REMINDER

- **Minimum of 20 comments** due on the online discussion site by midnight, Monday, June 8th (the day before the Final)

**LING 156**
*Language & Gender*

Thursday, May 28th
(the last lecture of testable content!)

**Today**

- Performativity Revisited
- How Zulu Got its Clicks
- Performativity & Style
  - E&McG Chapter 9
  - Podesva et al. 2001
  - Hall 1995

**Performativity Revisited**

- Day 1:
  - *Difference & Dominance vs. Performativity*
- Since Then:
  - *Studies in Difference & Dominance*
  - *Studies in Performativity*

**Performativity Revisited**

- *Key Studies in Performativity*
  - Talbot: Women's magazines
  - Barrett: AADQs
  - Keisling: Frat members
  - Geenberg: Academics
  - Greene: Elliott Countians
  - Inoue: JWIL
  - Ochs & Taylor: Mothers
  - Gal: Oberwart, Austria
  - Labov: Martha’s Vineyard
  - Podesva: Gay & “diva”
  - Hall: Hijras
  - Hall: Phone sex workers

**Performativity Revisited**

- *Ideas congruent with Performativity:*
  - Practice
  - *Linguistic Market*
  - *Intersubjectivity*
  - Discourse
  - *Identity Construction*
  - Style
Performativity Revisited

• Can the linguistic performance of gender actually affect the linguistic structure of an entire language?

How Zulu Got its Clicks


Zulu Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant Type</th>
<th>Zulu Consonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive/stop</td>
<td>p, b, t, d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m, n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>f, v, s, z, j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
<td>tʃ, dʒ, kx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximant</td>
<td>j, w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral approximant</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral fricative</td>
<td>l, ɬ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 CLICK CONSONANTS:
 - c - dental
 - q - alveolar
 - x - lateral

Zulu Consonants

Variants:
- voiced/unvoiced,
- aspirated or nasalized

So, 15 different click sounds

To hear minimal pairs:
http://www.phonetics.ucla.edu/course/chapter6/zulu/zulu.html

How Zulu got its Clicks

"...clicks, which originally formed no characteristic of the Zulu tongue, but were many years ago borrowed from the Hottentots [sic], who revel in these verbal impediments [sic]"

(NYT, 1884)
Khoi-San and Bantu languages

Khoesan / Khoisan / Khoi-San languages (e.g. Nama 250,000 speakers, Sandawe 40,000 speakers) are known for their click consonants.

Only southern Bantu languages (e.g. Xhosa 8 million speakers, Zulu 11 million speakers) have click consonants. These are not part of the original Bantu consonant inventory.

Khoi-San and Bantu languages

Northern Bantu languages (e.g. Swahili 5 million native speakers, 50 million 2nd language speakers) have no clicks.

How did Zulu get clicks?

• Herbert (1990): Hlonipa
  
  “a sociolinguistic taboo [that was] ultimately responsible for extensive restructuring of the Bantu phonologies.”

Borrowing

• When speakers of language A adopt features of language B until they become an integral part of language A.

Borrowing

• With Bantu expansion into southern Africa, Bantu languages came into contact with Khoi-San languages.

• Normally, language contact results in many kinds of borrowing. But the only major borrowing of Khoi-San by Bantu were the Khoi-San clicks.

• These clicks sometimes occur in core vocabulary, which is generally more resistant to outside influence.
Hlonipa

- Southern Bantu (Zulu & Xhosa) marriage was patrilocal
- Bantu men intermarried with Khoi-San women:
  “The period of Khoisan-Bantu intermarriage lasted between three and five centuries.”
- The wife, arriving in her husband’s family’s homestead, had a socially inferior position, and was expected to show respect to her husband’s family
- Hlonipa was one important way in which she was expected to show respect

Hlonipa

- Hlonipa: “respect through avoidance”
- Technically: the avoidance of pronouncing honored people’s names or parts of their names

Hlonipa

- In some cases, all members of a community would not pronounce a chief’s name
- Most commonly, women did not pronounce the names of their husband’s relations, particularly his father
- Most extreme was the avoidance of all male relation’s names, and the mother-in-law’s

Hlonipa Strategies

- Ellipsis
  - umkhono > umono; ‘foreleg’
- Synonymy
  - kufa ‘to die’ > kushona ‘to set; to die’
- Derivation
  - imbuti ‘goat’ > inkhuleko ‘thing for tethering’ from kukhuleka ‘to tether’
- Consonant substitution
  - ulunya > ulucha; ‘cruelty’

an extreme English example

- William Green’s parents:
  - Father = Robert
  - Mother = Grace
- William’s wife can’t say the syllables of these names:
  - rob ert green will grace
- Grace will not eat green yogurt
  Becomes something like:
  The older daughter of Smith refuses to eat green-colored yomix

How did Zulu get clicks?

- Consonant Substitution:
  - Why not use clicks? They were a useful linguistic resource for Khoi-San wives of Southern Bantu husbands!
  - Herbert (1990)'s analysis: Khoi-San women replaced consonants in forbidden syllables with the click consonants from their own language

Other arguments in favor of Herbert:

1. If it were just a matter of mothers passing clicks on to children, why did nothing else in the language get borrowed?
2. "Hlonipha is most pervasive in those same ... languages that exhibit the greatest number of click types, namely, Zulu and Xhosa. The practice of Hlonipha is less entrenched in Swazi, which exhibits a single click type."

the Social shapes the Linguistic

- Like honorifics in Japanese, Hlonipa in Zulu is a linguistic resource for showing deference
- Like honorifics in Japanese, Hlonipa is also instrumental in constructing the gender order
- Hlonipa likely aided in (or, it seems, caused) the adoption and integration of click consonants into the Southern Bantu languages of today

Style

"All of the linguistic practices we have discussed in the previous chapters can be thought of as constituting a conventional toolbox for constructing gender identities and relations."

(E&McG p305)

Style

"One can look upon gender as a set of constraints that one embraces or simply accepts, that one struggles within, or that one struggles against. But these constraints are not set for all time, and it is people's day-to-day actions that make them change."

"As the constraints change, do so the resources in the toolbox...

Each person uses the toolbox in their own way...

Some of these uses may be automatic -- the product of long-ingrained habit -- some of them much be quite consciously strategic.

The outcome is a *communicative style.*"
**Style**

“Style combines what we do and how we do it. It is not a facade behind which the “real” self stands but it is the manifestation of a self we present to the world.”

**(E&McG p307)**

**Style**

“Often, perhaps even usually, there is not self-conscious deliberation... The important point is that people speak in certain ways rather than others for reasons even though they may be unable to articulate those reasons.”

**(E&McG p307)**

**Style**

Over time, patterns will emerge, and those patterns will form a person’s style.

“When we talk about style, we are talking about a process that connects combinations of elements of behavior with social meaning.”

**(E&McG p307; p308)**

**Bricolage**

- Hebdige 1984
- Taking available elements and recombining them into something new
- A cite of agency, but occurring in the context of social constraints

**Performativity**

“In saying that gender is performance, we are not saying that it is not real. We are saying, rather, that this personal reality comes not from within, but from our participation in the global performance that is the social order.”

**(E&McG p321)**

**Small Group Discussion**

This -- the main theoretical idea of this course -- still might make you uncomfortable.

In fact, you may feel the need to vehemently disagree with it.

**Let’s talk about that!**
Small Group Discussion

- What analyses present an alternative to the performative & discursive construction of the social order?
- How would those analyses account for, e.g., the differences in gendered behavior across different (U.S. & World) cultures?
- What kind of evidence would you need to support that analysis?

Performativity Revisited

Some research (and common ideology) is essentialist not in the sense of attributing behavior to biology, but attributing behavior to an "underlying character type"

“A different perspective might be to attribute character types to the regular engagement in particular types of performance”

(E&McG p317)

Podesva, Robert J., Sarah Roberts & Kathryn Campbell-Kibler (all Stanford graduates, btw)


Performativity Revisited

“We explain our understanding of style as the ongoing construction of identity, built both directly through linguistic (and other) resources, and indirectly through the performance of social acts or activities, and the projection of emotive stances.”

Podesva, Roberts & Campbell-Kibler (p176)

Critique of Traditional Analyses

- Studies correlating variation with 'style' & pre-determined social categories
- Where 'style' = formal/informal
- Problems:
  1. Cause or effect?
  2. Assumes stability over time
  3. Limits style to one dimension

Why “Indexicality”?

- To say a feature is “gay”
  1. erases differences between ways of being “gay”
  2. erases the use of that feature by people who don’t identity as “gay”
  3. essentializes a speaker’s identity as being a sexual orientation
Why “Indexicality”?

- To say a feature indexes “gay”
  1. avoids those pitfalls!
  2. avoids the traditional-analysis pitfalls (e.g., allows for change over time)
  3. makes it possible to identify the broader meanings that make connections to “gay” possible in the first place

The Study

- Two speaker, a gay activist lawyer (A) and his nondescript debate opponent (B)
- Debating on a radio talk show
- Measurements of various phonetic variables (vowel & consonant durations, etc.)

The Results

- Very few phonetic differences between the two speakers (A & B)

The Results

- e.g., ‘A’ is presenting a gay persona but is avoiding a wide pitch range
- Analysis: wide pitch range is not “gay” but rather “flamboyantly gay” (or, later, “diva”)

The Results

- The one quantitative difference: ‘A’ has more released stop consonants than ‘B’
- Analysis: indexes precision; constructs A’s lawyer persona; this also helps him sound ‘less [flamboyantly] gay’ in a context where that’s desired

The Analysis

“We posit that the phenomenon of not sounding too gay is not merely a function of dampening general features that say ‘gay’, but a different performance entirely. ‘Too gay’ here is, in fact, a code. It is code for other social meanings associated with gay men and particular gay styles such as frivolity, promiscuity, and excitability.”
The Analysis

“While speaking to potentially hostile audiences, activists often construct themselves in opposition to these images... Invoking cultural ideas concerning education and authority is one way to distance oneself from these qualities.”

The Take-Home

1. In contrast to common ideologies about “the voice,” there are multiple ways of presenting a gay identity
2. In contrast to the interpretation of “one variable, one meaning” a variable can index a field of meanings and multiple identities

Phone Sex Workers


Phone Sex Workers

- Linguistic Market
- Authenticity & Identity
- Gender & Sexuality
- Lakoff’s Women’s Language

Main Point Summary

- Performativity Revisited
- How Zulu Got its Clicks
- Performativity & Style
  - E&McG Chapter 9
  - Podesva et al. 2001
  - Hall 1995

Next Time...

Dead Week: Review for the Final
- Tuesday, June 2: Guest Discussant: Penny Eckert
  Bring your questions to class!!!
  Practice Final Exam will be available for download by Tuesday morning
- Thursday, June 4: Review of concepts + Names
  just for fun: trends in first names by gender; cross-cultural differences in naming practices; last names