

Slayage Conference 2004

Title: “I Can’t Believe I’m Saying It Twice in the Same Century...But ‘Duh...’”: The Evolution of the *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* Sub-Culture Language Through the Medium of Fanfiction

Presenter/Author’s Name: Katrina S. Blasingame

Presenter’s Title: Graduate Assistant in English

Affiliation: Department of English, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Although there have been articles written about the usage and relevance of *Buffy* fanfiction as well as the construction of its slang via the mediums of both the *Buffy* and *Angel* series, novels, graphic novels, and the *Bronze* and *Bronze: Beta* posting boards, there seems to be a noticeable lack of attention paid to the continuation and evolution of *Buffy* slang through fanfiction. Jane Espenson, Co-Executive Producer and writer on *Buffy*, writes:

“With so many of us laboring over so many years and with so many fans writing about the show, and indulging in creative fanfic, together we have extended the language of the Buffyverse.” (Adams, ix.)

The idea that is eluded to by Espenson, but not directly stated, is that slayer slang or Buffyspeak is a continually evolving sub-culture language due to the existence and continual increase of fanfiction. Yet, fanfiction seems to be dismissed by many academics seemingly due to its non-canonical nature.

Fanfiction is, quite literally, fiction written by the fans of a particular TV show, book, movie, etc. which changes or modifies the original stories of the media.¹ The desire to modify

¹ Due to the copious amounts of fanfiction that is available on the internet, I have chosen a small selection. I generally choose fanfiction to read based upon the quality of writing and the ability to spell check. Yet, these are things that are personal in nature and are not necessarily the same from person to person—basically, I chose the fanfiction I’m using for this paper because I liked them. In fact, they were fictions I was reading long before I

previous texts to suit present concerns stretches back at least to Greek tragedy, which could be seen as a form of fanfiction, since the tragic playwrights were rewriting the myths of their culture to reflect their personal views about their social concerns.² As defined by Kristina Busse in her article “Crossing the Final Taboo: Family, Sexuality, and Incest in Buffyverse Fan Fiction,” the writer of fanfiction is:

Generating their own version of the Buffyverse, these fans use fiction to emotionally respond to the show, comment on its plot, and character development, and most important, interpret and analyze the series, thereby teasing out its subtext. (207)

Essentially, this means that fanfic writers pick up on the subtleties of the texts and exploit them to create a version of the Buffyverse that most accurately projects who they are as individuals and their perceived status as outsiders within society. This phenomenon is not restricted to *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, nor is it restricted to recent TV shows or books, yet, the Buffyverse is among the few fandoms that is not only permitted the flexibility of playing with the conventions of the mythos, but is encouraged and fans’ efforts are even taken into consideration and included into the canonical Buffyverse. (Rust, “Welcome to the House of Mirrors”)

There is a long tradition of fanfiction written about popular media—the most well-known being slash fiction. Slash fiction, in addition to the visual reference of slash fiction referring to the “/” mark between the initials or names of characters in-relationship (Adams, 33), provides a queer reading of the media at hand with atypical pairings like Author Conan Doyle’s characters

started this project. I will admit that I have a partiality to Mad Poetess. This paper is not meant to be a comprehensive reading of fanfiction language, but an induction, a place to start that can be applied to fanfiction.

² There is a long tradition in literature of adapting someone else’s work to create a new rendition. During the ten year hiatus between Part I and Part II of *Don Quixote*, there was an apocryphal set of stories based upon the character of Quixote. (Walter Stark, xiii.) Although these were non-canonical stories, and are phrased as apocryphal, they are still fanfiction. This style of fanfiction was also used in the creation of the 1960s story, *Wide Sargasso Sea*, in which the story of Rochester’s insane, caged wife from *Jane Eyre* is finally told. Rhys’ need to write Rochester’s wife’s story is the same sort of need that causes many fanfiction writers to create their tales.

Sherlock Holmes and John Watson (Saxey, 193) and Gene Rodenberry's *Star Trek* characters James Kirk and Spock, and are predominately male/male relationships. (Saxey, 199 & 201)

Although these male/male pairings are the norm in slash fiction, female/female pairings have been appearing more and more (an example of an *extremely* atypical female/female pairing being Buffy/Harmony in *Domestic Piranha* or Buffy/Anya in *The Key of the Dragon Witch*), and in fact, female/female pairings are much more common in *Buffy*-fiction than in other fanfiction, potentially due to the greater quantity and quality of useable female characters. In the Buffyverse, the male/male pairings which are only implied as possible in the show either due to the confused/confusing gender typification the character portrays or through characters that are also vampires, are elaborated, thus allowing for a queer reading. Often, these pairings are played against the canonical pairing of Willow/Tara (seasons 4, 5, & 6) or even Willow/Kennedy (season 7).

The power of fanfiction, and subsequently its language, lies in fanfiction's utilization of language in flux and that it is an inherently textual based medium. The constructions used in the creation of Buffyspeak appear to be similar to the constructions that appear in Early Modern English and some constructions are even more reminiscent of Old English or Middle English formations. Early Modern English was still in a state of flux and did not have a conventional-as-we-think-of-it-grammar *per se*. (Baugh & Cable, 250) During the Early Modern period, English still possessed a youthful quality and individuals were still experimenting with the way language was used. The grammatical rigidity of modern, Standard English, which is so common today, was not really even a concern in the Early Modern period. Today, the youthful exuberance and ready changeability of language has been relegated to slang and sub-culture languages (like Ebonics) and, due to this segregation, is seen as less-than-intellectual.

Although slang is seen as somehow lacking in academic rigor, slang still uses the constructions of more legitimate language. Slang adheres to the rules of English, but bends them or, maybe more correctly, remembers a time in which these rules were guidelines for clarity's sake. Yet, slang is seen by many as a form of alienation. Slang (versus jargon which is alienating merely by its existence as a mode of speech used by professionals) is more about self-identification. Many times with spoken slang (and particularly with the written slang of *Buffy* fanfic) the meaning is inherent in the sub-text and is important to recognize since sub-text is a large part of the text

Michael Adams, author of the seminal work *Slayer Slang*, often seems to understand that frequent exposure to a subculture language does not necessarily denote fluency and, in fact, Adams urges that view onto potential students of the sub-cultural language of the Buffyverse. Yet, within his own work, he seems to misunderstand the context and subtext of the sub-culture language of *Buffy* which is endemic of frequency rather than fluency. A specific example occurs with his treatment of the definitions via construction of the terms “overshare” and “overthink”. Adams writes that:

“I am unconvinced that *overthinking* is possible in general, rather, I suspect that the word reflects a frequent adolescent concern, sometimes recovered by adults, an unwillingness to think as hard as certain situations in life demand or deserve.” (Adams, 32.)

Based on my own, and others', experience, to “overthink” means exactly what it sounds like—thinking about some topic for so long and so hard that the thought lacks clarity or has completely broken down and any actual meaning becomes lost. Whereas “overshare,” which Adams writes is constructed along the same lines as “overthink” and defines as “compactly and neutrally

expresses the act of being stingy (with things or information, etc.)”, (Adams, 32) by experience and the example that exists within the Buffyverse, to “overshare” is to give too much information (TMI in the colloquial) to whomever one happens to be speaking with at the moment. The example that I am referring to, and which Adams cites in *Slayer Slang*, is from the *Buffy* episode *Halloween* (1997 Oct 27) in which Buffy says of Angel “If you haven’t noticed, he’s not exactly one to overshare.” Buffy says this with a self-deprecating irony about Angel’s inability to share anything with her let alone potentially “overshare” (or give Buffy too much information) that does not seem lost to the general audience.

Yet, where my interpretation of “overshare” and “overthink” differs seems to be in application. Adams’ definition of these terms is being constructed by the *Halloween* example of oversharing in regards to Angel—a single instance and a single undead-person. Yet, Angel is inherently incapable of sharing his emotions, let alone *oversharing* his emotions much to Buffy’s consternation, whereas, in applying “overshare” to a population at large and without the looped sentence from *Halloween*, “overshare” syntactically means to have given or shared too much. The context of *Halloween* lends itself to Adam’s definition of being stingy, yet “overshare” still retains its TMI meaning.

This difficulty seems to lie in applying the terms to the population-as-a-whole rather than to one particular individual. When this happens, there is a loss in the sub-text of the phrase and the context in which the word is spoken is obscured. This may be the reason that many non-subculture participants may have difficulty in understanding the application of sub-culture language, and maybe the reason at large why it is difficult for those outside of a sub-culture to understand and apply it. Although Adams does not always seem to quite understand the intricacies in Buffyspeak, he does an admirable job in compiling a lexicon of the slang being

used within the Buffyverse. He breaks up his discussion of Buffyspeak into slayer jargon, slayer slang, slayer style, and sections on prefixing and suffixing and function shifting of the parts of speech.

The types of words which come under the heading of slayer jargon are the professional terms of a vampire slayer or other pursuits that are specific only to the Buffyverse like “stake,” “dust,” “Bronze” and “Hellmouth.” Many of these slayer-specific words move from jargon to actual slang. The most interesting example of this is the word “Hellmouth.” Although being a very specific place name in the Buffyverse (or place type as is shown in episodes like *The Wish* and *Chosen*), the noun “Hellmouth” becomes the adjective “hellmouthy”.³ This is particularly interesting since this adjective appeared in fanfiction several years before it appeared in season seven of *Buffy* and does not appear in the Lexicon. Whether there is a connection between the existence of “hellmouthy” in fanfiction and then its latent appearance in the series cannot be said for certain. Although slang is generally thought of singular words from a sub-culture, which exist in the Buffyverse in mass quantities, much of the *Buffy*-inspired slang which appears in the fanfiction is more in line with Adams’ idea of slayer style.

Slayer style is created by using compound constructions, popular culture references, suffix and prefix additions, and function shifting. The popular culture references can be heard everywhere in *Buffy*, from Spike’s comment before the Scoobies go into battle to square off with Glory in *The Gift* “We band of buggered,” which is obviously a take on Hal’s pre-battle speech in *Henry V* “We few, we happy few, we band of brothers.” to Buffy’s quip in response to Xander’s dismal attempt at a Yoda-like pep-talk in *The Freshman* “Thanks for the Dadaist pep

³ Mad Poetess, *Chocolaty Goodness*.

James Walkswithwind and Mad Poetess. *Small Fry*. 13 Nov. 2003.
<http://www.hawksong.com/users/mpoetess/stakes/fic/fry2.html>.

talk. I feel much more abstract," which is a reference to the Dadaist movement of the early twentieth century which, by its abstraction, criticized contemporary culture. Which is rather ironic since much of the sub-text in the Buffyverse is either criticizing or questioning the culture which gave birth to it. In fanfiction, this is even more prevalent, and often obscure, than in the canonical Buffyverse. This seems to happen more due to the diversity of writers and their interests in conjunction with the availability of the internet so that the reader can make certain they understand a reference. A few examples are "Powerpuff Princess' Pad" which is also a blend of Pony Puff Princess from *Dexter's Laboratory* and a reference to *The Powerpuff Girls*, "Angel and his Zoobilee Zoo" which was a mid to late 80s children's show;⁴ "evil-dead stare" referring to the Sam Raimi *Evil Dead* movies,⁵ "Or should he be checking the empties, to see if they were really full of undead amber joy?" referring to the cartoon *The Last Unicorn* in which a ghost gets drunk off of the memory, the ghost of wine,⁶ and "Ives St. Laurent of Sunnydale" referring to the fashion and beauty maven.⁷

⁴ James Walkswithwind and Mad Poetess, *Domestic Piranha*, 13 Nov. 2003

<http://www.hawksong.com/users/mpoetess/piranhas/>.

⁵ Cicirossi, *Chocolate Hurricane*, 3 Nov. 2003 <http://www.thegates.net/hurricane/>.

⁶ Mad Poetess, *Skelping*, 13 Nov. 2003 <http://www.hawksong.com/users/mpoetess/stakes/fic/skelping.html>.

⁷ Mad Poetess, *Chocolaty Goodness*.

James Walkswithwind and Mad Poetess. *Small Fry*. 13 Nov. 2003.

<http://www.hawksong.com/users/mpoetess/stakes/fic/fry2.html>.

Other examples include: "Hair Dyers Anonymous" reminiscent of Alcoholics Anonymous, "Come out of the follicle closet" referring to gays coming out of the closet (Mad Poetess, *Dyeing Young*, passim.), "Like Daniel Boone said, he was just bewildered.", "ask the Sally Jessy questions," "anime eyes" which is a reference to the popularity of anime and the way the characters seem to all possess very large, very round, guilt-inducing eyes, and "unrealistic grassy knoll" referring to the assassination of JFK (James Walkswithwind and Mad Poetess, *Domestic Piranha*, passim.) "How could the rest of his body be subzero when his face was Mr. Heat Miser?" referring to the character Mr. Heat Miser (Mr. Green Christmas) in the Rankin and Bass claymation *The Year Without Santa Claus*, "The movement set off a chain reaction of tremors that would make Acme Earthquake pills proud" recalling the Warner Bros. cartoons where Acme is god of the product market, and "with an Eliza Doolittle squeal" referring to the musical *My Fair Lady* based upon the play *Pygmalion* (Cicirossi, *Chocolate Hurricane*, passim.); "lack of white light at the end of a long tunnel and other new-age bollocks notwithstanding" referring to the supposed light-at-the-end-of-the-tunnel, "a veritable E.M. Forster on the subject of pining" referring to a twentieth century novelist who wrote *A Room with a View*, "the Matt Damon of Bracken Demons or not," (Mad Poetess, *Skelping*, passim.); "Creature of the Night and all" referring not only to *Dracula* and all the subsequent movies based on Bram Stoker's book, but also to *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, "Peter Paul goodness" referring to the company that made Almond Joy and Mounds bars, and "that wasn't meant to be a Chandler Bing moment" referring to a character on

Another common form of slayer style is in compounding. The type of compounding that is usually used in *Buffy* and its fanfiction is self-explaining compounds. Self-explaining compounds are defined as “compounds of two or more native words whose meaning in combination is either self-evident or has been rendered clear by association and usage.” (Baugh & Cable, 65) Examples of these types of compounds include the phrases: “Cave Slayer,” “Net Girl,” “Prophecy Girl,” “Edge Girl,” “Destructo Girl,” “Disco Dave,” “*Exorcist* twist,” “Hacker Girl,” and “inner Slayer.” Although these examples are also capitalized to imply proper name or proper title, not all of the canonical and non-canonical compounds do. In fanfiction, it is more likely to find a mix of these proper name compounds and long explanatory compounds. A few examples of these include the compounds: “come out all ‘swoony-gothic heroine,’”⁸ “a bigger-meaner-sadder-woefuller-pout,” “Angel and his crew-staff-gang-sewing-circle,” “the familiar thunderous ‘I am going to slay you and your little dog Toto, too’ expression,”⁹ and “all one big-concussion-induced-dream”.¹⁰

Friends, and “if you want to play Tom Bodette to Chip-boy” referring to the author and radio personality from *All Things Considered* who is now the narrator for the recent Motel 6 commercials (Mad Poetess, *Chocolaty Goodness*, passim.).

⁸ Cicirossi, *Chocolate Hurricane*, 3 Nov. 2003 <http://www.thegates.net/hurricane/>.

⁹ James Walkswithwind and Mad Poetess, *Domestic Piranha*, 13 Nov. 2003 <http://www.hawksong.com/users/mpoetess/piranhas/>.

¹⁰ Jessamyn, *All Dressed Up in Big Sister's Clothes*, 23 Jul. 2001 <http://www.fanfiction.net/read.php?storyid=367086>.

Other examples include the phrases: “khaki Dockers-wanna-be uniform pants,” “a ‘who do you think you’re fooling?’ look,” “wiggins-inducing” versus “dream-induced wiggins” (Adams, 280.), “Uncle Rory’s repaired-for-the-moment car,” “Idiot-Proof” (Mad Poetess, *Chocolaty Goodness*, passim.); “cocoa-gods,” “Not To Think Of It box,” “sanity-giving-milk-chocolate-happiness,” “Discovery-channel-voice,” “looked all action-woman again,” “And it made sense in a twisted, ‘ever since the chocolate came in the mail’ kind of way,” “the ‘possessive vampire’ growl,” “have a babbling-question-answer-hug-fest, okay” (Cicirossi, *Chocolate Hurricane*, passim.); “box of pop—well, store-brand-Frozen-Fruit-Pops-but-they-tasted-the-same-and-more-importantly-were-just-as-cold—sicles,” “Spike-logic,” “the same mind-numbing, kill-me-now-and-let-me-go-to-hell-where-it’s-cool heat,” “boyfriend-slaying-implements-of-death,” “like some big ‘Here, find your hopeless, pathetic vampire here’ spotlight,” “‘can’t let it touch the ground or it might get contaminated’ kind of hop,” “with a ‘Come on, argue with me, I’m actually telling the truth for once’ challenge,” “Filing that one—again—under Things We Do Not Talk About,” “giving him the ‘you’re the insane one, no matter what anybody says’ look,” “Spike’s chip-allowed-parameters,” “Mr. I Freeload Off Everyone,” “Angel-I-have-friends-in-the-police-department-this-week-Investigations” (James Walkswithwind and Mad Poetess, *Domestic Piranha*, passim.); “plain old dump-it-over-your-head peroxide,” “Five-foot-and-not-much-

Aside from compounding and pop culture reference (both forms also include many examples of how prefixes, suffixes, and function shifting within them), many of the non-canonical Buffyspeak constructions work upon an idea of analogy. This is not the analogy which occurs in language development in which, for example, an ending is attached to a word to create a new form of the word that more closely connects it to other forms of the same word (ex. the plural –s in many English words occurred through the process of analogy making the modern stones from the Old English *stanas*). Rather, this form of analogy is in line with literary analogy in which words and phrases are compared to each other with like or as. Although these do not necessarily follow the direct construction of like and as to form an analogy the parallel is still present. A few examples include the phrases: "a smile that came across just this side of Angelus," and "Buffy looked guilty. As in really, really. As in Angel at his worst kind of guilt."

Richard Baily points out in his article "Neologize Much?" that there are some techniques of slang formation that are rarely used within the canonical Buffyverse like the abbreviation type:

“acronyms (like *MASH*), noun-noun or verb-verb compounds (such as *warp-speed* or *slam dunk*), infixing (as Ned Flanders's *mur-diddly-urderer*), and distinctive exclamations (for instance, Homer Simpson's *doh!*).”

Although Baily’s assessment is not exactly accurate since there were several seasons of *Buffy* after Baily’s article was written, examples like Buffy’s response to the job offered by Principal Wood in season seven of “muhuh?” (“Lessons” 7.1) being a noteworthy example, these slang

more of Chosen One,” “weirdness-meter,” “the mousse-master” (Mad Poetess, *Dyeing Young*, passim.); “ever-flowing-beer-keg,” “slept the exhausted sleep of the too-knowing-to-be-innocent,” “Angel-angsty” (Mad Poetess, *Skelping*, passim.); “it’s a ‘he doth protest too much’ approach,” “Only without the whole principal-making-it-bad sorta thing” (Kirasmommy, *The Key of the Dragon Witch*, passim.); parking-gods (James Walkswithwind and Wolfling, *Sands of Time*, passim.)

constructions techniques do exist and thrive within fanfiction as well as many different types of abbreviation used in non-canonical Buffyspeak that exist within the context of modern English: acronym constructions like “LUG” (lesbian until graduation), noun-noun and/or verb-verb constructions like “Sally Jessy questions” and “hell-vibes”, infixing like “box of pop—well, store-brand Frozen Fruit Pops, but they tasted the same, and more importantly were just as *cold*—sicles”, and distinctive exclamations like “blurble”. If anything, the distinctive exclamations have transcended into the realm of facial expressions categorizing a vast diversity of Spike pouts, Cordelia glares, Gilesy quirks, Buffy frenchisms, Patented Willow Babble, and Xander-speak among other things—insider visual gags.

Connected back to Bailey’s non-used *Buffy* constructions are abbreviations, the origin of abbreviation can be traced back to the 1830s. (Crystal, 120) The types of abbreviation include Initialisms, Acronyms, Clipping, Blends, and Factitious forms. The forms of these abbreviations that occur the most often in the Buffyverse fanfiction include Acronyms (ex. LUG which means “lesbian until graduation” mentioned above), Clipping (ex. “choc” a clipped for of chocolate), and Blends (ex. “Count Bloodula” which is a blend of Count Chocula—Count Chocula being a kids’ sugary cereal that has a cartoon vampire on the box so that there is irony in a vampire eating it—and blood, and “Scoobyriffic” which is a blend of Scooby and terrific).

“Scooby,” aside from being a cultural reference to the cartoon *Scooby Doo*, is also what Xander, Willow, and whoever else has joined Buffy in defending the world from the-evil-of-the-week refer to themselves as—the Scoobies. There are several different versions of “Scooby” that occur in the Buffyverse such as “Scooby Gang,” “Scoobs,” “Scoobycentric,” “Scoobyganger,” “Scooby-sense,” and “semi-Scooby.” (Adams, 208-212) In the fanfiction that I have been looking at, there is “of the Scoob”, “Scoobathon”, “late-night Scooby sessions”,

“Scooby-related”, “Scooby Snack” which is a direct parody of the Scooby Snacks that are feed to Scooby in *Scooby Doo* and are made from Count Chocula cereal, “gone all Scooby”, “Scooby togetherness”, “Scooby peer facilitator”, “extended Scooby family”, “emergency of the Scooby variety”, “Scooby Jeopardy”, “Scooby Maturity Squad”, “Scooby-boy” meaning Xander,¹¹ “Scooby looks”,¹² “Scooby meeting”,¹³ “Scooby habits”, “Slayer Scoob”.¹⁴

Clipping words is not something that is uncommon in English or in the English of the past. There are several examples of clipping within the Buffyverse the most common being “wig” the clipped form of the already slang word “wiggins,” which lends itself to further construction of compound words or the addition of suffixes such as: “wiggage,” “wiggled,” “wiggly,” and “wigout.” There is also the clipped form of situation “sitch,” which originates in the cult film *Heathers*, and seems to die very quickly in the series, but reemerges with the reappearance of Faith in season seven. In the fanfiction, clipping happens often. Much of the time, clipping occurs in the fanfic as true clipping, which shortens a polysyllabic word into a monosyllabic word. Yet, in conjunction with clipping (although not quite the same thing) is the use of creating sort of nicknames for people, places, products, emotions, etc. These not-quite-nicknames or, as I refer to them in honor of Michael Adams, Slayer Pseudonyms, encapsulate complex concepts in a minimum of space.

"Angel-angsty" is a compound of Angel and angst with a -y for intensification. Therefore, it relates to the known concept that Angel cannot have a moment of true happiness without losing his soul on top of the constant guilt with which he lives that is a constant reminder of the horrid things he did when he was Angelus. This little compound relates seven seasons of

¹¹ Mad Poetess, *Chocolaty Goodness*, passim.

¹² Cicirossi, *Chocolate Hurricane*, passim.

¹³ James Walkswithwind and Mad Poetess, *Small Fry*, passim.

¹⁴ James Walkswithwind and Wolfling, *Sands of Time*, passim.

Buffy and five seasons of *Angel* pain, torment, guilt, and regret in one compact little package. Another example is “Spike’s chip-allowed-parameters.” Once again, this is a compound with a lot of layered meaning. Spike, a once soulless demon, was caught by the Initiative. The Initiative put a computer-chip they had created for social modification in Spike’s head so that he would no longer be able to bite, feed off of, or harm humans in any way, shape, or form. In much of the fanfiction (whether slash or not) Spike is involved in relationships with various and sundry Scoobies much like he is involved with Buffy through the season six and seven of *Buffy*. The only difference is that, whereas in season seven Spike’s chip malfunctioned and was removed after he was ensouled, Spikes’ chip is still present, still operational, and is either adjusted by Willow or Spike has found a way to work around the not harming humans to cause a limited amount of pain for pleasure.¹⁵ Again, this phrase is so multi-layered that it is hard to explain all of the different implications. A few other examples which I will not go into in length include: “Daddy’s socially correct princess”;¹⁶ “Spike-logic,” “non-Gilesy,”¹⁷ “personal ad in the school newspaper gayness,” “Anne Rice family togetherness thing,” and “Grown Up Ripper”;¹⁸ and “his Poofiness”.¹⁹

¹⁵ This type of motif within fanfiction is referred to as hurt/comfort. This is where one partner cares for their suffering partner. This does not necessarily mean that there is an automatic slash relationship present. There is also a ‘get’ convention in which the hero suffers yet received no comfort. Yet, there is another sub-group of the hurt/comfort genre which seems to be a recent occurrence and may have direct connections with series like *Buffy*. This sub-group is psychological torment. It co-exists and interacts with the hurt/comfort genre to create a venue in which character turmoil and insecurity can be addressed in a way which is more complete than generally occurs within a series. This type of psychological turmoil comes out (no pun intended) in queer readings of the series, or, particularly, in *Buffy* slash fiction in which characters come out about their sexuality. The most common form of this specific type of slash fiction is the love/hate relationship which is based upon improbably, but truly plausible due to the way the series established the canonical pairing of Buffy and Angel, relationships constructed upon opposites. (Saxey 199-202)

¹⁶ Mad Poetess, *Skelping*, passim.

¹⁷ Mad Poetess, *Dyeing Young*, passim.

¹⁸ Mad Poetess, *Chocolaty Goodness*, passim.

¹⁹ James Walkswithwind and Mad Poetess, *Domestic Piranha*, passim.

Other examples include “hell-vibes” (Jessamyn, *All Dressed Up in Big Sister’s Clothes*, passim.) ; “the mousse-master,” “Watcherish,” (Mad Poetess, *Dyeing Young*, passim.); ‘the Giles’ (Boxerman, *Pirates of the Hellmouth*, passim.); “manlike, even,” “Prozac for the poor,” (Mad Poetess, *Chocolaty Goodness*, passim.); “fake-

As was mentioned before, many of the constructions talked about in this paper overlap into each so that words and phrases exist that can become examples of all of these forms. These multi-use phrases continue and intensify the multi-textuality of these terms that exist within the canonical Buffyverse and make self-identification through the sub-culture language easier for members of the *Buffy* sub-culture and more accessible to expression of self through the medium of the Buffyverse in fanfiction. Whereas the series and all of the other canonical works have elevated potentially single use, disposable slang into Actuation level 1 nonce-words of Buffyspeak, fanfiction has taken Buffyspeak to an Actuation level two causing Buffyspeak to emerge into broader contextual and linguistic communities. Due to the dispersal caused by fanfiction, fanfiction may someday cause Buffyspeak to merge into mainstream language patterns and, gasp, become part of Standard English. Thus, expression through the medium of fanfic continues the evolution of the *Buffy* sub-culture language as well as continues the growth of the Buffyverse lexicon. There is a great need in the Buffyverse for a new perspective in regards to the importance and the ability of fanfiction to create legitimate sub-culture language rather than rejecting fanfiction as somehow disrespectful of the mythos at large or non-intellectual because the writers are not considered published or academic by traditional means.

cheese," (James Walkswithwind and Mad Poetess, *Domestic Piranha*, passim.); "un-Xanderlike," "witched," and "the mosquito" (Cicirossi, *Chocolate Hurricane*, passim.).

Works Cited

- Adams, Michael. *Slayer Slang: A Buffy the Vampire Slayer Lexicon*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Arnold, Jamie Marie. *BuffyGuide.com: The Complete Buffy Episode Guide*. 16 Nov. 2003. <http://www.buffyguide.com/>.
- Baugh, Albert C. and Thomas Cable. *A History of the English Language*. 1938; Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002.
- [BoxerMan](#). *Pirates of the Hellmouth*. 14 Aug. 2003. <http://www.fanfiction.net/read.php?storyid=1477294>.
- Busse, Kristina. "Crossing the Final Taboo: Family, Sexuality, and Incest in Buffyverse Fan Fiction." *Fighting the Forces: What's at Stake in Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. ed. Rhonda V. Wilcox and David Lavery. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002.
- **[Cicirossi](#). *Chocolate Hurricane*. 3 Nov. 2003. <http://www.thegates.net/hurricane/>.
- Crystal, David. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*. 1995; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- *hgh. *Doppelganged Again*. 3 Nov. 2003. <http://home-2.worldonline.nl/~twikkie/stories/wishverse1.htm>.
- **James Walkswithwind and Mad Poetess. *Domestic Piranha*. 13 Nov. 2003. <http://www.hawksong.com/users/mpoetess/piranhas/>.
- **James Walkswithwind and Mad Poetess. *Small Fry*. 13 Nov. 2003. <http://www.hawksong.com/users/mpoetess/stakes/fic/fry.html>.
- **James Walkswithwind and Mad Poetess. *Son of Small Fry*. 13 Nov. 2003.

<http://www.hawksong.com/users/mpoetess/stakes/fic/fry2.html>.

**James Walkswithwind and Wolfling. *Sands of Time*. 3 Nov. 2003.

<http://perian.slashcity.org/gila/sandstime.html>.

Jessamyn. *All Dressed Up in Big Sister's Clothes*. 23 Jul. 2001

<http://www.fanfiction.net/read.php?storyid=367086>.

**Kirasmommy. *The Key of the Dragon Witch*. 3 Nov. 2003.

http://www.angelfire.com/tv2/tsubame_z/kirasmommy/key.htm.

**Mad Poetess. *Dyeing Young*. 13 Nov. 2003.

<http://www.hawksong.com/users/mpoetess/stakes/fic/dyeing.html>.

**Mad Poetess. *Skelping*. 13 Nov. 2003.

<http://www.hawksong.com/users/mpoetess/stakes/fic/skelping.html>.

Mad Poetess. *Chocolaty Goodness*. 24 Oct. 2001.

<http://www.hawksong.com/users/mpoetess/stakes/chocogood/index.html>.

Rust, Linda. "Welcome to the house of fun: Buffy fanfiction as a hall of mirrors." *Refractory:*

A Journal of Entertainment Media. Vol. 2 March 2003 www.refractory.unimelb.edu.au.

Stark, Walter. Trans. & Introduction, *Don Quixote*. By Cervantes. Ed. Walter Stark. New York: Penguin USA, 1957.

Saxey, Ester. "Staking a Claim: The Series and Its Slash Fan-fiction." *Reading the Vampire Slayer: An Unofficial Critical Companion to Buffy and Angel*. ed. Roz Kaveney. New York: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2001.

*—These sites did not have published dates or update dates. The date written was when I collected my information from them.

**—Although these sites had update dates (excluding *Sands of Times*), these stories, in their current forms, have existed for several years (at least since season 4 of *Buffy*).

Bibliography

- Mendlesohn, Farah. "Surpassing the Love of Vampires; or, Why (and How) a Queer Reading of the Buffy/Willow Relationship Is Denied." *Fighting the Forces: What's at Stake in Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. ed. Rhonda V. Wilcox and David Lavery. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002.
- Overbey, Karen Eileen, and Lahney Preston-Matto. "Staking in Tongues: Speech Act as Weapon in *Buffy*." *Fighting the Forces: What's at Stake in Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. ed. Rhonda V. Wilcox and David Lavery. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002.
- Pender, Patrician. "I'm Buffy, and You're...History": The Postmodern Politics of Buffy." *Fighting the Forces: What's at Stake in Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. ed. Rhonda V. Wilcox and David Lavery. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002.
- Sawyer, Andy. "In a Small Town in Californian...the Subtext is Becoming Text." *Slayage: The Online International Journal of Buffy Studies*. ed. Rhonda V. Wilcox and David Lavery. 1 Jan. 2003 <http://www.slayage.tv/>.
- Stengel, Wendy A. F. G. "Synergy and Smut: The Brand in Official and Unofficial *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* Communities of Interest." *Slayage: The Online International Journal of Buffy Studies*. ed. Rhonda V. Wilcox and David Lavery. 1 Jan. 2003 www.slayage.tv/.
- Wall, Brian and Michael Zryd. "Vampire Dialectics: Knowledge, Institutions, and Labour." *Reading the Vampire Slayer: An Unofficial Critical Companion to Buffy and Angel*. ed. Roz Kaveney. New York: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2001.
- Zweerink, Amanda and Sarah N. Gatson. "www.buffy.com: Cliques, Boundaries, and

Hierarchies in an Internet Community.” *Fighting the Forces: What’s at Stake in Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. ed. Rhonda V. Wilcox and David Lavery. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002.