

YouTube Commentaries on Trans Time-lapse Videos: Transforming Misgendering Stances into Pedagogical Moments

Matthew Bruce Ingram

Abstract:

The distribution and consumption of transgender time-lapse videos on YouTube have increased over the last few decades, providing trans communities with a valuable resource for self-making. On YouTube, vloggers can present images and videos of their bodies as they document their gender transitions through several practices that rely on temporality and time-space compression. As a genre, time-lapse videos comprise creative worldmaking practices where users document their gender transformations using hundreds to thousands of still photos or video segments which show their social, somatic, and biochemical changes. Although scholars have discussed different worldmaking and community organising practices that take place as trans vloggers display their gendered subjectivities online, there is sparse scholarship studying the recurrent patterns of behaviour on the comment space below these videos. In this article, I draw on critical discourse analytic studies of new media and stance-taking as I review and analyse discriminatory strategies – principally misgendering and ungendering – that YouTubers used to denigrate the self-identified gender of a given vlogger. Stance-taking enables us to identify and track reoccurring attitudes steeped in cisgenderism. At the same time, capturing how vloggers and trans allies respond to (intentional or unintentional) text-based forms of prejudice, can create teachable moments for YouTube spectators. While misgendering stances aim to pressure their targets into certain kinds of gender and sex embodiments, insurrectionary stance-acts co-opt and call out the language of discrimination, lending legitimacy and authority to trans vloggers to create, enact, and live their own genders.

Somatechnics 9.1 (2019): 32–57
DOI: 10.3366/soma.2019.0264
© Matthew Bruce Ingram
www.eupublishing.com/soma

Keywords: Trans YouTube vlogs; transition videos; stance-taking; text-based interaction; misgendering; critical discourse analysis; digital publics; pedagogy of accountability.

Introduction

Transgender Studies scholars have taken an interest in online spaces where trans youth construct and circulate multimodal self-representations of their own making. Virtual ethnographies of trans YouTuber practices (Barnett 2016; Bishop 2016; Dame 2013; Horak 2014; Raun 2010, 2012, 2015a, 2015b, 2016; Stein 2016) show how YouTubers exploit the technological affordances of the social media platform to attract viewers who can empathise with, relate to, and learn about the lived subjectivities and experiences of trans people. For more than a decade, YouTubers have shared images of their gendered subjectivities through audiovisual and aesthetic vlogging conventions. Trans vloggers foster social networks and create pedagogical communities to promote healthy affinities between trans people and allies. When possible, users also expose discriminatory social ideologies that restrict the diverse expressions of gendered bodies in online spaces (Barnett 2016; Horak 2014). In this article, I concentrate exclusively on the public arguments concerning gender subjectivities and bodies that accumulate in the text-based commentary posted below *transgender time-lapse videos*.

On YouTube, trans people stress their autobiographical transition to affirm their self-designated genders (Raun 2015b). Vlogs vary in form, content, and production quality but all of them compress space and time through pictorial expressions (Horak 2014: 573). Acting as amateur cinematographers, YouTubers juxtapose hundreds of photographs or short video clips to document their self-designated gendered subjectivities and experiences. Vloggers adopt techniques reminiscent of early time-lapse photography as they track and present their transition progress made through gender confirmation surgeries, hormone replacement therapies, and other visible, auditory, and social changes (Horak 2014).

For my study, I explore the way YouTubers take up a variety of evaluative, affective, and epistemic stances (Du Bois 2007) towards the multimedia videos of gender transitioning bodies in the form of text-based dialogues. In text-based conversations, YouTubers use stance-taking strategies to discredit or disarm misgendering accounts and create pedagogical moments to deter future discriminatory acts. Therefore, I restrict the scope of my study to YouTubers who

capitalise on prevalent social ideologies concerning gendered bodies. The comment sections of trans vlogger's videos are fraught with marginalising comments which disrupt the digital publics designed to promote pro-social, anti-prejudicial behaviour. Drawing on rhetorical and critical discourse analytic approaches to the study of hate speech (Butler 1996; Cloud 2009; Dame 2013; Sloop 2004), I analyse problematic forms of address steeped in dominant norms that marginalise, delegitimise, and discipline the boundaries of gendered subjectivities.

After analysing and identifying different types of discriminatory stance-taking strategies, I lay out how YouTubers refute damaging language through the use of 'insurrectionary speech' (cf. Butler 1996) or counter stances which shows an affiliation with a broader community of supportive YouTubers. To offset misgendering stances, YouTubers employ the rhetorical strategy of 'calling out' discriminatory discourses (cf. Dame 2013: 62). As I will show, insurrectionary stances creates what Cloud (2009) refers to as the 'pedagogy of accountability,' in which commenters respond to injurious language by using the rhetoric of public shaming to hold discriminatory stance-takers accountable to a broader public of educators and allies.

Data and Methods

YouTubers debate many topics on transgender time-lapse videos ranging from religion to health regimens, but for this article, I direct our attention to the dialogic interactions between YouTubers who objectify, delegitimise or demean transgender subjectivities and those YouTubers or vloggers who refute these stances. To examine these public arguments, I randomly selected twenty transgender time-lapse videos from 2011 to 2016 and created a database of the text-based dialogues that preserves their original format and content. The videos in my collection vary regarding the number of viewers and comments, but the dataset – at the time of collection – comprises 39, 186 posts.

Drawing on critical discourse analytic studies of new media and stance-taking (Chun and Walters 2011; Jones and Schieffelin 2009), I documented re-occurring social ideologies and discriminatory strategies that are constructed and negotiated through textual posts and replies. Several common themes and post types emerged in my analysis: (i) compliments and affirmations, (ii) commendations, (iii) questions about surgery and hormones, (iv) evaluations of artistic choices in the video (music, clothing, and makeup), (v) comparisons to celebrities and people's own gender transitions, (vi) requests for

vloggers to make specific instructional videos on trans-related topics, (vii) time-lapse tags to specific moments in a vlogger's video, (viii) religious arguments concerning lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, ally, and pansexual (LGBTQQIAAP) identities, (ix) questions feigning curiosity about trans subjectivities and bodies, and (x) discriminatory acts that seek to threaten trans people and their gender identities and expressions.

Although one could focus on any one (or more) of the abovementioned themes, I investigated how YouTubers respond to (x) discriminatory stances designed to legitimise cisgender identities over trans identities. Throughout several years of study, I familiarised myself with the types of discriminatory comments, the length of these comments, and the chaining effects between a post and the subsequent set of replies. I also labelled each of stances based their interactional function, the stance-taking resources that were being deployed, and the response patterns of other YouTubers.

Stance is a powerful discourse-analytic tool that enabled me to document how YouTubers construct public arguments about transgender identities. I restrict my analysis to dialogues where YouTubers exclude, demean, objectify, and delegitimise trans people's lived experiences. By examining *text-based conversations* (Herring 2010), I also illustrate how trans people and allies deal with, counter, and mark the discriminatory post as inappropriate in their replies. Before reviewing several examples, I will describe YouTuber interactions in relation to literature on stance-taking on YouTube, and then, I explore transgender vlogging practices. Posts and replies can range from two to one hundred chaining dialogues. I have selected representative examples that can be manageably shown and described within the space of this article. Although these conversations are available to the public, I have chosen to anonymise the participants by providing them with pseudonyms in the form of initials and leaving out links to their videos to respect vlogger's privacy. I also hired a graphic artist to disguise YouTuber's profile icons.

Dialogic Interaction and Stance-taking on YouTube

YouTube videos generate a public forum best described as a *participatory spectacle* (cf. Androutsopoulos 2013). 'Viewed as an organic whole,' Androutsopoulos (2013) writes, 'participatory spectacles are multi-authored, multimodal, multimedia, inherently dialogic, dynamically expanding, and open ended' (50). YouTubers create, consume, and repurpose narratives which are liked, disliked, and

responded by other users. Online discussions, however, are not dialogic in the same way as face-to-face conversation. YouTube involves unequal, asynchronous communicative exchanges (see Bou-Franch, Lorenzo-Dus and Blitvitch 2012). Even seemingly disparate comments – isolated posts users do not respond to – involve similar stance resources, objects of evaluation, and attitudinal values (Androutsopoulos 2013; Bou-Franch et al. 2012). As Dynel (2014) shows, YouTube offers a slightly altered participation structure since commenters can be speakers, addressees, or even third-party bystanders who read but do not reply to posts.

Stance-taking permits researchers to examine speaker-addressee-third party interactions (Dynel 2014), focusing on how interlocutors intend their utterances to mean, how addressees read and react with their own opinions and attitudes, and how these stance choices demarcate social relations among users and vloggers. ‘Stance,’ according to Du Bois (2007), ‘is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and other), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimensions of the sociocultural field’ (163). In a stance-taking act ‘the stance-taker (1) evaluates an object, (2) positions a subject (usually the self), and (3) aligns with other subjects’ (Du Bois 2007: 163). Stance-takers manufacture evaluative scenes, whereby, they position themselves in relation to a stance object such as a person or utterance that is being evaluated. Stance acts are at the centre of accomplishing intersubjectivity. YouTubers use bodily, visual, and textual modalities to enact their identities, express their opinions, and display a shared understanding of their socio-material worlds (Barton and Lee 2013; Meyers 2011). In taking a position towards a stance object, stance-takers evoke morals systems that resonate with a culturally specific audience (Keane 2015; Jaffe 2009).

Although interlocutors may present their judgements as rigid or unchangeable, a stance-act is susceptible to contestation and renegotiation. When one social actor takes a stance towards an utterance or person, another social actor responds with their own opinions. Each intertwining set of stance acts create a cyclic cycle of affiliations or disaffiliations. Social actors manufacture stances by recycling or referencing each other’s opinions as expressed through stance-taking resources (Du Bois 2007; Goodwin 2007), making it known to the public what the object of evaluation is and how they position their subjecthood. As an intersubjective process, stances *interpellate* or *hail* (cf. Althusser 2014) social actors, making them intelligible as particular types of people, regardless if they identify with the positions thrust upon them.

Trans World-Making Practices on YouTube

Trans people use YouTube as an online forum for social interaction. In reference to trans vlogging, Raun (2015a) writes that ‘the trans vlog is utilized as a transformative medium for working on, producing and exploring the self ... this can take the form of mirroring, employing the vlog as a medium for trying out and assuming various identities, and for seeing one’s own experiences and thoughts reflected in others’ (366). From this perspective, YouTube is conceptualised as a complex site for meaning-making and self-fashioning because men, women, and non-binary or bigendered individuals experience different social, somatic, and biochemical transformations made visible in their vlogs. Trans people’s *video diaries* (cf. Raun 2016: 120–132) afford creative forms of intimacy with a mostly supportive audience. Vlogger videos take on a variety of styles and genres, one of the most popular vlog genres being the ‘performantive documentation of “rebirth” facilitated by hormones’ (Raun 2016: 104). People can carve out a comfortable space of their own for living out their own gender experiences.

Horak (2014) makes comparable arguments about trans vlogging practices but from a cinematic lens. ‘Trans “talking head” videos,’ Horak (2014) writes, ‘expand the tradition of the feminist consciousness-raising documentary to establish trans youth as experts and create a sense of intimacy between the vloggers and viewers. Transition videos become spectacular by displaying the subject’s body in ways that affirm their felt gender and through dramatic temporal compression’ (573). Vloggers juxtapose images of their transitions, inspirational quotes, and time-stamped, multimedia check-ins set to a YouTubers’ favourite song. People create time-lapse videos to ratify their own lived subjectivities and share their experiences with audiences. Some of these spectators may have limited knowledge of trans and non-binary gender subjectivities.

While broadcasting one’s gender transition on YouTube can help trans and non-binary people secure a lived future, Horak contends that these compressed autobiographies follow a rigid narrative storytelling temporality. ‘Time-lapse videos,’ according to Horak (2014), ‘make trans corporeal change seem like magic, akin to a fairy tale or special effect’ (579). On YouTube, gender transitions are measured against their previous embodied images that are pressed into the service of temporally condensed images. ‘At the same time’, Horak (2014) reminds us, ‘YouTube should not be mistaken for a utopian space. The popularity of transition vlogs, and of hyperattractive, predominately white vloggers, institutes hormone time, beauty, gender cohesion, and whiteness as uncomfortable norms’ (582). Accordingly, narratives schemas can

restrict experiences or even exclude people whose gendered biographies do not adhere to a linear normativized temporality (see Bolton 2019 in this special issue).

Despite the conventional styles of self-presentation found in time-lapse videos, Barnett (2016) – adopting notions of queer temporality – argues these photographic arrangements are powerful rhetorical rituals used to manifest alternative conceptualisations of sex and gender. Examining Joshua Riverdale’s transition on hormone replacement therapy (HRT), Barnett proposes that photographic transitions constitute a digital venue for trans and non-trans viewers to witness diverse expressions of gender. For Barnett, ‘The photographic sequence ... invites viewers to trace bodily changes, enacting ... a *temporal pedagogy*, or modeling a way of seeing and thinking about the human body as a site of change and transformation across time’ (156).

Lastly, pursuing a sociolinguistic analysis of trans male vlogging, Dame (2013) documents the linguistic tactics vloggers use to establish themselves as experts in trans subjectivities and experiences. While vloggers are ambivalent about being positioned as leaders or experts in all matters of trans lives, it is this hierarchical positioning that empowers them to use their role as an authority figure to admonish discriminatory behaviour (Dame 2013: 61). Trans vloggers use the practice of public shaming or ‘calling out’ as a power rhetorical manoeuvre to dissuade YouTubers from posting future discriminatory comments. Dame’s (2013) scholarship provides significant insights into the digital strategies trans vloggers use to communicate with non-trans listeners, and in the process, diminish stigma placed on bigendered and gender non-conforming subjectivities.

YouTube comment sections, however, have received little attention (Dame 2013 being a clear exception). To understand what happens in the comment space, I examine how YouTubers deal with discriminatory stance-acts in everyday digital, text-based conversations. Instead of dismissing the digital area of YouTube for its trend in incendiary comments, I investigate how social actors use stance-taking to contest, challenge, and even reconceptualise our understandings of gender and sexuality amid vitriolic comments. To understand the discriminatory stances taken on YouTube, however, we also need a basic conceptualisation of *cisgenderism*.

Cisgenderism

Gender-based commentary comprises a composite of ideological stances cutting across different forms of oppression. When people’s gender

identities and presentations fall outside normative gender conventions assigned at birth, these individuals are, as Serano (2009) writes, ‘positioned at the intersection of multiple binary gender-based forms of prejudice: transphobia, cissexism, and misogyny’ (12). Ansara and Hegarty (2012, 2013, 2014) argue that many of these discriminatory acts fall under the ideology known as *cisgenderism*. Cisgenderism refers to interlocking social ideologies which: designate people as either male or female at birth; associate male bodies with masculinity and female bodies with femininity; view the body as immutable and determined by assigned sex; and devalue trans and non-binary identities, their self-descriptions and lived experiences (Ansara and Hegarty 2013; Lennon and Mistler 2014). Although oppressive language targets different facets of identity, I found that *misgendering* stances (cf. Serano 2009) was the most common in my dataset.

‘Misgendering’, Ansara and Hegarty (2014) write, ‘describes the use of gendered language that does not match how people identify themselves, such as when people who identify as women are described as men’ (260). Misgendering is an amalgam of socio-political opinions or attitudes, in which, a person or group of people refuse to validate and appreciate a person’s self-designated gendered experiences, gender transitions, and pronouns alongside any other forms of self-presentation that a person deems indispensable to their own identity. Similarly, Sonny Nordmarken (2014) argues that “misgendering” takes place because microaggressors assume they have the ability to know a trans person’s “true” identity and that their perception of a trans person is more valid than the trans person’s own self-knowledge’ (130–131).

Like other types of hate messaging, misgendering is an identity foiling tactic (cf. Cloud, 2009). We can liken misgendering stances to hate mail or messages because: ‘Centrally, hate mail *names* and *pressures* its targets in ways that bring into sharp relief the author’s subject position in the process’ (Cloud 2009: 463; original author’s emphasis). YouTubers use a variety of methods to make their self-designated gender identities and presentations known on YouTube: tagging their videos (e.g., ‘FTM Transgender: Photo a day transition’ or ‘1 Year Estrogen Transgender Transformation’), showing self-designated pronouns on their ‘About’ page, discussing their gender designators in their vlogging series, or self-disclosing it in videos or the comment section. By choosing to ignore or failing to ask for a person’s self-designated gender descriptors, commenters try to legitimise their own subjectivities at the cost of delegitimising, objectifying, pathologising, and erasing trans identities. To understand how YouTubers take up counter-stances towards problematic discourses, first, I examined misgendering practices

which ideologise trans bodies either ungendering, degendering, or objectifying the vlogger. In my data, I found that Ansara and Hegarty (2014)'s schema of misgendering acts (*mispronouncing*, *objectifying biological language*, and *retroactive misgendering*) fits appropriately in describing discrimination on transgender time-lapse videos.

I considered each of these misgendering strategies as a form of *stance attribution* (cf. Coupland and Coupland 2009): 'a discursive resource for speakers or writers to map their own evaluations, attitudes, and aspirations onto other people' (246). In the examples below, commenters map their cis assumptions (cf. Serano 2009; 2016) and evaluations onto trans vloggers' bodies and experiences. Stances have multiple interpretations, and therefore, I will take into consideration the following dimensions of stance to provide an astute reading: the stance-taker, stance-taking resources, stance object being evaluated, and back-and-forth alignments or disalignments of YouTubers.

Misgendering Stance Acts

Mispronouncing

When a commenter takes up a misgendering stance-act, they evoke cisnormative assumptions which erase and delegitimise trans vloggers' identities. Of the misgendering attitudes observed in my dataset, *mispronouncing* (Ansara and Hegarty 2014) was a routine method of discrimination. In the virtual space, mispronouncing refers to the way commenters misgender trans vloggers' by inappropriately assigning pronouns that do not match the self-designated gender descriptors specified on a given vloggers' YouTube channel, vlogs, and 'About page' (Ansara and Hegarty 2014). In Example 1, commenters refuse to authorise a vlogger's self-designated gender identification, and therefore, they receive rejoinders from other YouTubers who seek to offset misgendering stances.

The exchange begins with FF commenting on TT's '1 Year On Testosterone' transition video. Through the consolidation of photographs and short video clips, TT documents his vocal and visual transitions on testosterone and specifies his identification as a 'trans guy' who uses male pronouns. FF, when presented with TT's transition video, negatively evaluates the vlogger's gender and sex embodiment. FF's argument begins by alluding to biology to question TT's gender: 'You're a chick?! Dafuq ...'. The misgendering stance is constructed using diverse computer-mediated forms of communication (Herring 2012).

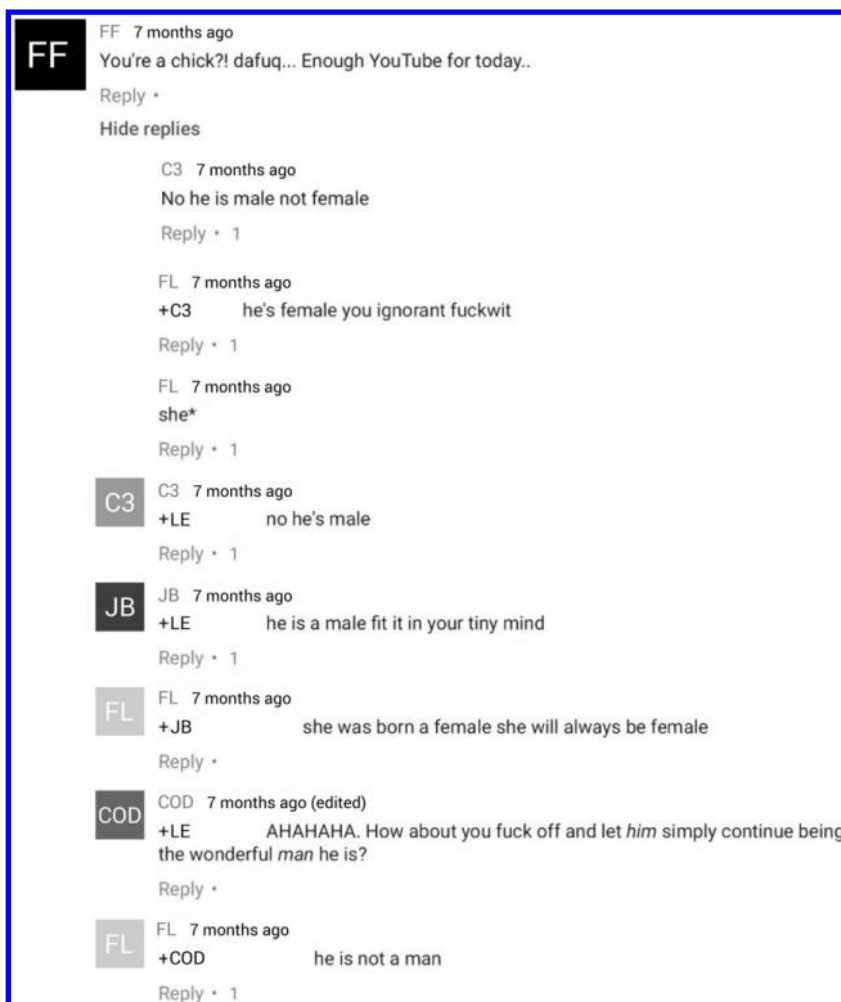


Figure 1: Example – Commentaries forming around a mispronouncing stance.

First, FF hails the vlogger adopting the slang term ‘chick’, an informal, flippant way of referencing young girls and women. Second, the YouTuber uses a phonetic spelling ‘dafuq’, short for ‘what the fuck’ and repeated punctuation (‘?!’) to express a stance of confusion or disbelief. Third, ‘dafuq’ is followed by non-standard ellipsis known as *trailing dots* or *repeated dots* (Baron 2000; Herring and Zelenkauskaite 2008). Although punctuation markers accomplish diverse social actions from context-to-context, ellipsis typically marks a silence, pause, hesitation, disbelief, confusion, or disapproval (Ong 2011;

Raclaw 2006). Here, the first set of punctuation dots index confusion, and perhaps, disapproval of the trans vlogger's transition. The aforementioned stance-taking resources suggest that FF expresses a misgendering stance of incredulity and aversion.

FF's second utterance, 'Enough YouTube for today..' [sic], provides contextual cues to lead the reader to assume the YouTuber accidentally encountered TT's transition surfing through videos. This initial post creates a stance-taking field of oppositions, as other commenters align or disalign with the attitudes being mapped onto TT.

C3, for example, treats FF's post as a negative stance attribution and an undertaking to undermine TT's gender subjectivity. By using TT's self-authorised gender pronouns, C3 exposes the cishnormative assumptions and privilege entrenched in FF's comment. In the process of misgendering a vlogger, FF commences with a sequence of combative exchanges in which commenters map their attitudes and judgements onto TT's body.

FL enters the exchange using the +username feature to single out C3. The pejorative moniker: 'ignorant fuckwit,' indexes that FL's stance negative stance toward C3, who, in the previous comment attempted to call out a misgendering stance. At first glance, it is somewhat difficult to interpret FL's stance towards trans subjectivities and the vlogger, since, the commenter disjunctively refers to TT with male pronouns but then problematically assumes the vlogger is female. In this instance, FL enacts a self-initiated repair strategy to correct a mistyped or typographical error (Collister 2010). FL uses what Collister (2010) refers to as an Online Written English *-repair strategy, using an asterisk plus female pronouns (*she) to index that in their utterance, 'he's female you ignorant fuckwit,' the YouTuber intended to use the misgendering pronoun 'she.' In turn, FL's stance displays exhibit a struggle to re-establish a cishnormative position that was compromised by the indexically disjunctive gendered descriptors. Multiple stance positions emerge in the discourse: some YouTubers try to ungender or artificialise (Serano 2009, 2013) the gendered subjectivities of trans vloggers, while other commenters endorse and legitimise the self-designated genders of a given vlogger.

To support trans vlogger's transition and combat negative attitudes, YouTubers accumulate gender-affirming retorts to establish and maintain a pro-social and supportive environment. For example, C3 and JB directly address FL's (who in this case, uses the handle LE) gender disciplining comments by adopting appropriate gender designations. JB characterises FL as a bigot who lacks credibility by referring to the YouTuber as someone with a 'tiny mind.' FL responds to

JB, repeating arguments grounded in biology: ‘she was born a female she will always be a female.’ Although FL’s gender identity is unknown, their misgendering stance exhibits cisgender entitlement (Serano 2009) because the YouTuber tries to establish themselves as an authority figure who can ‘validate’ who is male or female. In the process of reinforcing cisgender privileges and assumptions, users try to artificialise or foil the bodies and identities of transitioning vloggers. Comments like those belonging to FF or FL fall under the discriminatory tactic Serano (2009) refers to a *trans-facsimilation*. Each of their posts legitimises cisgender identities as ‘real’ at the expense of mischaracterising trans vloggers’ genders as ‘fake’ (Serano 2009: 170–172).

The stance-taking exchange finishes with a newcomer, COD, who takes up an inimical response towards FL. The uppercased laughter at the onset of COD’s retort forecasts a sardonic stance. COD offers a piece of cynical advice in the form of a rhetorical question: ‘How about you fuck off and let *him* simply continue being the wonderful *man* he is?’ Taking up a blatant attack on FL, COD encourages the YouTuber to mind their own business. The italicised pronoun, male-bodied label, and positive adjective (‘wonderful’), stress and prioritise TT’s identified gender, not his assigned birth. Although FL gets the last word by refusing to authorise TT’s self-identified gender, the back-and-forth stance-taking illustrates how YouTubers work together to combat mispronouncing. Stance-takers position themselves in relation to ideologies of gender, with discriminatory stance-takers enforcing cisnormative assumptions and interpretations onto trans subjectivities, while others position themselves as allies who support a vlogger’s self-purported gender designations.

Objectifying Biological Language

Besides mispronouncing, commenters also misgender trans vloggers using biological language intent on reducing their lived experiences to their assigned sex. ‘*Objectifying biological language*,’ Ansara and Hegarty (2014) argue, ‘is a subset of degendering that *selectively* omits gendered language in favour of strictly biological terminology only for people whose genders are independent from their assigned “sex”’ (261). In Example 2, an exchange also taken on TT’s time-lapse video, one commenter tries to *degender* the vlogger by assuming there are discrepancies between the vlogger’s sex embodiment and lived gender.

Bek’s initial reaction, ‘Wait so does he have a dick or nah’, ascribes gendered meanings to TT’s body by reducing the complexities of his

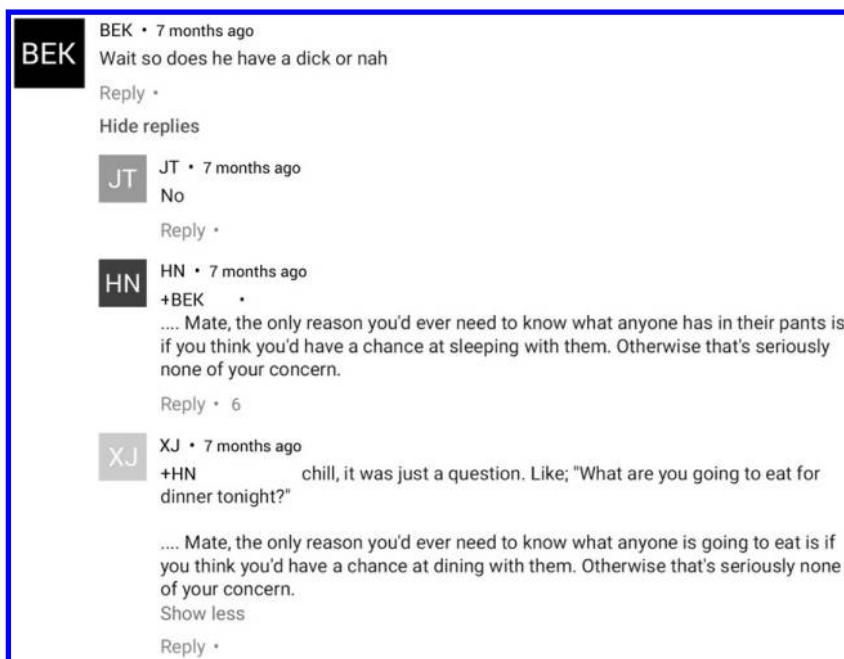


Figure 2: Example – Commentaries forming around the degendering use of objectifying biological language.

individuality to anatomical structures. The stance evokes an ideologising, binary contrast between cisgender and trans people, with the former collection of identities being valued and the latter devalued (Nordmarken 2014; Serano 2009: 45). As Serano (2009) writes, ‘Because objectification reduces the transsexual to the status of a “thing,” it enables cissexuals to condemn, demonize, fetishize, ridicule, criticize, and exploit us without guilt or remorse’ (186). In questioning TT’s biology, Bek anchors the vlogger’s transition narrative in his assigned sex, not his lived gender.

The poster’s stance exhibits contradictory interpretations since Bek uses the vlogger’s self-identified gender pronouns (‘he’) but then interrogates the authenticity of TT’s sex embodiment. Favouring biological terminology, Bek fetishises, artificialises, and un genders the vlogger’s embodied subjectivity (Serano 2009).

JT replies to Bek’s question with an affirmative ‘No.’ From this curt rejoinder, it is uncertain whether JT shares similar attitudes or ideologies with Bek. The reply feigns to know and have the right to speak about TT’s anatomical configuration, and for this reason, JT’s comment is

interpretable as a misgendering stance. Other commenters orient and reply to Bek's post, reading it as a deliberate discriminatory act.

HN, for instance, portends an opposing stance through turn-initial repeated dots and the colloquial address term 'mate.' The comment transitions into a sharp rebuke to Bek's objectifying biological terminology. By taking up an indignant stance, HN treats Bek's line of questioning as an inappropriate response to a vlogger's transition video. In exchange, HN harnesses the rhetorical effectiveness of public shaming to 'call out' (Cloud 2009; Dame 2013) Bek's ungendering post, which conveys a broader message to YouTubers watching the video. HN cautions users against inquiring about a person's sex embodiment given the private nature of the question: 'Otherwise that's seriously none of your concern.'

The stances of the parties in this exchange are put in dialogical relations with one another as the subsequent poster, XJ, evaluates HN's post, positions their self in relation to discourses on trans vloggers, and aligns or disaligns with other YouTubers. Dialogic resonance is generated when XJ reproduces HN's typographic, orthographic, and linguistic choices to manufacture a rebuke (Du Bois 2007). A comparison of the analogical relations and structures between HN's original post and XJ's subsequent response enables us to see similarities and contrasts. In this case, XJ creates a near-parallel post with one minor exception: 'sleeping' is transformed to 'dining.' The alteration creates a new interpretation and a set of evaluative positions. XJ prefaces their response in a manner that downplays the seriousness of asking invasive questions about a vlogger's sex organs: 'chill, it was a question. Like; What are you going to eat for dinner?' Here, XJ likens the act of requesting information about a person's anatomical structure to inquiring about what someone will eat for dinner. The YouTuber produces a faulty comparison between mundane social interaction and asking private information about a vlogger's external genitalia. Therefore, XJ's post plays into broader societal mentalities that delegitimise the backgrounds of those whose gender identities are autonomous from their assigned sex.

While trans vloggers create space for making their gender designations and experiences legible or recognisable to others, some posters erase or foil this intelligibility. Posts like those from Bek or XJ operate as metonymic reductions, diminishing trans and non-binary subjectivities. Objectifying comments about biology erase the actual lived experiences and subjectivities of those who share their transitions. Other YouTubers thwart misgendering or ungendering stances that place unequal value on cisgender identities in contrast to trans identities.

Retroactive Misgendering

Photographic sequences highlight a vlogger's transition from childhood to their present transition, creating snapshots of one's gender fluidity across time and space (Barnett 2016). The time-space compression permits spectators to pause the video, observe, and comment on aspects of the vlogger's noticeable corporeal and sartorial changes. In Example 3, YouTubers post offensive comments on DANL's transition video entitled '18 months of hormones, 400 pictures, transsexual male to female MTF transition timeline (part 1).' In the last expression of cisgenderism I explore in this section, commenters adopt a form of *retroactive misgendering*. 'Retroactive misgendering,' is, as Ansara and Hegarty (2014) write, 'a form of misgendering that disregards people's current descriptions of their genders when describing time periods prior to those self-identifications' (266).

RB starts the conversation with a post that exhibits several of the misgendering stance tactics. RB compares DANL's transition to other women's and switches between inscribing female and male forms of embodiment onto the vlogger's lived subjectivity, instead of sticking with self-designated terms such as 'trans women' or 'female' that are specified on the vlogger's 'about page' and social media sites. The YouTuber also evokes cisnormative assumptions when comparing DANL's lived gender and her assigned gender. While RB's comment appears in the guise of a compliment about DANL's appearance, the post simultaneously calls into question the authenticity of trans women's gender experiences.

The first half of the utterance, 'This is the first video of m2f where you actually look better being female,' enforces a gender-based binary and a form of *passing-centrism* (cf. Serano 2009: 176–177) because the

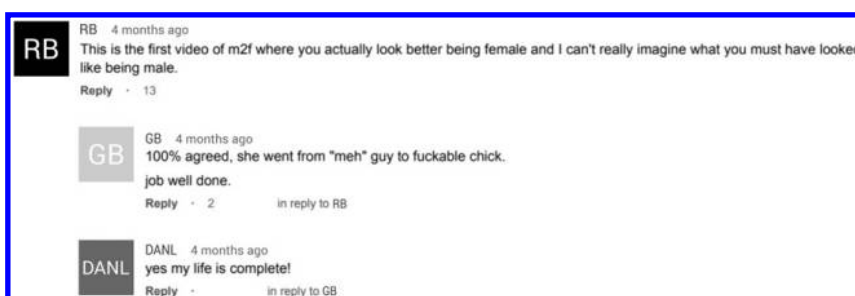


Figure 3: Example – Commentaries forming around a YouTuber's use of language to disrespect a vlogger's gender designations when linking their past to the present.

author of this comment assumes that people must fit into a preconceived image of femaleness to claim a right to a particular gender identification. The discriminatory remark creates a hierarchical binary where trans people and their gendered subjectivities are rendered illegitimate and cisgender people's subjectivities are esteemed. Lastly, RB's stance is a form of retroactively misgendering, since, the YouTuber desires to compare and contrast images of DANL's assigned gender to her lived gender: 'I can't really imagine what you must have looked like being male.' A less ambiguous example of retroactive misgendering, however, is made evident in GB's subsequent reply.

Referring to DANL's transition video and replying to RB's comment, GB writes: '100% agreed, she went from a "meh" guy to a fuckable chick. Job well done.' GB retroactively misgenders DANL by disregarding the vlogger's current gender designations, referring to her using assigned gender descriptors to talk about the vlogger's past and sexually objectifying her body. The sexist descriptors ('fuckable chick') and the backhanded compliment builds on and upgrades RB's original misgendering comment. Disguised as praise of objectifiable sexuality, GB's cishnormative comment is rooted *trans-misogyny* (cf. Serano 2009: 14–15). Serano describes these types of comments succinctly, noting that, 'In a male-centered gender hierarchy, where it is assumed that men are better than women and that masculinity is superior to femininity, there is no greater perceived threat than the existence of trans women, who despite being born male and inheriting male privilege "choose" to be female instead' (15). The demeaning hyper sensualisation of DANL's body produces a misogynistic and demeaning comment that fails to respect her lived subjectivity.

DANL uses verbal irony (Dame 2013) to convey an emphatic and mocking stance towards GB's backhanded compliment. Although GB The sarcastic remark is a more indirect form disaffiliating with comments like GB's by making the YouTuber accountable to the broader digital public. Although users respond to the discriminatory post, many examples of retroactive misgendering comprise free-floating, isolated comments (Dynel 2014) disguised as compliments about passing as a man or woman. By inappropriately referencing a vlogger's assigned gender and using inappropriate gender designations, users – whether they intend to or not – demean, objectify, or delegitimise a trans vlogger past and present subjectivities.

In this section, I have provided representative instances of misgendering stances (mispronouncing, using objectifying biological language, and retroactively misgendering) which frequently populated vlogger's time-lapse videos in this dataset. Stance-takers embody the

ideology of cisgenderism when they ignore and devalue vlogger's own understanding of their gendered bodies (Ansara and Berger 2016: 230). In part, I have also briefly alluded to some of the ways stance-takers engage in counter-mobilisation efforts to contest discriminatory posts on transgender time-lapse videos. However, I have yet to elaborate on the ways insurrectionary stance-acts can be turned into a 'teaching moments.' In the last empirical section, I examine two examples that suggest insurrectionary stance-acts have the potential to overthrow established cishnormative discourses in a virtual space.

Fashioning 'Teaching Moments' on Transgender Time-lapse Videos

YouTube is a proto-public (cf. Eberly 2000) space comprising public and private channels of communication. Commentaries on transgender time-lapse videos are mainly positive and reinforce a strong sense online support for vloggers in transition to affirm their lived genders. Through private and public messaging, trans vloggers can share information about doctors, surgeries, or trace the effects of hormone therapy. The recurring topics and language choices show that other transitioning individuals are the target audience. YouTubers who do not see themselves as allies, however, can also express damaging attitudes towards trans and non-binary individuals; thus, they take part in commentary spaces as unratified spectators (Dynel 2014). Despite the vitriolic evaluations and misgendering stance-acts that occur on transgender time-lapse videos, I observed comments where YouTubers take discriminatory remarks as an opportunity to establish a pedagogical space for addressing and reacting to issues regarding cisgender privilege, entitlement, or assumptions that limit our societal opinions of sex and gender. However fleeting these moments may be, insurrectionary stance acts (Butler 1996) appear to rupture cishnormative logics to foster affiliative dialogue which better informs the misgendering stancetaker. Below I examine two representative examples which testify to the way YouTubers create 'teaching moments' by contending with discriminatory discourses.

In Example 4, ED, a self-identified transman and advocate, replies to JS who inappropriately inquires about the vlogger's genitalia. After watching ED's 'FTM transition: One year on testosterone' video, JS claims to be in a state of bewilderment after incidentally stumbling upon the multimedia transition sequences. Referring to ED's transition montage as a video that belongs to 'theses [sic] parts of youtube,' JS situates themselves as a person who views transgender transition videos

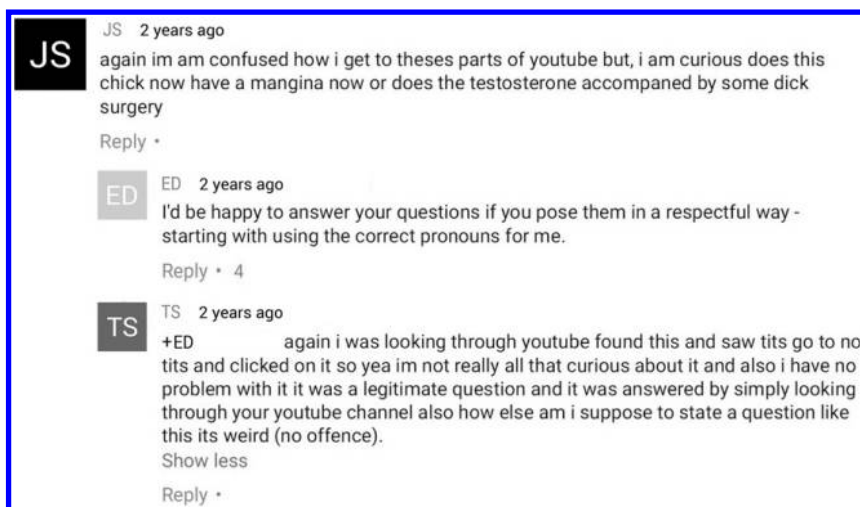


Figure 4: Example – A vlogger responding to mispronouncing and objectifying biological language.

as a frowned upon genre. Having already projected a negative evaluation of the video, JS asks the ensuing question: 'I am curious does this chick now have a mangina now or does the testosterone accompanied by some dick surgery [sic].' JS's comment adopts clear misgendering tactics.

The YouTuber inappropriately refers to ED as a 'chick,' hence, mispronouncing him. In conjunction with using the wrong gender descriptors and misogynistic labels, JS also adopts objectifying biological terminology to refer to ED: 'mangina' or 'dick surgery.' The consolidation of these problematic stance-acts suggests that JS is interrogating ED's sex embodiment. Although transmen can construct their male social identities by strategically de-feminising biological terminology linked to female embodiment (see Zimman and Hall 2010: 173), these types of practices are circulated amongst trans-identified community members. In this case, *mangina*, an ostensibly oxymoronic compound and lexical blend (man + vagina) (see Zimman and Hall 2010: 173), also has a more pejorative vernacular interpretation used to refer to an emasculated man. And therefore, the term reads as part of JS's misgendering attempt to interrogate ED's sex, gender, and potentially, his sexuality. In this stance-act, JS ignores ED's self-designated gender, creating an illegitimizing comparison between his assigned sex and lived gender.

Support for this interpretation comes in the form of ED's orientation to JS's comment. ED enacts a sharp riposte and comments on the inappropriate design of initial question. Being the vlogger whose transition video is being discussed, ED assumes an authority position (Dame 2013) and seeks to educate the YouTuber. ED admits that he would generally answer an intimate question like this one if the query were couched 'in a respectful way.' Although ED does not deconstruct all the precarious constituents of JS's stance-act, he advises the commenter to use appropriate gender pronouns.

Adopting the rhetorical strategy of *calling someone out* (Dame 2013), ED positions JS as an unlearned spectator whose understandings of gender are steeped in cisgenderism. Calling someone out is a form of public shaming, and in this instance, ED highlights JS's problematic behaviour and encourages the YouTuber to cease such conduct in the future. As Cloud (2009) writes, 'When people's words are dragged into the light of day, those persons become accountable to a larger community' (472). On commentary sections, people's posts are already publically visible, however, users may assume that they will remain anonymous or have their comment deleted and possibly ignored.

ED's insurrectionary turn holds JS accountable to the broader virtual community, and, the stance-act opens the prospect for civil dialogue. Shaming prompts JS (also going by TS) to justify the original intent of the post and consider the impact such comments have on trans people. When responding to ED's comment, TS crafts a trailing list of explanations to rationalise the user's original post. TS claims to have stumbled upon the video accidentally, clicking on a link entitled 'tits go to no tits,' thus, once again, taking part in the circulation of misogynistic language. Referring to the process of transitioning from one gender to another, TS claims to 'have no problem with it.' Hence, the commenter tries to reposition themselves as an indifferent bystander who was simply posing a 'legitimate question.' It is also implied that ED's comment engendered TS to seek answers to his questions by learning more about the vlogger on his YouTube channel. In the last part of the post, TS reflects on the original question about ED's biology and admits to being unsure how to a question about a person's sex embodiment. Although Example 4 does not result in stance-taker taking full responsibility for the misgendering interpretation, the act of public shaming transforms a discriminatory act into a consciousness-raising opportunity and powerful deterrent for those who post comments on transgender time-lapse videos without having sufficient knowledge about trans and non-binary subjectivities. At the very least, calling out forced

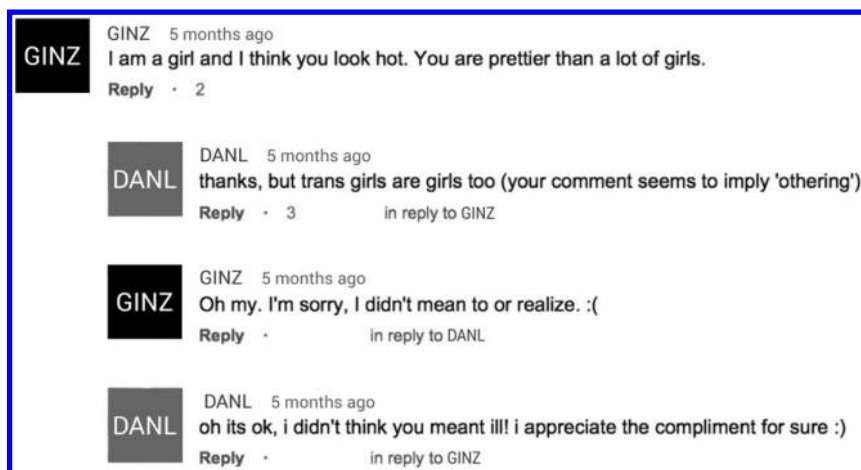


Figure 5: Example – A vlogger responding to othering comment.

JS to rethink the phrasing of the user's question and how it may impact or be harmful to others.

In the final case, Example 5, I explore an instance where the pedagogy of accountability (Cloud 2009) results in a commenter apologising to a vlogger for posting an offensive comment. The back-and-forth stance exchanges result in an amicable teaching moment. Again, I use a comment from DANL's '18 months of hormones, 400 pictures, transsexual male to female MTF transition timeline' video.

In this exchange, GINZ tries to affiliate with DANL by commending her transition, however, the speaker adopts othering language that positions transgender subjectivities as inferior to cisgender subjectivities. GINZ discursively reveals her gender identity to the broader digital public when addressing DANL: 'I am a girl and I think you look hot.'

The post is a clear illustration of a stance attribution. GINZ, whether or not they are cisgender, project a sense of gender entitlement (cf. Serano 2009; 2013) and maps her own cisnormative values, judgements, and beliefs about sex and gender onto DANL (Coupland and Coupland 2009: 246). Since gender entitled individuals are comfortable with their assigned sex and genders, they feel empowered to be able to distinguish and designate who is a man or woman (Serano 2009: 165–166). 'By insisting that the trans person's gender is "fake," (2009) Serano writes, 'they [referring to cisgender people] attempt to validate their own gender as "real" or "natural"' (13). In this case, GINZ

does not overtly suggest DANL's gender is 'fake', rather, the YouTuber evokes a form of cisgender entitlement and authority assuming they have the right to determine or legitimate DANL's transgender identity. The second comment, 'You are prettier than a lot of girls,' operates under similar cisnormative assumptions. GINZ, in calling attention to the apparent conspicuousness of DANL's (trans)gender, treats her gendered appearance as an exception to other 'non-passing' trans subjectivities. In this regard, GINZ's comment is sexist and cisnormative, in that, it disciplines cis and trans genders into a normativised set of corporeal expectations regarding attractiveness.

While DANL displays appreciation for GINZ's 'compliment,' she is quick to identify that the post simultaneously delegitimises and artificialises trans girls. DANL turns GINZ's attention to the cisnormative assumptions embedded in the user stance-act. Specifically, DANL remarks that the 'comment seems to imply "othering,"' meaning the comment treats trans women's gender identities as different from and inferior to cisgender identities. Although DANL's comments is a form of calling out or public shaming, the comment is designed to be pedagogical and informative. DANL, like the vlogger in Example 4, takes it upon herself – as the vlogger whose transition video is being addressed – to serve as an authority figure who tries to discourage YouTubers from taking up discriminatory stances towards trans people.

When DANL calls out discriminatory discourses, she openly challenges the idea that trans people's gender identities, expressions, and sex embodiments are less legitimate than their cisgender correspondents (Serano 2013: 122–123). Acts like DANL's are insurrectionary stances. The author of the discriminatory posts has her attention turned to the injurious or hurtful dimension of the original 'compliment.' Moreover, DANL's comment models appropriate etiquette for other digital spectators who read the comments but may not respond. GINZ's apology and sad face emoticon suggest that the back-and-forth stance-taking exchange created a teachable moment. When GINZ states, 'I didn't mean to or realize,' she implies that the unintended attitudes or evaluations present in her comment are problematic. Moreover, GINZ takes a moment to recontextualise the intent of her initial post, noting it was meant to be a compliment, not a hurtful remark. The interaction ends in an amicable exchange. GINZ apologises for the problematic remark and DANL assures her that she understands that the intent was not malicious. DANL's comments, 'oh its ok, i didn't think you meant ill! I appreciate the compliment for sure :)', provides a positive interpretation of the exchange and is a clear stance of affiliation.

This conversation also shows public shaming can lead to positive outcomes when the act turns YouTubers' attention to the way a post can unintentionally participate in broader damaging ideologies or attitudes that restrict our understanding of sex embodiment and gender. By prominently addressing problematic ideologies present in a YouTuber's remarks, questions, or compliments, vloggers and the digital public create a culture of accountability (cf. Cloud 2009) and the possibility of productive dialogic exchanges.

Conclusion

In this article, I used discourse analytic methods to examine text-based conversations on transgender time-lapse videos. Specifically, I focused on the way YouTubers use misgendering language that assumes the lived gender experiences of transgender identities are less authentic than those of cisgender identities (Serano 2009; 2013). While an array of scholarship has documented trans vloggers and their practices in digital spaces, researchers have yet to use empirical methods to document and assess the types of speaker-audience-third-party interactions (Dynel 2014) that are taking place in the comment sections on trans YouTube vlogging videos.

Although vloggers receive an assortment of supportive commentaries from other vloggers and allies on their time-lapse videos, they also encounter YouTubers who take up marginalising stances that delegitimise, demean, fetishise, and objectify trans vlogger's gender identities and sex embodiments. Adopting the notion of stance (Du Bois 2007), I found that most YouTubers who discriminate against trans vloggers employ a combination mispronouncing, objectifying biological language, or retroactive misgendering (cf. Ansara and Hegarty 2014).

As I have shown, misgendering tactics serve as a stance attribution (Coupland and Coupland 2009), in that, YouTubers evoke the ideology of cisgenderism when they talk about, compliment, or ask questions about trans vloggers and their gender and sexed embodiments. When YouTubers use improper gender terminology or ask inappropriate questions about a vloggers anatomy, they – deliberately or unintentionally – call into question the legitimacy of trans subjectivities and reinforce cisnormative assumptions that restrict how society conceptualises gender. Discriminatory comments like those found in Examples 1–5, undermine the temporal pedagogy (cf. Barnett 2016; Horak 2014) created by the shifting imagery of a

body undergoing biochemical and social changes to live out their gender identities and expressions.

Stance theory is an empirical framework for researchers to trace how stance-takers evaluate trans vloggers using cisnormative assumptions, manufacture their identities by positioning themselves in relation to other YouTubers, and align or disalign with the opinions of the broader digital public. In dealing with misgendering stance-acts, YouTubers (trans vloggers and general spectators) collaborate through countermobilising efforts to address and dispel harmful comments that ignore or purposefully denigrate the lived genders of others.

Online, insurrectionary stance-acts take on a variety of forms. For example, commenters can accumulate responses that re-affirm a vlogger's self-designated gendered language (Example 1), expose cisnormative discourses that made a post problematic (Examples 3–5), or adopt linguistic tactics such as verbal irony or sarcasm to disarm the legitimacy of a YouTuber's argument (Example 2). Each of these strategies, in their own way, constituted a manner of calling out or publically shaming (Cloud 2009; Dame 2013) the problematic posts and assumptions they perpetuate. Although public shaming has the possibility of creating a hostile exchange between YouTubers, it also has the potential to unravel the pervasiveness of discriminatory attitudes. While misgendering stances aim to pressure their targets into certain forms of gender and sex embodiments, insurrectionary acts co-opt and call out the language of discrimination, lending legitimacy and authority to vloggers to create, enact, and live their own genders.

In Examples 4 and 5, for instance, vloggers took it upon themselves to explicitly call out (Dame 2013) problematic comments while not necessarily attacking the animator of the cisnormative discourses. Although I am not advocating that trans vloggers need to assume a position of authority or the role of an educator on YouTube, I am suggesting that pedagogy of accountability (Cloud 2009) provides avenues for YouTubers to think carefully about the way their words wound others or give these individuals the opportunity to apologise for an unintended offence.

Counter-stances do not foreclose the prospect for non-trans listeners to learn about a vlogger's gender transitions (Dame 2013). Instead, insurrectionary acts teach digital publics how to acknowledge more nuanced conceptualisations of sex and gender (Barnett 2016), and in the process, YouTubers can become more respectful dialogic partners. Future research should work closely with vloggers to understand how interactions between vloggers, commenters, and

third-party spectators open up pedagogical moments for addressing and dismantling cisnormative entitlement and assumptions. Examining the way commenters take up and negotiate stances can also speak to the frequency at which dialogic exchanges between a misgendering stance-takers and other commenters can lead to amicable conversations, shifting affiliations, and teaching moments.

Acknowledgements

The author is deeply indebted to the *Somatechnics* Journal guest editors Akkadia Ford and Quinn Eades for the generous feedback, guidance, and continued encouragement in all stages of this article. I would also like to convey my gratitude to the three anonymous reviewers whose comments provided insightful direction that transformed the organisation and arguments in constructive ways. A special thanks goes to organisers of *The 10th International Somatechnics Conference* who invited me to present an earlier version of this paper. And finally, I am grateful to all of the scholars who provided input on earlier drafts of this article and to Ian Wallace for helping me to remove any participant identifiers in Figures 1–5.

References

- Althusser, Louis (2014), *On the reproduction of capitalism: Ideology and ideological state apparatuses*, London; New York: Verso.
- Androutsopoulos, Jannis (2013), 'Participatory culture and metalinguistic discourse: Performing and negotiating German dialects on YouTube', in D. Tannen and A. M. Trester (eds.), *Discourse 2.0: Language and New Media*, Washington: Georgetown University Press, pp. 47–72.
- Ansara, Gavriel Y. and Israel Berger (2016), 'Cisgenderism', in Abbie E. Goldberg (ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of LGBTQ studies*, Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, pp. 230–234.
- Ansara, Gavriel Y. and Peter Hegarty (2012), 'Cisgenderism in psychology: Pathologising and misgendering children from 1999 to 2008', *Psychology & Sexuality*, 3:2, pp. 137–160.
- Ansara, Gavriel Y. and Peter Hegarty (2013), 'Misgendering in English language contexts: Applying non-cisgenderist methods to feminist research', *International Journal of Multiple Research Approaches*, 7:2, pp. 160–177.
- Ansara, Gavriel Y. and Peter Hegarty (2014), 'Methodologies of misgendering: Recommendations for reducing cisgenderism in psychological research', *Feminism & Psychology*, 24:2, pp. 259–270.
- Barnett, Joshua T. (2016), 'Fleshy metamorphosis: Temporal pedagogies of Transsexual counterpublics', in Leland G. Spencer and Jamie C. Capuzza (eds.), *Transgender Communication Studies*, London: Lexington Books, pp. 155–169.
- Baron, S. Naomi (2000), *Alphabet to email: How written English evolved and where it's heading*, London: Routledge.
- Barton, David and Carmen Lee (2013), *Language online: Investigating digital texts and practices*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Bishop, Katelynn (2016), 'Body modification and trans men', *Body & Society*, 22:1, pp. 62–91.

- Bou-Franch, Patricia, Lorenzo-Dus, Nuria and Garcés-Conejos Pilar Blitvich (2012), 'Social interaction in YouTube text-based polylogues: A study of coherence', *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 17:4, pp. 501–521.
- Butler, Judith (1996), *Excitable speech: Contemporary Scenes of Politics*, New York: Routledge.
- Chun, Elaine and Keith Walters (2011), 'Orienting to Arab orientalisms: Language, race, and humor in a YouTube Video', in Crispin Thurlow and Kristine Mroczek (eds.), *Digital Discourse: Language in New Media*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 251–273.
- Cloud, L. Dana (2009), 'Foiling the intellectuals: Gender, identity framing, and the rhetoric of the kill in conservative hate mail', *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 2:4, pp. 457–479.
- Collister, Brittany Lauren (2010), '*-repair in Online Discourse', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43, pp. 918–921.
- Coupland, Justine and Nikolas Coupland (2009), 'Attributing stance in discourses of body shape and weight loss', in Alexandra Jaffe (ed.), *Stance: Sociolinguistic perspectives*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 227–249.
- Dame, P. Avery (2013), "'I'm your hero? Like me?'" The role of "expert" in the trans male vlog', *Journal of Language and Sexuality*, 2:1, pp. 40–69.
- Du Bois, W. John (2007), 'The stance triangle', in Robert Englebretson (ed.), *Stance-taking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 139–182.
- Dynel, Marta (2014), 'Participation framework underlying YouTube interaction', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 73, pp. 37–52.
- Eberly, Rosa (2000), *Citizen critics: Literary public spheres*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Goodwin, Charles (2007), 'Participation, stance and affect in the organization of activities', *Discourse & Society*, 18:1, pp. 53–73.
- Herring, C. Susan (2010), 'Computer-mediated conversation: Introduction and overview', *Language@Internet*, 7.
- Herring, C. Susan (2012), 'Grammar and electronic communication', in Carol Chapelle (ed.), *Encyclopedia of applied linguistics*, Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Herring, C. Susan and Asta Zelenkauskaitė (2008), 'Gendered typography: Abbreviation and insertion in Italian iTV SMS', in Jason F. Siegal, Traci C. Nagle, Amandine Lorente-Lapole, and Julie Auger (eds.), *IUWPL7: Gender in language, classic questions, new contexts*, Bloomington, Indiana: IULC Publications, pp. 73–92.
- Horak, Laura (2014), 'Trans on YouTube: Intimacy, visibility, temporality', *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly*, 1:4, pp. 572–585.
- Jaffe, Alexandra (2009), 'Introduction: The sociolinguistics of stance', in Alexandra Jaffe (ed.), *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3–28.
- Jones, M. Graham and B. Bambi Schieffelin (2009), 'Talking text and talking back: "My BFF Jill" from Boob Tube to YouTube', *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 14:4, pp. 1050–1079.
- Keane, Webb (2015), *Ethical life: Its natural and social histories*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lennon, Erica and J. Brian Mistler (2014), 'Cisgenderism', *Transgender Studies Quarterly*, 1:1–2, pp. 63–64.
- Meyers, Greg (2011), *Discourse of blogs and wikis*, United Kingdom: Continuum International Publishing.
- Nordmarken, Sonny (2014), 'Microaggressions', *Transgender Studies Quarterly*, 1:1–2, pp. 129–134.

YouTube Commentaries on Trans-Time-lapse videos

- Ong, Kenneth Keng Wee (2011), 'Disagreement, confusion, disapproval, turn elicitation and floor holding: Actions as accomplished by ellipsis marks-only turns and blank turns in quasisynchronous chats', *Discourse Studies*, 13:2, pp. 211–234.
- Raclaw, Joshua (2006), 'Punctuation as social action: The ellipsis as a discourse marker in computer-mediated communication', *Linguistics Society and the Linguistic Society of America*, 32:1, pp. 299–306.
- Raun, Tobias (2010), 'Screen-births: Exploring the transformative potential in trans video blogs on YouTube', *Graduate Journal of Social Science*, 7:2, pp. 113–130.
- Raun, Tobias (2012), 'DIY therapy: Exploring affective aspects of trans video blogs on YouTube', in Adi Kuntsman and Athina Karatzogianni (eds.), *Digital Cultures and Politics of Emotion: Feeling, Affect and Technological Change*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 165–180.
- Raun, Tobias (2015a), 'Video blogging as a vehicle of transformation: Exploring the intersection between trans identity and information technology', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 18:3, pp. 365–378.
- Raun, Tobias (2015b), 'Archiving the wonders of testosterone via YouTube', *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly*, 2:4, pp. 701–709.
- Raun, Tobias (2016), *Out Online: Trans Self-Representation and Community Building on YouTube*, London; New York: Routledge.
- Serano, Julia (2009), *Whipping girl: a transsexual woman on sexism and the scapegoating of femininity*, Berkeley, California: Seal Press.
- Serano, Julia (2013), *Excluded: Making feminist and queer movements more inclusive*, Berkeley, California: Seal Press.
- Serano, Julia (2016), *Outspoken: A decade of transgender activism & trans feminism*. Oakland, California: Switch Hitter Press.
- Sloop, M. John (2004), *Disciplining gender: Rhetorics of sex identity in contemporary U.S. culture*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Stein, Arlene (2016), 'Transitioning out loud and online', *Contexts*, 15:2, pp. 40–45.
- Zimman, Lal and Kira Hall (2010), 'Language, embodiment and the 'third sex'', in Carmen Llamas and Dominic Watt (eds.), *Language and identities*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 166–178.