above, I decided to illustrate my group-sex experiences in the article text through two events presented in an artisticized, semi-narrative and semi-lyrical format. I selected these incidents not because they capture the entirety of what I went through, but because they exemplify the essential components of group-sex activities in which I participated. Crucially, they depict some of the most formative moments in my group-sex journey and in my development as a conscientized human

being – moments in which my linguistic, social, and political awareness matured most profoundly. Furthermore, as they portray me at distinct stages of life (at eighteen and twenty-six), in distinct geographical milieus (first in Germany and Poland and later in Spain), and interacting with distinct linguistic repertoires (on the one hand, German, Polish, and Russian and, on the other hand, Arabic, Bulgarian, French, and Spanish), they profile different aspects of my multilingual encounters when engaging in group sex. Therefore, the two narratives are simultaneously coherent and divergent: they share important commonalities yet portray experiences specific to their time, place, and linguistic context.

I aimed to reproduce these two events in a way that was as faithful as possible to how I experienced or rather how I *remember* experiencing them at the time they had occurred (see further below). Hence the radical detail-ness of my stories and an obsessive lyrical realism with which I recount every minute anatomical, emotional, and environmental feature I was able to recall. This hyper-descriptive register not only makes my narratives verisimilar as it refers to specific people, places, and reactions; above all, it creates a magnifying glass through which both you, my reader, and I can examine *me* with a surgeon's precision. In other words, I foreground the minute elements that I consider as critical for producing me then and that are still fundamental in how I now understand myself of that time. Crucially, I view such meticulous synesthetic depictions not as mere artistic surplus but as ontologically necessary to representing embodied experiences that in GBMSM communication tend to be multimodal: auditory, visual, haptic, olfactory, and gustatory (see Leap 1996, Tewksbury 1996 & 2002, Tattelman

1997 & 1999, Haubrich et al. 2004, Holmes, O'Byrne & Gastaldo 2007, Sierra Madero 2012, Perez Toledo 2023, Andrason 2025, 2026, forthcoming (a) & under review; see section 2).

My approach to data collection and presentation resulting in a retrospective reconstruction – I tell a story about the events that occurred years ago – has further epistemological complexity. The reality and experiences narrated are vicarious. I thus distinguish between historical truth or accuracy and my autobiographical memory or narrative truth; between narrating an event as it occurred and was experienced *then* and narrating it how it exists in memory *now* (cf. Spence 1982). Even though my narrative aims for some historical fidelity – as I explained above, I wanted to avoid improving the past – my primary focus is phenomenological authenticity (which is a more appropriate standard for artisticized science as well). This distinction and the unavoidable limitation of my study are intrinsic – not merely incidental – to the autoethnographic method: all autoethnography is reconstruction, and the question is not whether reconstruction occurs, but how consciously and systematically it is conducted.

The above consideration is especially relevant to the retrospective application of the framework of erotic embodied autoethnography to my own sexuality. Narrating my early sexual experience as an adult researcher presents a significant challenge (see Plummer's 1995 work on sexual stories, Ellis's 2007 discussions of relational ethics in autoethnography, and Kraftl's 2017 evaluation of memory in autoethnographic methodologies). My sexuality has evolved considerably since the time of my narratives. I no longer experience the world in the same way I did then. Yet, given the profound

impact these two events have had on my life, the feelings I experienced then have never fully left me but have instead continued to reside in my body and mind. Indeed, I still remember nearly every moment, action, word, and image from those days and can vividly recall the excitement, pain, and fear my body and mind felt.

Eventually, the approach I adopt creates a number of tensions: between the speech, thoughts, and reflections of the protagonist (me then) and the *a-posteriori* narration (me now); between the sexuality of the still developing protagonist and the narrating adult's framing of these sexualities; between the speaking first-person voices – Alexander the young adult and Alexander now; between a reporting voice (which describes) and a commenting voice (which formulates judgements about the unfolding events); and lastly, between the humanizing language of the author and his incarnations and the dehumanizing language of society that shapes (or 'infects') him, with or without his consent.

While data collection is personal and subjective and data presentation is narrative and evocative, the remaining part of my endeavor, i.e., data analysis, is more orthodox – analytic-synthetic, 'objective', and stylistically reportative and neutral (cf. Blinne 2012: 971; see also Leavy 2015 on a broader discussion of arts-based research and the integration of artistic and analytic frames). Indeed, to evaluate my data – both those presented in the narrative and those included in the wider corpus of group-sex experiences compiled through systematic and critical recollection – I deploy a collection of mainstream linguistic frameworks.⁴

I follow sociolinguistic theories in distinguishing between individual multilingualism (the use of various languages by a single speaker) and societal multilingualism (the use of various languages within a geographic area) – which I operationally redefine for the context of my study as 'group multilingualism' – along with the distinct characteristics and dynamics of these two multilingual types and their inter-relatedness (Butler 2013, Stavans & Hoffmann 2015, Maher 2017). I follow language-contact studies in examining codeswitching as alternational or insertional, distinguishing the matrix and embedded code(s) of a communicative unit, and acknowledging the dissimilar tendencies of all these switches and codes to host grammatical, lexical, and phonological elements (Muysken 2000, Matras 2009, Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002 & 2006, Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000). I also make a distinction between the blending of separate (named) languages and a more integral language mixing visible in translanguaging (García 2009, García & Wei 2014, Mazzaferro 2018, Sabino 2018). Lastly, in the formal analysis of the material collected, I follow cognitive linguistics and its functional view of language as motivated (rather than arbitrary) with lexical classes and linguistic phenomena defined by their prototypes, organized into radial (and thus inherently dynamic and fuzzy) categories (Evans & Green 2006, Janda 2015) and comprised between two grammar edges, i.e., sentence grammar and interactive grammar (Heine 2023). Sentence grammar is analytical, additive (compositional), and able to yield novel speech. It contains lexical classes such as verbs, nouns, pronouns, numerals, ad-

⁴ In contrast, the opening scene does not directly contribute to analytical data-points which I evaluate in Section 5. Rather, it signals a threshold where my group sex experience started. The same applies to the closing vignette which is symbolic and acts as a manifesto directed towards the future.

jectives, adverbs, adpositions, and connectors. Interactive grammar is expressive, processed holistically and compatible with holophrasticity (i.e., an individual lexeme can function as a complete non-elliptical utterance). It comprises “invariable deictic form[s that] provide insights into how speakers conceive themselves in the world of social communication”, i.e., attention signals, directives, discourse markers, evaluatives, ideophones/onomatopoeias, interjections, response elicitors, response signals, social formulae, and vocatives (Heine 2023: 7).

The positivist style of my analysis (which is typical of scholarly articles) starkly clashes with the erotic lyrical style of my narrative data. While I deploy these two genres for two different purposes and thus view them as complementary devices, their presence is never fully compatible and harmonious. Rather, they are constantly at odds, colliding and contradicting each other. Equally important, the ‘objective’ register of my analysis does not preclude the occasional reintegration of the subjective voice during the evaluation of data. This reintegration is a deliberate methodological choice consistent with my autoethnographic epistemology. All of this yields yet another, overarching tension permeating my study: is this, overall, literature or science? Is it both | or is it neither?

4 (Artisticized) data

4.1 A homo-communist

When I was eighteen, we – the boys from my school soccer team in which I played midfield – went to Spremberg in Germany to meet our nineteen-year old peers from across the Oder. At that time, my German was still quite rudimentary. Yes, my

grandmother, who was Silesian and spoke German natively, had taught me a number of words and expressions, as she had also done with the Gothic calligraphy; I did not, however, acquire the proficiency that would allow me to hold a conversation in Deutsch.

The match with the German team was uneventful. We lost terribly. Our opponents were supposed to be a year older than us, but the German youths seemed much more mature. They were tall and muscular and had the appearance of young men rather than schoolboys. No, I did not worry about this physical disproportion, particularly manifest in the case of my own body – because how could my soft skin and shaky skeleton compete with the monumental figures of these Teutonic athletes? Nor was I saddened by our fissured defeat, which infuriated the coach. Kicking the Fußball was exciting, the trip to Germany captivated my nomadic imagination, and German lads were echt pretty.

After the match, I wanted to shower. For as long as I can remember, I had always admired my post-game murky body stained with bruises and scabs, for it emanated this roughness that would immediately thrust me into the womb of depravation. Yet each time when soiled and sore, I desired, even more so, this mud and crust to flood down across my back, shoulders and legs to arouse and breed the genuine delinquent and the culprit of my corruption – my ass. Predictably, I was unable to resist this unprotected hunger of mine, now, freshly bruised and scabbed and coated with the moist bandage of Sprembergian sweat.

I waited a while in the changing room assigned to my team, but as all the cubicles continued to be occupied, I was eventually instructed to use the Germans’ bathrooms. I entered their locker-room – sneakily. There were three boys there. One in shorts, two in underwear | all shirtless and barefoot. They were smiling, talking, and shouting ec-

statically, celebrating the well-deserved victory. As soon as I walked in, their eyes froze in a glassy silence. "Hallo"⁵ – I whispered. "Ich bin Alexander und ich spiele innn..."⁶ – I stammered unable to remember the word for 'team'. To conceal my embarrassment, I sat on the wooden bench, put my backpack on the floor, and started to peel off my shyness. The German boys laughed gently and exchanged some words in their language. I understood German better than I spoke it – they wondered whether to talk to me in Russian. Of course! Like us, they had been learning Russian at school! Before they made up their minds, I repeated: "Я играю в польской футбольной команде... Я хотел принять душ".⁷ Their cheeks blushed with a mosaic of freckles. I recognized this ill-disciplined smile of theirs. They were my kind | the depraved angels | cherubim. Caring, smart, and perverted. Ouch, I ignited instantly: my left iris expanded | my right eyelid shrank. The Saxon youngsters instantly scaled these grimaces, vulgar and refined, of my face, exposing me ---- bare.

"Ein сладкий Junge"⁸ – purred the tallest of the German boys, Kai, as he approached me. Like me, he wore black shorts under which a pair of white underwear salivated deceitfully. In lust and envy. "Du trägst eine schöne kurze Adidas-hose, Alexander"⁹ – he said. The only words I understood were 'Adidas shorts' but I sensed he liked my outfit. "Ich denke твои трусы тоже красивые"¹⁰ – I answered and

undressed to show him that my briefs were snowy too. "Das ist majtki... трусы" – I murmured – эй, белые, как у тебя".¹¹ "Der Slip"¹² – translated Kai and added boisterously – "Давай, будем больше, чем товарищи".¹³ Triumphant, he took off his shorts and threw them at his teammates. My hero bowman – gallant, brave, and generous. They took up this glove – humid and groin-sweat fragrant – and stripped naked. And so did we: Kai and me. Arrogantly | with this delightful immodesty of cupid orphans. To show off that the two of us were the most beautiful of all the contenders. "В штыхы! Огоны!"¹⁴ – Kai fired.

No! We did not fight | we read anatomy instead. While studying we clung to Russian; on the exam, however, we cheated in German and Polish. Our fingers were pens, lips were brushes, and saliva was ink. We carved equations and crayoned sketches. It felt ecstatic – this domino of toes, tibias, and tracheas. And it was magical – German and Polish boys brawling to the roll of a Russian snare drum. Katyushas of spit, the Internationale of tears, and the red standard in which they wrapped my toxic kidneys and lymphatic nodes. Three German pioneers and a Polish boy scout | The dexterous musketeers and their audacious yet loyal esquire. A homo communist quadri-phallic trinity incarnated.

After the test, Kai sat by me.

I was unable to move.

⁵ 'Hi'.

⁶ 'I'm Alexander and I play in the...'

⁷ 'I play in the Polish team. I wanted to take a shower.'

⁸ 'A sweet young boy'.

⁹ 'You are wearing a nice pair of Adidas shorts, Alexander.'

¹⁰ 'I think your shorts are also cute.'

¹¹ 'These are briefs...briefs – hey, white like yours.'

¹² 'The briefs.'

¹³ 'Come on, let's be more than comrades.'

¹⁴ 'Bayonets on! Fire!'

- "Bist du traurig?"¹⁵ – he asked worried.
- "Traurig?"¹⁶ – I hesitated.
- "Ja, грустный".¹⁷
- "Nein, vielleicht, может быть."¹⁸
- "Warum?"¹⁹
- "Я больше никогда вас...dich...не увижу."²⁰

Kai put his hand on my nape. The warm secretion of his palm blended with my polar perspiration, which had barely crystalized on his fingers, quietened me instantly. But his arm – this fortified palisade of tendons and ligaments – made me quiver again and separated my griffin spine from my humanoid shoulders. I arched like the archangel I had once been. Kai pressed me towards his chest: tense, steamy, viscid. I smelled the sour syrupiness of his armpits. Mine were odorless and hairless | his gushed resonant manhood. "Не волнуйся, mein Knabe"²¹ – I heard his lung pockets pulsating and his heart cavities breathing. Caressing my straw fringe, he asked: "Ты не хотел принимать душ?"²² – and violently rumbled – "Давай! Идём!"²³ We bathed together and I resurfaced pure like never before. Kai dried me with his tongue and dressed me with the unnatural affection of a brother: loving and selfish at the same time. First socks and sneakers – with the laces that I never tied; next a t-shirt and a cotton jumper; and briefs and shorts at the end.

My school bus was ready to depart. Kai did not look into my eyes. Trying to hug me he hastily patted me on my back as if I were a mongrel – "Пока!"²⁴ || "Tschüss"²⁵ – I mumbled aloof and ran dispassionately away...incapable of keeping him for a moment longer, which I hoped would last forever. He sniffed every step I made – obsessively like a purebred hunter. Alas | he never turned his face. How could he? There was no hole in his mail armor from where his flesh would abscond.

The fears that had shaken my femurs in Germany became hideously real once back in Poland. Damn – I could travel to places nearly a thousand kilometers away yet not to Spremberg, the distance to which was much less than a hundred. Masuria lakes in the northeast and Bieszczady mountains in the southeast, which were so remote spatially and culturally and which, at that time, I hadn't even seen with my eyes, were presented to me as closer than the other bank of the Oder, which was agonizingly proximate in both space and culture. They were mine because they formed part of Poland, while the place across the river was not mine because it belonged to a different state. Kai's land was foreign even though German boys and I breathed the same nature, inhabited the same architecture, and our histories, realities, and bodies were deeply intertwined. Aua! Every day I felt more allegiance to my Spremberg lovers – their foreskins, freckles, cheekbones, and tongues – than

¹⁵ 'Are you sad?'

¹⁶ 'Sad?'

¹⁷ 'Yes, sad.'

¹⁸ 'No, maybe, maybe.'

¹⁹ 'Why?'

²⁰ 'I will never see you again.'

²¹ 'Don't worry, my boy.'

²² 'Didn't you want to have a shower?'

²³ 'Come on! Let's go!'

²⁴ 'See you!'

²⁵ 'See you!'

to these amorphous compatriots from everywhere... and nowhere.

And one afternoon on my way home from the bus station where a cashier had mocked my intent to travel to Spremberg, I realized how irrational borders were. Borders like the one that caged me away from Kai's arms and fists, were, I thought, nothing but obstacles to become a human. Obstacles to dress, to undress, and to reach across. They were a prison that confined me to the uniformized and senseless cell of a statal legality which, I was told, was mine. Then, after taking the oath to flush this spatial curfew down into the cesspit of administrative commandments, sacrosanct and dumb, I comprehended something else: as long as borders exist, the only people who may call themselves free are those who escaped the fangs of these jail walls – *m i g r a n t s*.

4.2 A homo-migrant

At the age of twenty-six, I was no longer a cherub. 64 kilograms light and raised 180 centimeters above mud level, I had become an exquisite striker – a demon ace – in the cocky and holy armada. Whenever I marched, platoons of soldiers of all ranks and titles – privates, sergeants, lieutenants, colonels, and generals – chased me with a sinful and careless devotion. To conscript and parade me, to discipline and court-martial me, and to execute me in the end. At swimming pools and bathhouses, in classrooms and restrooms, at parties, bars, and in the streets. Avid and compulsive | obsessed and severe. Was my body – slender, hairless, elastic, and overall boyish – a magnet that drew them to me? Or was it my character? Kind and arrogant | compassionate and indifferent | timid and confident | serene and violent | discreet and exhibitionistic |

restrained and limitless | poetic and pornographic – and all that at once.

Yet while my soft ears, gentle hands, and tough calves boosted my price high – as did the undisciplined qualities of my incongruous soul – my migratory status would sell me cheap. Wherever I'd lived, I wasn't like them – the full-rights citizens. No, I had never been enough. Not sufficiently blond, brunet, or red headed. Not sufficiently blue, green, or brown eyed. Not sufficiently Catholic, Lutheran, or atheist. Not that I desired to be that. What I needed, was to be like me – this coppery, dark blond, green-blue-eyed pagan – and to fuck him and let him fuck me diagonally, perpendicularly, and in parallel. Sadly, I'd never met myself. But I had seen the reflections of this bastardized Alexander in his migrant brothers who, like him, walked ill fitted to survive. For they were designed to exist instead of to live.

That year, I flew from Iceland to Madrid to familiarize myself with the city where I was going to spend two semesters of my university education – and as destiny would teach me several years of my life. A week sufficed to convince me I would love it. Joo!²⁶ I savored this exquisite mélange of Spaniards and handsome conquistadores from Morocco, Colombia, Argentina, Peru, Bulgaria, Romania, Nigeria, Togo, Gambia, and more. It did not feel like Europe; at least, not the Europe I was accustomed to, northward from the Pyrenean fence. Intoxicated and ecstatic, I smelled – I'd swear – the Andes, the Atlas, the Balkan Mountains, and the delta of the Niger.

One afternoon – like the many afternoons before – I waited for my bus at the Avenida-de-América subterranean intercambiador.²⁷ Heat – thirst – water. Soon I needed to pee. Yeah, I could hold my bladder upright and in line. I could. "All the same" – my urethra shouted – "the terminal's restrooms are

²⁶ 'Shit/fuck!'

²⁷ 'The terminal.'

too seductive!". Since I had heard their roar for the first time and sensed their musky aroma and nauseating taste, they had been luring me into corruption. There, two floors under the ground, a gloomy mine brewed its whiffs and flavors, institutionalizing stink, piss, and cum into the landscape of fissured tiles and scraped paint. In the center – the pissoir wall. The industrial furnace that separated us, savages, from the civilized them | the smeltery of silence where steelworkers excavated lust and extorted it for love. On the periphery – guards who suspiciously inspected laborers, barking and chasing the crowds at times. Yet, the proletariat would not care | they always returned | fortified, stronger, in masses.

On that day, all of us, the workmates of the swing shift, were equally immature even though my own body was the least ripened. We gushed an erectile confidence and a rectal charm. Gabriel – the gods' lad – was slender like me. He wore auburn curls and smooth pale skin. He exhaled the Andes and perspired the Pampa. Nikolai – the conqueror and the most victorious of all people – was viciously muscular. His hair snowed Стара планина's coal²⁸ | his beard gusted the fresh blows of the Balkans. Mounir – the luminous | the light. The tallest, most burnished of us all. He exuded the aroma of the Atlas which, like his coils, radiated with a brown shade under the fluorescent sun of our foundry plant. And me, Alexander – the hero faggot and the defender of all his faggot brethren – cuddlable like mount Śnieżka

but feral like Esja | serene like Hel peninsula but volcanic like Reykjanes. That uncombed rascal who still refused to tie his shoelaces.

"Tienes un culo espectacular"²⁹ – said Gabriel softly and grabbed my left buttock. I barely spoke Spanish and answered mostly in French – "Ta bite, mm, tu polla,... elle est belle aussi".³⁰ He might not have understood this, so I looked at his cock and smiled. Now, he got it. Across the urinary oven, Nikolai and Mounir were stealing glimpses of us with their necks twisted in a leftward paralysis. I loved this peeping exposure. I lowered my jeans and briefs to my knees. "Hola"³¹ – I blinked. They echoed disclosing their accents and smirked. "Venga, follemos como dios manda"³² – salivated Gabriel. "Хайде"³³ – seconded Nikolai | "هيا"³⁴ – ricocheted Mounir.

We entered a cubicle. A paradise of smut and soot. To breed, we clicked in Spanish. But to swallow, we interjected in Bulgarian, French and Arabic too. "Joder"³⁵ – spat Gabriel, grinding Nikolai's prepuce | "Ей"³⁶ – shouted Nikolai and greased his finger in me | "Vas-y"³⁷ – I hissed to Mounir and curved like a crooked bandit | he exhaled "وخا"³⁸ comforted and euphoric – and our dance macabre began. We grazed and fed – following the tune of the bubonic accordion and the translucent cornet of life | gulping the pestilence and spewing the remedy. From cock to ass, from ass to mouth, and from mouth to cock. Forth, back, and across. Clock- and anticlockwise. Jo – – aver!

²⁸ 'Stara Planina (i.e., Balkan Mountains).'

²⁹ 'You've got an amazing ass.'

³⁰ 'Your cock, mm, your cock, ..., it is beautiful as well.'

³¹ 'Hi.'

³² 'Come on, let's fuck properly (lit. as God intended).'

³³ 'Come on.'

³⁴ 'Come on.'

³⁵ 'Shit/fuck.'

³⁶ '(H)ey.'

³⁷ 'Come on (lit. go ahead).'

³⁸ 'OK.'

Ай -- вѣй! Pute -- ouais! وا -- اي!³⁹ And this caphony of boundlessness would weld us into a single piece of steel: an alloy of iron and carbon, hard like a rock yet childishly smooth. Bloody and erect. No, there were no fuckers or fuckees | no bodies | no languages either. We melted into a Babel of membranes, intestines, and tongues. Into a melodic pulse of perishing and resurrecting. Into this rhythm:

We threw and slapped and bit and spat
We licked and sucked and sniffed and ducked
We begged and bent with no consent
We chased the prey and hunted fell

Ay va!	Sperm, spit and sweat
Упа!	Blood to redeem the debt
Merde!	Ulcers, cuts, and sores
وا! ⁴⁰	As if we'd never fucked before

We came. Sedated by our defenselessness and shame, we froze. Rotating – pulsating ---- radioactive. With our trousers and underwear on our ankles | with our t-shirts prostrated parentless. Abandoned by our backpacks, which we had tossed into the furthest corners of this stinky galaxy. There, in the gulag of filth, they lay lonesome, concealing embarrassment with their zips exposed and their straps and belts discolored. The exhibitionists camouflaged. Liars. Brrr.⁴¹ I could still feel the lads' slaps on my face and their cum on my cheeks. Paralyzing | scorching. My spit was still bulldozing their foreheads, chests, and pelvises. Melting them and milling. Ufff – puff – buff.⁴² We continued to wheeze with this locomotive steam that had projected us blindly into the

other person's sternum. And no dispatcher could halt us | no railway tracks could derail us | no station could offer us shelter. We were doomed – to explode and dissipate. Without a trace.

At that moment, I thought I did not want to be alive. I wanted to exist instead. I prayed with my frosty groin: disarticulate my bones and debone my joints! Carve me with a razor! Open my stomach with an axe! Resurrect me: force me to bleed till there is no pulse in these veins | incinerate me till all air is consumed | hurt me till there is no pain left. And make me vomit and shit and cum – till all my insides are prolapsed outwards. Till there is no me. Till I am everything. Till me is mine | till I am me.

Our shift was over. The lazy elevator dug up our cadavers to the surface. The old hairy foreman, already drunk and high on his smelly fingers, was about to clock us out when he spied our cum-stained trousers. Maricas inmigrantes⁴³ – he hammered. This slur soldered our balls, buttocks, and cocks into the sturdiest of armors. Therefore, by the entrance gate, we didn't hug || we tightly held fists instead. Hasta luego | чao | بسلام | à bientôt.⁴⁴ No, we were never to fuck again. But we would now carry our syndicate banner and wear our disgusting uniforms with pride. Across the barb-wired nations | at checkpoints and roadblocks | in interrogation rooms. And I – equally proud – would henceforth infect immigration officers with the pieces of the Pampa, the Balkans, and the Atlas that Gabriel, Nikolai, and Mounir had dumped in my pockets. Mmmm – I exhume this slingshot scent and Molotov-cocktail taste each time my brothers are called illegal(es). Gabriel and Nikolai left. “إلى أين أنت ذاهب، ألكسندر؟”⁴⁵

³⁹ A sequence of emotive interjections in Spanish, Bulgarian, French, and Arabic.

⁴⁰ A series of emotive interjections in Spanish, Bulgarian, French, and Arabic.

⁴¹ An onomatopoeia of shivering due to cold.

⁴² Onomatopoeias imitating steam.

⁴³ 'Immigrant faggots!'

⁴⁴ 'See you; so long; bye' in Spanish, Bulgarian, Arabic and French.

⁴⁵ 'Where are you going to, Alexander?'

– asked Mounir. “لا أعرف”⁴⁶ – I replied gently. “آجي، يلا، نمشيوا”⁴⁷ – he sneaked his palm under my t-shirt and drew me closer to his ribs. “إلى لا حديقة”⁴⁸ – I echoed, shy. His shoulder curved above my forehead, sheltering me from the heat. I sniffed the frescos that decorated his armpits. Salty hashish of oud. Mollifying | Sedative. I fell asleep instantly – in motion. I woke up on a park bench late in the evening. Alone || Serene. More than serene – complete. Before walking away, Mounir had covered me with his jersey. “Un soplo غرناطي”⁴⁹ – he must have whispered. Soft and poignant at once, this fragrance kept me anaesthetized. Absolved. Immune.

I wiped my dream-swollen eyes and suddenly spotted an inscription cut on my forearm:

“سوف أعود”.⁵⁰ I waited like a waif. Didn't I?

5 Evaluation

My experiences – both those presented in the two narratives and those drawing on the wider corpus of group-sex experiences described in the methodological part of the article – suggest that multilingualism is a common reality of GBMSM sex involving three or more ‘players’. Regardless of their geography (compare Spremberg/Germany with Madrid/Spain that feature in the narratives in sections 4.1 and 4.2), my group-sex encounters have overwhelmingly drawn on more than one language and multilingualism has been regular if the linguistic repertoires of the people who participated in group sex differed to some extent. In other words, should the use of more than one

language be possible (as is the case with the two stories introduced above), this has virtually always materialized. In fact, the commonness with which at least two languages have accompanied any group-sex event I attended is such that I associate multilingualism with sex almost instinctively. Like the scent of bleach, which excites me because my experiences have linked it to gay bathhouses and the activities performed there, so does multilingualism: it reminds me of the deeply diversified linguistic character of the group-sex encounters in which I participated.⁵¹

As expected, multilingualism tends to be more pronounced – both quantitatively and qualitatively – in those moments of sexual encounters in which verbalism is itself more visible (cf. Tewksbury 2002 and Andrason 2026 & under review). Specifically, when establishing the communicative channel verbally during the first, so-called pre-climactic phase, multilingualism transpires via interactives, especially, attention signals, response elicitors and response signals, as well as – although somewhat less prominently – via vocatives and directives (see *hallo*, *tschüss*, *hola*, *xaiüde*, and *يلا* in sections 4.1 and 4.2). These multilingual constructions tend to be short, concise, and when taking place in cruising places (whether gay LGBTQIA+ friendly or catering for the general public) often low in volume (compare with similar characteristics identified by Tewksbury (2002) and discussed in section 2). Once the contact and sexual interest are secured, this

⁴⁶ ‘I don't know... I can go anywhere.’

⁴⁷ ‘Come on, let's go!’

⁴⁸ ‘To the park (lit. garden).’

⁴⁹ ‘A whiff of Granada’.

⁵⁰ ‘I will return.’

⁵¹ The only exceptions are encounters in which no words have been spoken at all. However, such cases (extremely rare in my life) can be analyzed as neither monolingual nor multilingual.

pre-climactic multilingual verbality may gradually develop into genuine conversations: long, complex, and spoken in natural volume. At this step, multilingual speech may contain all types of vocabulary of both sentence grammar and interactive grammar and their combinations into phrases, clauses, and sentences (see my dialogue with Kai in section 4.1 and with Gabriel in section 4.2). During the subsequent phase – the climactic one – sentence grammar again cedes place to interactive grammar (cf. Andrason under review). At this stage, multilingual linguistic elements mostly transpire through interjections, directives, discourse markers, and evaluatives with each lexeme typically used holophrastically as independent non-elliptical utterances (see *jo* and *aver*, *aü* and *evü*, *püte* and *ouais*, and *اي* and *يا* in section 4.2). My data thus corroborate the predominance of interactives and the minimization of sentence grammar at climactic moments in GBMSM encounters identified in prior scholarship (see section 2). Lastly, in the post-climactic phase where regular speech gradually regains its position, complex multilingual conversations reemerge. These can continue long after leaving the scene where the group sex took place and lead to genuine dialogues with all types of phrasal and clausal structures that include both interactive and sentence-grammar categories (see the post-sex dialogue with Kai in section 4.1 and my closing conversation with Mounir in section 4.2). The final part of the post-climactic phase in which the speakers terminate their communicative channels again usually draws on interactives (see *noka* and *tshüss* in section 4.1 and *hasta luego*, *ya*, *بسلام* and *à bientôt* in section 4.2).

Two types of multilingual situations can be distinguished according to my GBMSM group-sex experiences: societal or, more cor-

rectly in this context, group multilingualism and individual multilingualism (Butler 2013, Stavans & Hoffmann 2015, Maher 2017). Group multilingualism emerges due to the use of several languages by different speakers. A canonical example of this (most sharply distinct from individual multilingualism) appeared when each person spoke monolingually in their language, yielding a shared multilingual soundscape of the entire event (or its part), nonetheless (see *joder*, *eü*, *وخا*, and *vas-y* uttered by Gabriel, Nikolai, Mounir, and me respectively in section 4.2). This type of group multilingualism, which may be labeled as a ‘disjoint’, has been infrequent in its pure form described above. (This infrequency could often be attributed to my own hyper-multilingualism and my ability to navigate between the various groups of speakers.) Rather, as illustrated by the two narratives, group multilingualism has regularly mixed disjoint multilingualism with a conjoint type. Conjoint group multilingualism occurs in situations where different participants share one or more varieties during an encounter. Consider German and, especially, Russian shared by my lovers and me in section 4.1, as well as Spanish that constituted a common medium in some parts of our interactions in section 4.2 (given that “to breed, we clicked in Spanish”). This complicates the interpretation of the above-mentioned four-way sequence as representing pure disjoint multilingualism; while within this conversational unit, the respective parts uttered were disjoint, Spanish functioned as a shared medium in the entire scene, making this example a hybrid case. Consequently, the disjoint/conjoint distinction is not categorical but instead operates on a continuum – a point consistent with

the cognitive-linguistic and prototype-theory framework outlined in section 3.

In my GBMSM group sex, ‘conjoint’ varieties have usually coincided with languages dominant across the world or in a country. Indeed, the varieties we shared would often respond to the geographic context in which a group-sex meetup occurred by centering (to different degrees) the language(s) of that area (see, again, German in section 4.1 and Spanish in section 4.2). Other languages – whether local yet not dominant or ‘imported’ due to intra- and inter-statal migration (see below) – have also contributed to group multilingualism, not only to its disjoint type but also (even if less prominently) to the conjoint type.

Individual multilingualism – or the use of more than one language by a single speaker – is well attested in group-sex events too. In this case, some lovers would each draw on two or more languages such that their multilingual repertoire (or at least part thereof) would be actualized in the exchanges that took place during a specific group-sex encounter. Indeed, most of my partners instantiated their multilingualism in this way (see Kai in section 4.1 and Mounir in section 4.2), whereas those who opted to remain monolingual were much fewer. This individual multilingual type was not only motivated by the geography of the group-sex event; it was also profoundly conditioned by the origin and life trajectory of the speaker, including schooling (see Russian in section 4.1). That is, a typical multilingual repertoire involved a dominant language (globally or regionally) as well as languages that were not dominant – both those that were co-official and recognized in their areas of use and those that were non-official and spoken by minorities. Many of these varieties were foreign to

the country or region in which we met and featured because of (our) (inter-/intra-statal) mobility and migration (e.g., Arabic and Bulgarian in section 4.2; see below).

My data reveal a highly diversified sample of languages recruited in group-sex events. This includes varieties from Indo-European and Afro-Asiatic families, e.g., those featuring in the narratives (see Bulgarian, Russian, Polish, German, Spanish, and French representing Slavonic, Germanic, and Romance linguistic branches and Arabic, a member of a Semitic branch), as well as languages from other phyla and Sprachbund areas absent in my stories but attested in my broader corpus: Niger-Congo (e.g., isiXhosa), Uralic and Finno-Ugric (e.g., Hungarian), and Altaic and Turkic (e.g., Turkish). While English has been common, it cannot be viewed as occupying a central position. In non-English speaking countries – e.g., Spain, France, Poland, and Morocco – English has certainly been less visible even when attested. Other languages, especially local official varieties (i.e., Spanish, French, Polish, and Arabic, respectively) or global ones (e.g., Russian – a language that dominated the Communist bloc – in section 4.1), including remaining colonial languages (such as Portuguese, French, and again Spanish) have often been more prominent. Only in English-speaking countries has English clearly governed our verbal communications. This holds true of the areas in which English is L1 or one of the languages that are L1; it also typifies areas where English is generally an L2 being harnessed for intergroup interactions by the population whose L1 is different. Importantly, such dominant languages (global, regional, and/or official) have featured in conversations even if none of the participants was their L1 speaker (see Russian in section 4.1).

Overall, the erasure of languages other than English has been much less evident than what typifies the linguistic landscapes of GBMSM spaces (cf. Motschenbacher 2020, Lucido Santos & Saisuwan 2023, Andrason 2026). This arguably reflects the agentive role of queer individuals in shaping the soundscape of our sexual encounters (see below). Indeed, while a contribution to the GBMSM visual verbal landscape is more restricted – often an immediate change is limited to graffiti (Andrason 2026) – the instant modification of the verbal soundscape of GBMSM sex seems to reside within the power of individual participants.

The above demonstrates that language has never been a barrier to me and my lovers. On the contrary, language has been the foundation of our connection. A visible exponent of this collective and empathetic spirit is the following fact: should a person not know the variety used by their interlocutor(s) or know it to a limited degree only, others would very often help them, acting as teachers – kind, patient, and accommodating (see the help with some words I received from Kai; cf. Andrason 2025). At least for my part, I have never felt judged or ridiculed for not being proficient in a particular language or marking it with my ‘accent’. On the contrary, the idiosyncrasies that colored our speech were regularly celebrated and considered some of the features that made us attractive in the eyes of other participants.

The two main classes of GBMSM multilingualism described above – i.e., group and individual – have commonly transpired through codeswitching and the two main codeswitching types distinguished in scholarship, i.e., alternational and insertional

codeswitching, are well attested in the group sex events I have participated in.

Alternational codeswitching is highly common. In compliance with the characteristics recognized in other language-contact situations (see Muysken 2000, Matras 2009), alternational codeswitching attested in GBMSM group sex lacks a single dominant language. Instead, it draws on two (or more) languages by juxtaposing them; importantly, each of these juxtaposed varieties contributes to the conversation in a more or less equal, though dissimilar, manner (see لا أعرف... *je peux marcher n'importe où* in section 4.2). GBMSM alternational codeswitching may appear within a single conversational turn or, quite the reverse, in a sequence of conversational turns. In the former case, the speech exploiting alternational codeswitching is produced by one individual participant (see the example quoted above). In the latter case, it is the entire conversation (or part thereof) produced by several participants that draws on the separate languages, with one participant speaking in his language (l_1), the next in another language (l_2) and so on. Such dialogical alternations are extremely frequent – arguably more frequent than the other type (see my dialogue with Kai in section 4.1, where to his question in German *warum?* I answered in (mostly) Russian Я больше никогда вас...*dich...не увижу*;⁵² see also the alternations of interactives between the four speakers in section 4.2). Alternational codeswitching featuring in GBMSM group sex attests to three syntactic variants: phrase-level reiterations – a phrasal construction in one language is repeated/paraphrased (or corrected) in another language (e.g., ...*vielleicht, может быть* in section 4.1); utter-

⁵² This clause contains an insertion in German (see further below).

ance-level comments – a construction in a language is elaborated on in another language (e.g., *ich denke твои труссы тоже красивые* in the same section); and independent messages – while discursively related, each construction constitutes an autonomous structure (cf. Matras 2009: 105-106). The first two variants are typical of alternations taking place in single conversational turns; the last variant is particularly prominent in dialogical exchanges. Overall, switches tend to occur at clausal boundaries, e.g., when fronting and dislocating peripheral elements (e.g., *не волнуясь, mein Knabe* in section 4.1); when linking, i.e., coordinating, subordinating, and juxtaposing clauses in a syndetic and asyndetic manner (see again *ich denke твои труссы тоже красивые* in section 4.1); and when taking turns in a dialogue (see the various examples in the two narratives, some of which were mentioned above). In all such instances, elements switched are neither governed nor dependent syntactically but are rather marked by flagging, e.g., an interactive (see the interjection *эй* marking the transition from a German frame *das ist majtki... труссы*⁵³ to a Russian frame *эй, белые, как у тебя* in section 4.1), a dummy word (see the filler *мм* separating *ta bite* and *tu polla* in section 4.2), a pause (see a moment of silence between لا أعرف and *je peux marcher n'importe où* in the same section), or a rotation of interlocutors. As is typical of alternational codeswitching in general (Muysken 2000: 97-105), the length of each switch and the number of elements included may (although need not) be considerable with all types of morphemes, constituents, and lexical classes being attested, whether those of sentence grammar or interactive grammar.

Insertional codeswitching seems somewhat less prominent. As is true of this language-contact strategy more generally (Muysken 2000, Matras 2009), insertional codeswitching centers the grammar of one language (so-called matrix code) when featuring in GBMSM group sex. This matrix-code variety dominates the entire communication exchange (or a part of it) by providing the frame that hosts insertions from any other languages (so-called embedded codes). All the cases of insertional codeswitching documented by me appear in single conversational turns each being produced by an individual speaker (see *das ist majtki* in section 4.1). Insertions may additionally alternate languages, attesting to mixed insertional-alternational switches, as in *das ist majtki... труссы*. This layered sentence consists of the German matrix (*das ist*) and two alternating phrase-level insertions, in Polish (*majtki*) and Russian (*труссы*).

The dominating position of the matrix code in GBMSM group-sex communications mentioned above transpires through the following fact: the matrix code donates the main bulk of the lexicon and grammar both quantitatively and qualitatively (see *я больше никогда вас...dich...не увижу* where the Russian matrix hosts a German insertion in section 4.1). That is, most morphemes and words originate in the matrix code; the matrix code determines the morphosyntactic structure of an utterance, both its word-order and morpheme-order; and contributes functional morphemes that are conditioned by elements located outside their own immediate phrases. The matrix code also anchors the predication by donating the main (or finite) verb and determining its argument

⁵³ This German frame contains two insertions: one in Polish and the other in Russian.

structure, as well as by projecting semantic roles to the relevant constituents (see again *das ist majtki*). In doing so, the properties of the matrix code featuring in GBMSM group sex fully agree with the characteristics of this type of code observed in other social interactions (cf. Muysken 2000: 65-67, Myers-Scotton 2002: 59-60, Matras 2009: 131, 134).

The embedded code present in GBMSM group sex is equally congruent with the embedded code features reported in linguistic scholarship. To begin with, the embedded code can be inserted in two ways in conversation during GBMSM group-sex meetups. It can be morphologically adapted by exhibiting elements provided by the matrix code (e.g., morphological shields such as inflections) or, from my experience, more regularly, it is introduced as ‘a bare island’ without matrix-code marking (cf. Myers-Scotton 2002: 54, 139-140). In both cases, the elements of the embedded code are congruent and categorially equivalent with the respective elements of the matrix code if these were present (see *dich* inflected in the accusative as required by the Russian verb *видеть* ‘see’ in section 4.1; cf. Muysken 2000: 4, 31, Myers-Scotton 2002: 67, 113, Matras 2009: 131). The material inserted tends to consist of single words or constituents (e.g., a lexeme or a phrase), may occupy any position within a clause, and typically appears in nested structures being governed or selected, for instance, in terms of functioning as the object of a verb or the complement of a preposition (see *сладкий* in *ein сладкий Junge* in section 4.1; see again *dich* in *я больше никогда вас...dich...не увижу*; cf. Muysken 2000: 62-63).

The distinct visibility of the different types of morphemes in insertions also conforms to general tendencies observed across languages

(cf. Myers-Scotton 2006). That is, content morphemes – i.e., referential lexemes that receive or assign thematic roles (Myers-Scotton 2006: 248) – predominate among all insertions. Within these, nouns and noun phrases are the most frequent being followed by verbs, adjectives and adverbs, as well as prepositional phrases in adverbial functions (see again *majtki* in *das ist majtki* and *сладкий* in *ein сладкий Junge*). Early system morphemes – which like content morphemes belong to the mental lexicon but specifically “flesh out the meaning” of content morphemes (Myers-Scotton 2006: 268) – feature much less prominently. The occasional examples include articles, gender determiners, and plural markers (see *حديقة la إلى* in section 4.2). Late system morphemes – the main function of which is to “cement” content morphemes into phrases and clauses (Myers-Scotton 2006: 268-269) – are virtually absent in switches in my data and indeed do not feature in the two stories in section 4. This holds true of both of their subclasses: bridge and outsider late system morphemes. The former morphemes establish links between phrases, yielding larger constituents, such as the possessive markers *of* and *’s* in English. The latter morphemes draw their function/form on other constituents and phrases or the entire discourse – all of which is located outside the immediate phrase containing the morpheme itself (Myers-Scotton 2006: 269-270). The examples of this – again, unattested in my data – are subject/object markers and case affixes. Overall, among all function words, interactives (cf. Heine 2023) are the most common (compare with Muysken 2000 and Matras 2009: 137-138 who use the term ‘utterance modifiers’). In contrast to lexicon and morphology, the use of only phonetic material as part of insertion – e.g., producing a matrix-code word with a deliberate

embedded-code pronunciation – is rare, even if occasionally attested.

While communications accompanying GBMSM group sex certainly draw on the various strategies associated with codeswitching discussed above, for some participants like me, the mixing of the varieties we used and the nature of the multilingual idiolect we spoke in its totality significantly transcend codeswitching *sensu stricto*. Indeed, the speech I deployed during GBMSM group sex cannot be reduced to an additive (linear and resultant) combination of autonomous and disconnected language systems, the so-called named languages (e.g., Polish, Spanish, French, Arabic, and German as well as languages not featured in either narrative, e.g., Icelandic, Swedish, isiXhosa, English, and several others in my case). Similarly, my linguistic activity cannot be limited to a mere act of switching between separate language systems. Differently put, the multilingualism I have manifested is not equivalent to a pluralized monolingualism, and the linguistic abilities I have utilized cannot be explained as a sum of pluralized monolingual skills (Andrason 2020 drawing on García & Wei 2014: 43). On the contrary, I have harnessed the grammatical and lexical resources that were available in external named languages by recombining them into a “holistic complex mental grammar” – my organic idiolect, non-linear and emergent, heterogeneous yet patterned, and overall coherent (Andrason 2020: 236). Therefore, instead of focusing on named languages as is typical of codeswitching (theory), my repertoire transpiring in GBMSM group sex – and the repertoire of some lovers of mine – is better explained in terms of an integrated unitary linguistic performance known as translanguaging (García 2009, Canagarajah

2011, García & Flores 2012, García & Otheguy 2014, García & Wei 2014, Mazzaferro 2018, Sabino 2018). It is so because language blending has constituted a daily routine and a consistent praxis rather than a behavior instantiated on rare occasions. In other words: mixing varieties has been the norm, while keeping them separated has been the exception (Andrason 2020, cf. García 2009, Pennycook 2016: 212, Mazzaferro 2018: 7). Furthermore, the blending has often been so intense and drawn on so many language structures that its classification in terms of alternational/insertional and matrix/embedded is problematic. Even more important, for me, this mixing has been deliberate – I did not have to resort to it and when I did I did so on my own terms.

As is characteristic of translanguaging (García & Wei 2014: 24, 42, Mazzaferro 2018: 3-4), my linguistic performance at GBMSM group-sex events has regularly vindicated and centered my agency, creativity, and freedom – as well as the agency, creativity, and freedom of my lovers. Specifically, language mixing has often constituted a resistance tool with which I aimed to combat (the idolization of) monolingualism(s), puritan linguistic norms and, above all, nationalisms that tend to necessitate a single, uniform, and centralized language system to defend and expand their equally monolithic ideologies (see Wei 2011, García & Wei 2014, Mazzaferro 2018). Conversely, my promiscuous linguistic performance has served as a way of liberating me and my lovers from the oppressions exerted by the powers controlling our linguistic ecosystems (cf. Andrason 2020). It has not only functioned as a conscious linguistic technique but also formed a life philosophy (cf. Wei 2011, García & Wei 2014, Mazzaferro 2018) – an attitude enabling

me to transform both the spaces in which I made love and the relations I have developed with those who made love to me. Metaphorically speaking, it acted as an auditory graffiti with which we painted the walls of our soundscape, challenging and contesting the state(s) and its (or their) linguistic normativity.

As is further typical of translanguaging (Wei 2018, Mazzaferro 2018), the multilingualism of our interactions and the language(s) some of us practiced during GBMSM group sex can be attributed to mobility. In my case and in the case of some of my lovers, this mobility has been extreme – we have traversed many places, whether provinces, countries, or continents. This means that the multilingualism attested in GBMSM group-sex events as well as the multilingual repertoires practiced there by several of us have been shaped by and reflect our lives – they are the synchronic images of our complex (more or less) nomadic biographies (cf. Blommaert & Rampton 2011, Blommaert & Backus 2013, Mohr & Ferrara 2024). In other words, it is primarily mobility that produced the multilingual communication during GBMSM group sex as the trajectories of different lovers intersected at a particular time and place. It is also primarily mobility that allowed many of us to develop our multilingual repertoires – as we had travelled during our lives (see Andrason 2025) – eventually enabling us to engage in multilingual conversations at concrete group-sex meetups. Overall, the linguistic diversity of GBMSM group-sex communication – both at a group and individual level – is a linguistic mirror of the superdiverse world (Blommaert & Rampton 2011) which we, the lovers, have had to navigate through.

While mobility has, in its totality, been responsible for multilingualism at GBMSM group-sex events, the key factor in the production of this multilingualism has been an inter-statal movement, in particular. The displacement across countries itself transpired through two main variants: more temporary without altering one's main residence or more permanent involving the change of one's place of residence and thus their resettlement. The former is visiting in essence, like tourism; the latter constitutes genuine migration. Although the visiting type has been common (see the journey to Spremberg described in section 4.1), the migratory type can be regarded as equally or even more frequent. From my experience, migration-driven multilingualism has certainly been more critical for GBMSM group-sex multilingualism I have witnessed. Indeed, some of the most meaningful conversations and repeated sexual encounters which led to attachments and friendships were produced by participants who were migrants instead of being occasional tourists. Importantly, it is migration (rather than tourism) that was the principal cause of the acquisition of a language dominating in each geography (a country or a region) and its eventual presence during GBMSM group sex. And it is migration (rather than tourism) that was responsible for the larger part of the multilingual repertoires of the lovers, subsequently deployed while having sex in a group. An exemplary case of the importance of migration for GBMSM group-sex multilingualism is my own trajectory and resettlement across Europe and Africa – my state-nomadic existence in pursuit of (sexual) freedom, better education and job opportuni-

ties, and romantic relationships (cf. Andrason 2025).⁵⁴

The relevance of inter-statal mobility transpires in another way. Our status as migrants – whether documented or undocumented and whether legal or illegal – has constituted the essential element in developing a shared consciousness of being *the other* in the host country and eventually in embracing this condition. Often considered as less than native citizens to the point of being insulted and abused, we reclaimed this migrant status as our citizenship – our ethnicity. We reclaimed the word and the circumstance described by it – which has at times been weaponized against us as a slur – and considered it a source of pride (see the narrative in 4.2). In doing so, we defied homo-nationalism which coopts LGBTQIA+ struggles for supremacist ideologies: nationalistic as well as Euro- and Western-centered (see Puar 2007). For instance, as an East European originating from a poor country, my initial migrant status was low, and I often faced discrimination and humiliation. After this country entered the European Union and gradually became economically thriving and, equally important, once I could deploy another, stronger passport, even if not from the EU, I was no longer placed in the same category as many other migrants. Being aware of the asymmetries of power within my encounters

(see footnote 54) – especially evident once my own position improved – my solidarity with migrants remains intact, and so does my migratory identity.⁵⁵ In other words, my race and gender, as well as my legal position, education, and economic condition – which have changed across decades – have not substantially altered my relationship to migration and migrants. My multilingual group-sex praxis is a direct testimony to this long-term espousal of migration as an attitude towards life and my camaraderie with people who migrate.

This commitment to the cause of migrants reflects a broader political consciousness and the view of borders and state territoriality as arbitrary and unjust barriers to our humanity (see the final part of the two narratives). To fight this oppression – and, again, to resist the monolingual nationalistic discourse and ideology that underlie it (see above) – we deployed our diverse linguistic repertoires. At least during group sex encounters, our multilingualism, codeswitching, and translanguaging – as well as our statal and racial diversity – have persistently subverted and sabotaged the socio-linguistic makeup (often the uniformity) of the places in which we lived. Crucially, each time faced with the effect that our linguistic and carnal promiscuity had on some local ‘spectators’ (see the man who called us *maricas inmigrantes* ‘migrant faggots’ in 4.2), our espousal

⁵⁴ As I explained in my earlier study (Andrason 2025: 93), this displacement “should not be confused with sexual tourism”, especially in situations where a person endowed with privilege and power travels to exploit people with little or no privilege and power. Indeed, “I have never travelled to have sex, nor have I sought sex in my journeys. [...] Rather, the bodies and minds of my lovers whom I have [...] encountered [...] and whom I have profoundly admired and respected have taken me to new languages and, sometimes, new places” (ibid. 93). I have welcomed them and invited them to “open [...] my body and mind [...] to their humanity” (ibid.). Yet, when engaging in sex (and interacting with others more generally), I have always reminded myself of the privilege and power I hold. I did so even when I was regarded as an undesirable Eastern European migrant – poor, orphaned, and with neither social nor economic capital at my disposal – and chased away with a characteristic refrain “go back to your country!”. Even then, my “chasers” considered me somewhat less “inferior” and “sub-human” than my many other migrant brothers.

⁵⁵ In contrast, I repudiate the sanitized and racist term ‘expat’.

of this political consciousness grew stronger. Gradually, we became proud of who we were.

The adoption of the term ‘migrant’ as one’s identity and the reinterpretation of this word – quite negative in the mass media and public discourses – as a source of self-respect, is related to the practice of slur reclamation, common in marginalized communities. This strategy is especially patent in the repossession of expressions that dehumanize members of the LGBTQIA+ community (Brontsema 2004, Birch-Bayley 2019, Jeshion 2020) such as ‘faggot’ (see my self-description as *the hero faggot and the defender of all his faggot brethren*) and its Spanish equivalent, *marica* (as part of *maricas inmigrantes*, intended as an insult by a person who recognized our sexuality and citizenship status). As was the case with the designation ‘migrant’, being called faggots raised our political awareness, transforming this word from a cruel slur to a linguistic Molotov cocktail of defiance and, perhaps, pride (see Andrason forthcoming (b)).

Overall, this study demonstrates that desire can be understood as the overarching principle of language acquisition (cf. Andrason 2025). Desire led us to engage multilingually in a group-sex setting. Desire pushed me into the arms of my lovers and their repertoires; inspired me to acquire their languages more proficiently; and shifted my linguistic education from classrooms to less formal contexts where I was either exposed to new varieties or afforded the chance to practice the languages I already knew and improve my fluency in them.

In the end, to answer my research questions: my GBMSM-group-sex experiences exemplified with two lyrical narratives demonstrate that multilingualism constitutes a pervasive characteristic of GBMSM group sex. Two canonical types of multilingual situations are

attested, i.e., societal/group and individual, in which a highly diversified sample of languages is recruited. Multilingualism transpires through codeswitching, both alternational and insertional, as well as a more integrated and unitary linguistic performance, translanguaging. Multilingualism is primarily attributed to mobility (especially inter-statal and migratory) and the development and espousal of migrant status as one’s “ethnic” identity, as well as desire.

I hope that the present study has shed some light on GBMSM group-sex multilingualism and the relationship between counter-normative sexualities and multilingualism more broadly. When assessing the significance of the findings presented above, one must nevertheless consider two important limitations of my research. First, my method of data compilation, which was *a posteriori* and involved reflections, heavily relies on my memory and reconstruction of events that happened in the past. As explained in section 3, my data were gathered neither in *situ* nor, in some cases, close to the time of the respective events. In that part of the article, I also noted that this limitation was intrinsic to the autoethnographic method. I hope, however, that the systematicity with which I compiled my experiences and the care with which I continuously annotated and revised them have helped me avoid idealizing my past and have allowed me to recreate the relevant events in a manner that is faithful to how I experienced them at the time – although, as I discussed in section 3, I am more interested in narrative truth and phenomenological authenticity than historical accuracy.

Second and more importantly, my conclusions should not be universalized. This is evident given the choice of autoethnography as my

method. Certainly, the regularity with which my sexual encounters were multilingual might largely have been motivated and encouraged by myself – my character and my ideology. That is, I have always been interested in meeting people from different backgrounds, consciously eschewing any cultural, ethnic, racial, and eventually linguistic uniformity, especially by decentering my own cultures, ethnicities, and race. This in turn has persistently lowered the “risk” of meeting the partners whose linguistic repertoires would be identical to mine and the other group-sex participants and those who would be monolingual, ultimately favoring and fomenting the multilingual soundscape of our meetings. Perhaps, like birds of a feather, we have flocked together searching for our multilingual selves in the minds and bodies of our multilingual lovers. Ultimately, my text does not speak for everyone – it speaks for me. I am however convinced that the reality I described is not mine only. It is shared, to various extents, by several others. After all, it is (or it was) the reality of Kai, Mounir, and the remaining protagonists of my narratives, as well as several men I have met while hugging, kissing, sucking, and fucking in groups. Because of this and in addition to drawing on decades-long experience, my study is not anecdotal even if it is autoethnographic. I hope, therefore, that you will not consider my study as “narcissistic [...], self-indulgent [...], poorly written, unscientific non-research” (Blinne 2012: 967). But if you do, “surely” – as Blinne writes – “there is room in our world for multiple perspectives” (ibid. 971). I can live with that.

A much more important question is “What do you see when you look at me?” (Blinne 2012: 967).

6 (In lieu of) conclusion

Raw, rough, and reckless. That's how I take it | that's how I sense it – reality. I have no foreskin to shield me. Just wounds and sores opened widely, infected and infested. Corroded, stained, rotting. I scoop one of these lesions with a toothed saw and set it on fire. It does not burn! For this is not flesh. It is excrement mixed with tears. The celestial shit that I have inherited - - - from myself. Yet it is through these wounds and sores that I feel | and it is through them that others feel me in return. My only currency – me. Like an irrational maggot, I impulsively empty my pockets and pay with my corpse to explore the corpses of my delinquent fellows. This is our souk | dildo blacksmiths, leather craftsmen, and testicular straw-plaiters --- all of us, the luscious cannibals of self-iteration. Rehearsing our own agony.

One afternoon, Kai and Mounir saw me at the souk, trading with a carpet vendor. They said none of these carpets would take me where I wished to go. I immediately left the stand and followed the lads. We entered a hammam. We washed our bodies in mint tea | rubbed them with orange zest blended with honey. We could not resist being us. We smuggled saliva for urine and trafficked groin's moisture for cum. Kai and Mounir sealed me with their arms. Aggressive but docile. Intoxicating. They chained me, unchained me, and chained me again. “Jetzt!”⁵⁶ I whispered. “الآن هو الوقت.”⁵⁷ And suddenly, everything turned harmonious:

Kai and Mounir broke my neck, removed my spine and draped my skin on it. They fastened this mast of me to their chests, and we sailed away. The

⁵⁶ ‘Now!’

⁵⁷ ‘Now is the time.’

three of us – and the sperm, sweat, spit, and piss of all those with whom we had shared our bodies in the past and would share them again in the future. The Batavia I had always dreamt of. We would crack waves and perforate continents, sculpting fresh shores, cliffs, and archipelagos. We were fearless | insolent | defiant. Unrepentant. Us – asesinos sin estado.⁵⁸

Immoral?

I m m o r t a l. Before we died | before we had been born.

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