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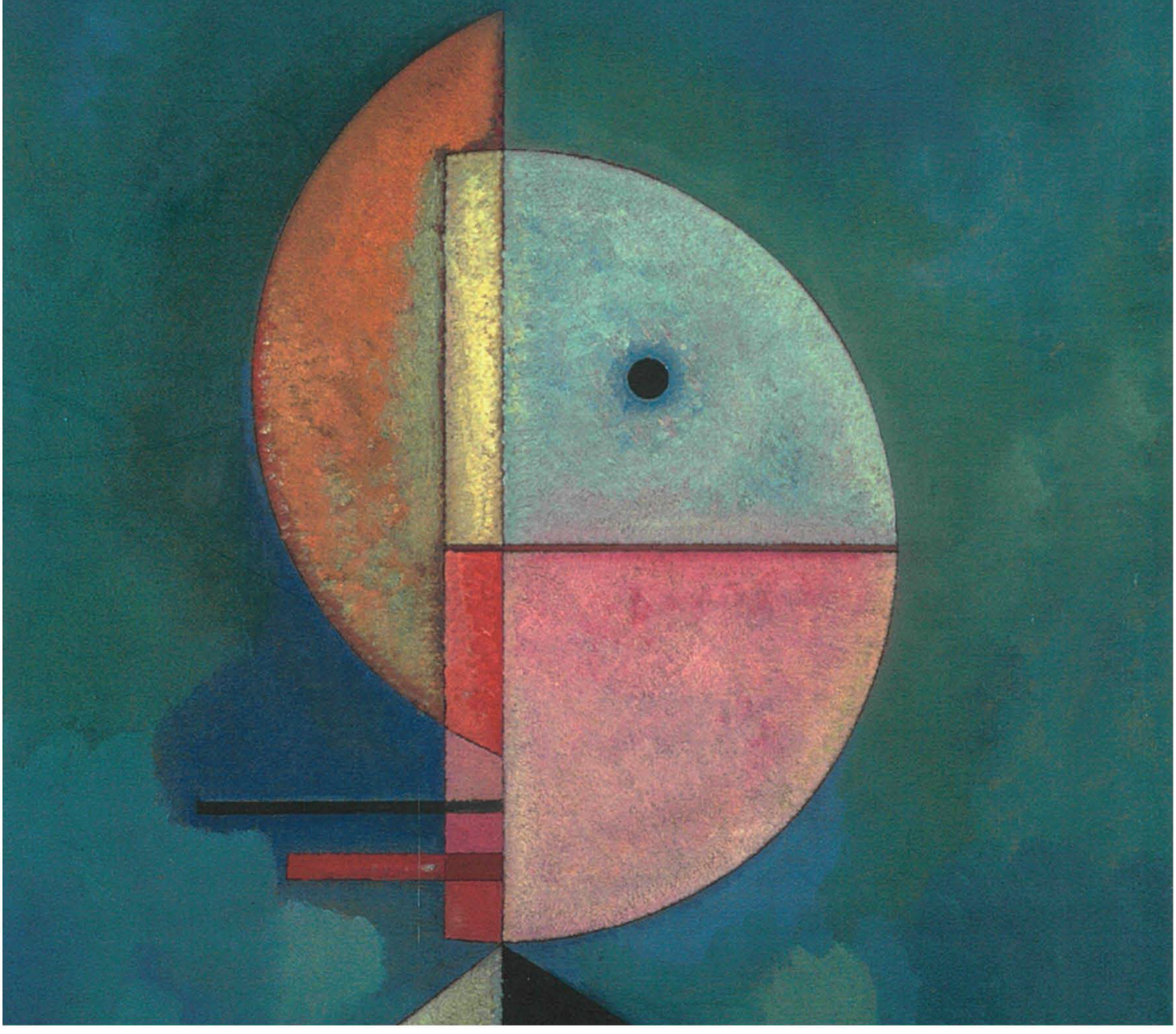
HOW GENDER SHAPES THE WORLD

ALEXANDRA Y. AIKHENVALD



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ALEXANDRA Y. AIKHENVALD

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In loving memory of remarkable and independent women in whose shadow I grew up—my great-aunt Frania S. Rosman who showed what a woman can achieve against all odds, my grandmother Maria S. Bonné who educated me concerning the nature of the status of women, and my great-grandmother Nina K. Aikhenvald whose indomitable spirit and strength inspired me.

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Abbreviations and conventions

1	first person (I)
2	second person (you)
3	third person (she, he, it, they)
A	transitive subject
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ANIM	animate
ART	article
AUX	auxiliary
CL	classifier
dim	diminutive
DOM	differential object marking
ERG	ergative
fem, FEM	feminine
GEN	genitive
IMPERS	impersonal
IMPV	imperative
INANIM	inanimate
inanim	inanimate
INDEF	indefinite
LK	linker
LOC	locative
masc, MASC	masculine
NCL	noun class
NEG	negation
NOM	nominalization
NUM.CL	numeral classifier
O	object
pl	plural
POSS	possessive

PRES	present
S	intransitive subject
sg	singular
VERT	vertical
VIS	visual

Numbers of examples, tables, boxes, figures, and schemes consist of the chapter number and then are numbered consecutively. So, Table 6.1 is the first table in Chapter 6. The majority of examples from different languages are glossed and then translated into English. I keep the original orthography and also the glossing of the quoted sources.

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1

The multifaceted Gender

The multifaceted notion of 'gender' pervades every aspect of life and of living. Gender differences form the basis for family life, patterns of socialization, distribution of tasks, spheres of responsibility, and occupational predilections. Understanding the nature of 'gender' is central to many disciplines—anthropology, sociology (and, of course, women's studies), criminology, linguistics, and biology, to name a few. The way gender is articulated shapes the world of individuals, and of the societies they live in.

To different people, the word 'gender' means different things. For a grammarian and a linguist concerned with the structure of languages, 'gender' is a linguistic way of categorizing nouns reflected in their form, the form of an adjective or a verb which would agree with the noun, or a personal pronoun.

For a sociolinguist, a psychologist, and an anthropologist, 'gender' is a set of norms, attitudes, feelings, and behaviours that a given culture or society associates with the person's biological sex (male or female). A philosopher defines gender as 'social construction of male/female identity' distinct from 'sex, the biologically-based distinction between men and women'.[1] Gender is also defined as a set of ideas about relations and behaviours, and principles of social organization, to be understood within a social context.[2] For some, 'gender' reflects a social and cultural elaboration of sex differences, 'a process that restricts our social roles, opportunities, and expectations', and also determines some ways in which we speak.[3] And when we fill in a customs declaration, we need to state which gender we belong to—male or female. That is, in day-to-day usage, the term 'gender' has expanded at the expense of 'sex': then gender is a physiological distinction between men and women.

How to reconcile all the different meanings packaged into one word?

1.1 Disentangling 'Gender'

The multifaceted concept of Gender has three faces.

- LINGUISTIC GENDER. This is the original sense of 'gender' as a linguistic term. One class of nouns may be marked in a particular way, another class in another way. That class which includes most words referring to females is called 'feminine',

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similarly for males and 'masculine'. Gender classes are defined by their male and female members but may extend beyond those. The ways in which animals, birds, insects, plants, and natural phenomena (such as thunder and wind) are assigned to genders may reflect their roles in legends and metaphors, and reveal folk taxonomies. Linguistic Gender is integrated in the grammar, and is one of the ways languages use to categorize nouns.

- NATURAL GENDER. This is what was until recently simply called 'sex'—male versus female. A female is able to bear children, a male is not. Natural Gender entails anatomical and hormonal differences, linked to concomitant physiological and psychological traits. In the day-to-day use, 'gender' has just about displaced the term 'sex'—perhaps felt to be too blunt and rude.
- SOCIAL GENDER. This reflects the social implications, and norms, of being a man or a woman (or perhaps something in between). In Simone de Beauvoir's (1949: 267) adage: 'One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman.' In many traditional societies of New Guinea, social manhood is achieved, and defined, through male initiation. Similarly, in other traditional societies, social womanhood used to be achieved through female initiation. Social Gender relates to contrasting social roles of the sexes, and how these are embodied in cultural practices and public ritualized behaviour. (These patterns include conventions for the behaviour of men and women, known as 'gender etiquette', social stereotypes associated with males and females, and a traditional complex of knowledge and beliefs about mythical women and mythical men.[4])

The three faces of Gender interact. Investigations of Natural Gender focus on innate biological differences between men and women. They are also played out in the ways men and women communicate, within their Social Genders. As Labov (1972: 304) puts it, 'the sexual differentiation of speakers is... not a product of physical factors alone', but 'rather an expressive posture which is socially more appropriate for one sex or another'. In a ground-breaking study of physical features of 'women's' speech among the Tohono O'odham (a Uto-Aztecan group from Mexico), Hill and Zepeda (1999) show how women (not men) use a pulmonic ingressive airstream in order to construct a special atmosphere of conversational intimacy, taking advantage of size differences between male and female vocal tracts. Such sound production is easier to achieve with the smaller female larynx and pharynx. Physical attributes—including high pitched voice—typical of female Natural Gender come to be associated with 'female talk', and redeployed as tokens of Social Gender and associated attitudes.

The difference between Natural Gender, or sex, and Linguistic Gender was captured by Jespersen (1949: 174):

> Sex is a natural quality shown primarily in the productive organs... Gender is a grammatical category. Many languages have class distinctions of different characters. Gender in primary

words (chiefly substantives [nouns]) is not always shown by the form of the word itself, but it may influence the form of other words (secondary) and is thus chiefly a syntactic category. Languages vary very much with regard to the number of classes distinguished, also with regard to the correspondence forums between these grammatical classes and natural distinctions such as those of sex, between big and small, between living and lifeless, etc. Gender thus cannot be defined as the grammatical expression of sex, but may relate to other things.

Natural Gender and Social Gender work together creating stereotypes of behaviour in each society and culture. Ortner and Whitehead (1981: 1) put this as follows:

> Natural features of gender, and natural processes of sex and reproduction, furnish only a suggestive and ambiguous backdrop to the cultural organization of gender and sexuality. What gender, what men and women are, what sorts of relations do or should obtain between them—all of these notions do not simply reflect or elaborate upon biological 'givens', but are largely products of social and cultural processes.[5]

The division of biological, or 'Natural' Genders, goes beyond a male and female dichotomy. Numerous traditional and modern societies have 'groups whose gender identities and enactments fall outside of sociocultural norms for women and men'—these are the ones described as 'a third sex', or a 'third (Natural) Gender'.[6] 'Transgender' is another umbrella term which encompasses those whose behaviour shows patterns associated with the opposite sex—including transsexuals, transvestites, and drag queens and kings. Transsexuals are those whose Social Gender identity does not correspond to the male or female Natural Gender characteristics they were born with. Some undergo sex-reassignment surgery to change their biological features, so that it should match their gender identity. Transvestites are men and women in terms of their Natural Gender who dress and behave as members of the opposite gender. The way gays, lesbians, and transgender people speak reflects their identity as special groups, and highlights linguistic features perceived as characteristic of being 'male' or 'female'. One of these features is manipulating Linguistic Gender. Brigitte Martel, a transsexual male who became female, aptly captured this in the title of her autobiography by changing Linguistic Genders which accompanied the change of her Natural and Social Gender from male to female: *Né homme, comment je suis devenue femme*—'Born (masculine) a man, how I became (feminine) woman'. Hijras—womanly men in India and Nepal—talk about themselves using feminine or masculine Linguistic Gender depending on circumstances and attitudes.[7]

Traditionally, transgender practices play a role in initiation and other rituals across the world. These include Naven, made famous by Gregory Bateson, and further explored in the literature on Sepik cultures, and across New Guinea.[8] Cross-dressing of men as women during initiation ceremonies in the Sepik area and the Highlands of New Guinea is thought to be a way of getting initiates to acquire a proper male social identity—or masculine Social Gender—and rationalize sexual roles (usually characterized by male dominance). Male and female transgender people have been documented

for numerous groups of the North American Plains. Just a few correlations with language have so far been recorded for these cultural practices.[9]

From a linguist's perspective, Linguistic Gender occupies a central position in shaping the role and the meanings of Gender in its three faces. Linguistic Gender as a way of categorizing entities through language—and other realizations of Social and Natural Gender in language—shapes the world we live in and the ways we perceive and construct it. Other aspects of language use also set women and men apart. These include ways of speaking, speech genres and speech practices, and often politeness forms.

The multifaceted concept of 'gender' spans a linguistic category, a complex of social norms, and a set of biological features. This book is about the ways in which gender is reflected in language—and more specifically, the role of Linguistic Gender in the expression of Social Gender and Natural Gender, their manipulations and development.

1.2 What is special about Linguistic Gender

Some linguistic categories show strong correlations with cultural values, social hierarchies, and their conceptualization. Imperatives and commands reflect relationships between people: for instance, if a speaker of Dolakha Newar is considerably younger than the addressee, or is talking to someone they particularly respect, they will use special honorific imperatives. Simple imperatives will be reserved for their equals.[10] Meanings encoded within possessive structures often reflect relationships within a society, and change if the society changes.

Together with other ways of categorizing nouns, Linguistic Gender tends to mirror social and cultural stereotypes and patterns of human perception. Linguistic Gender is a repository of beliefs about what men and women are like and how they behave, and features which are 'male'-like or 'female'-like.[11] Language planning, political correctness, and societal changes shape various aspects of Linguistic Gender—especially with regard to how humans are categorized. The ways in which people use Linguistic Gender may mirror the status of Social Genders. For instance, in Jarawara, a small Arawá language from southern Amazonia, a particularly respected woman can be referred to with masculine gender, as if she were being 'promoted' to the male gender status. Genders reflect the history of ideas and attitudes. The recent trend against the generic masculine pronoun in English reflects the ways in which established stereotypes can be gradually remoulded.

More than half the world's languages have Linguistic Gender in their grammar.[12] As Franz Boas (a founding father of modern linguistics) put it, languages differ not in what one can say but in what kind of information must be stated: 'grammar... determines those aspects of each experience that *must* be expressed' (Boas 1938: 132). Having to be always conscious of which Linguistic Gender to apply—especially

to humans—makes one alert to other faces of Gender, as a natural division of people into male, female, and perhaps 'other', and as a cultural and social construct.

Linguistic Gender comes in many guises and serves many masters. It helps follow the thread of communication, and figure out who or what is being talked about. Having an obligatory Linguistic Gender allows for rich and expansive imagery, and makes the language we speak more colourful and versatile. Linguistic gender, its choice and associations, is something speakers are ready to discuss and argue about. This meta-linguistic perception of gender makes it central for metaphors—especially in poetry.

No term in linguistics is fully straightforward; there is some approximation in each. Of all linguistic terms, 'gender' is uniquely polysemous in its coverage—it subsumes 'gender' in a strict grammatical meaning, and extends to a biological division of humans into males and females, and to conventionalized differences in their social status and linguistic behaviour. The diffuse nature of the term is sometimes irritating—as every mention of the term has to be unpacked and explained. Turkish can be considered 'gender-less'—in terms of the absence of grammatical Linguistic Gender. Yet meanings of Linguistic Gender can be expressed through some derivational affixes on nouns, e.g. *hoc-anım* 'female teacher'. And the language is not 'gender-neutral' in the sense that Social Genders find their expression through other means. A nurse is likely to be a woman, and a taxi driver a man.[13]

On the other hand, the advantage of having a general term encompassing every aspect of gender classification—linguistic, biological, and social—helps bring the three together, and highlight their commonalities and the ways in which they may influence each other. The ambiguity of the term 'Gender' alerts us to the existence of an overarching concept behind it, spanning linguistic expression, social aspects, and biological features. Linguistic Gender in its various guises and the expression of Gender in language reflect and shape Social Gender stereotypes, associations, and attitudes, in their relationship to Natural—or biological—Gender distinctions.[14] This is what this book is about.

Linguistic Gender is a way of categorizing nouns. It always involves universal features of sex, humanness, and animacy, and is a window into social life and cognitive patterns. But Linguistic Gender classification goes beyond male and female. As we will see throughout Chapter 2 (particularly in §2.4), Linguistic Genders are also used to categorize inanimate entities. This is where we might find that a gender labelled 'feminine' would include more than just females, and the one labelled 'masculine' more than just males. The term 'neuter' tends to refer to a gender which includes inanimate (or irrational) beings, or a residue gender whose semantic basis is difficult to capture. The choice of Linguistic Gender can be based on clues other than just the meaning of a noun. Feminine and masculine genders often include inanimate nouns with no connection to female or male sex, e.g. French *maison* 'house' (feminine), *château* 'castle' (masculine).

In Antoine Meillet's (1964: 164) words, gender provides an example of 'a grammatical category that plays (in a good many of the modern Indo-European languages) a considerable role in morphology without answering, most of the time, to a definite meaning'—especially where inanimate nouns are concerned.

The partial semantic opacity of Linguistic Gender has earned it a bad reputation, among some linguists and lay people who complain that Linguistic Gender is hard to learn. Jespersen (1972: 108) praised Modern English for losing complex agreement in Linguistic Gender—as found in Old English—and making things easier and more straightforward:

> In Old English, as in all the old cognate languages, each substantive [noun], no matter whether it referred to animate beings or thing or abstract notions, belonged to one or other of the three gender-classes. Thus masculine pronouns and endings were found with names of a great many things which had nothing to do with male sex (e.g. *horn*, *ende* 'end', *ebba* 'ebb', *dæg* 'day') and similarly feminine pronouns and endings with many words without any relation to female sex (e.g. *sorh* 'sorrow', *glof* 'glove', *plume* 'plum', *pipe*). Anyone acquainted with the intricacies of the same system (or want of system) in German will feel how much English has gained in clearness and simplicity by giving up these distinctions and applying *he* only to male, and *she* only to female, living beings. The distinction between animate and inanimate now is much more accentuated than it used to be.

Throughout this book we will see how important Linguistic Gender is for many aspects of human communication. And Linguistic Gender in English is not as simple and clear as it may seem. The ways in which the use of pronouns, especially the generic *he*, have changed in recent years reflect social developments and the changing status of Social Genders across the English-speaking world.

What is so special about the Linguistic Gender? How does it interact with Social Gender and Natural Gender, across languages and cultures? What makes it a useful linguistic resource rather than an encumbrance for poor language learners? And how does the integrated complex of resources of Natural Gender, Linguistic Gender, and the evolving images of Social Gender play out in view of societal changes? How can Linguistic Gender and the semantic composition of categories related to 'male' and 'female' undergo restructuring in language planning? These are the questions we approach in the present study.

Throughout the book, I have chosen to capitalize Linguistic Gender, Natural Gender, and Social Gender—to stress the fact that all of these are ultimately just nicknames which only partly capture the concepts and categories they cover.

1.3 How this book is organized

We start, in Chapter 2, with Linguistic Gender and its expression. Many languages of the world have a gender system in their grammar. The size of the system varies.

There are two genders in French, three in German, four in Dyirbal (from North Queensland in Australia), more elsewhere. We seldom find an exact correspondence between masculine/feminine (Linguistic Gender) and male/female sex (Natural Gender). In German most nouns referring to females are feminine but *Mädchen* 'girl' is in neuter gender (because it contains the diminutive suffix *-chen* which is always neuter). Linguistic Gender may span grammar and lexicon; vide *he-man*, *tom-boy* in English. Gender may be distinguished in personal pronouns only, as in English. This chapter covers the formal properties of Linguistic Genders, gender agreement, and anaphoric gender, and the ways in which Linguistic Gender interacts with other linguistic categories. We then focus on different principles of Linguistic Gender choice—by meaning and also by form—and look at the problem of markedness in Linguistic Genders.

Linguistic Genders always include semantic parameters of animacy, humanness, and sex, or Natural Gender. In a number of languages, the choice of Linguistic Genders—especially for inanimate entities—is based on their shape and size. The meanings of Linguistic Genders may involve value and importance—reflecting associations with, and stereotypes of, Social Genders. This is the topic of Chapter 3, 'Round women and long men: physical properties in Linguistic Gender'.

Linguistic Genders have a plethora of functions—they help highlight different meanings of the same noun, track referents in discourse, and are a source of elaborate metaphors. In a number of languages a noun can be assigned to more than one Linguistic Gender with a change in meaning: these underscore the versatility, and the utility of Linguistic Genders as a means of classifying entities of the world, debunking the myth of gender as an arbitrary and redundant category. We discuss these in Chapter 4, 'What are Linguistic Genders good for?'

Meanings associated with Linguistic Genders—animacy, humanness, and sex—can be expressed through a variety of other means. These include noun categorization devices, or classifiers, and many noun categories, including case and number. So-called 'gender-less' languages have ways of expressing gender meanings, through using different words for males and females, or different affixes to distinguish sexes. Attitudes to Social Genders—often downplaying the status of women—come to light through the use of terms and forms in 'gender-less' languages. Chapter 5, 'Gender meanings in grammar and lexicon', addresses these issues.

In Chapter 6, 'The rise and fall of Linguistic Genders', we turn to where Linguistic Genders come from, how they may get restructured over time, and how they can be lost altogether. If languages are in contact, they often come to share their Linguistic Genders. Contact is often to blame for the demise of Genders. Adaptability of Linguistic Gender in situations of language contact and language obsolescence further attests to its vital importance, and functionality. This chapter also touches upon the acquisition of Linguistic Genders by children, and their loss in language dissolution. Linguistic Genders can be reshaped as part of conscious language

engineering: this issue is mentioned in Chapter 6, and then discussed in some more detail in Chapter 11.

What happens when men are assigned to the feminine Linguistic Gender and women to the masculine—that is, if Linguistic Genders are reversed? This may be done for a joke, or the effect may imply offence, praise, solidarity, and endearment—based on subtle overtones of value underlying Social Genders. Reversing Linguistic Gender of humans—speaking of a man as if he were a woman, and of a woman as if she were a man—highlights the stereotypes associated with male and female Social Gender. We also discuss the overtones of the word meaning 'man' used to refer to people in general, and markedness, status, and power—intrinsically associated with Social Gender categories—as reflected in Linguistic Gender choice. These are the topics discussed in Chapter 7, 'Manly women and womanly men: the effects of gender reversal'.

Linguistic Genders are a source of metaphors and poetic imagery. They reflect myths, beliefs, and traditions of the speakers. Linguistic Genders may mirror Social Gender patterns, as we saw in Chapter 7. In addition, Linguistic Genders and their meanings may affect cognition and the ways in which people perceive the world around them. Men and women have different physical characteristics which relate to their Social Genders. These are the topics of Chapter 8, 'The images of gender'.

Social Gender finds its linguistic expression through the ways in which men and women speak. Differences between male and female ways of speaking exist in any language. Natural Gender properties—such as higher pitch and narrow vocal tract—account for some of such differences. Male and female speech distinctions can be paralinguistic (that is, differences may lie in higher pitch for women's speech, and other phonetic features, plus facial and bodily gestures). Or they may be conventionalized as an integral part of grammar or lexicon: this is the case in 'gender-exclusive languages' where men and women have different phonemic systems, or obligatorily use different words, or different sound correspondences. In a number of languages—from linguistic minorities in North and South America, Siberia, and India to Japanese and Thai—such differences between women's and men's dialects are obligatory and striking. Conventionalized registers known as 'women's speech' and 'men's speech' where gender indexicals systematically span phonological, morphological, and lexical domains have been described for numerous languages in North America, the Chukotko-Kamchatkan family in Siberia, and a few in Amazonia. The choice of code may be determined by a combination of Natural Gender and Social Gender: In Koasati, a Muskogean language from North America, using male code is a mark of authority. According to the male Atsinas, from the Algonquian family, 'male' status is acquired by birth and social and cultural maturity; and it is thus natural that a racial and cultural outsider be addressed with a female form.[15] 'Male' and 'female' are an achieved status, and not an innate property.

Patterns of male and female speech, or male and female dialects, can be deployed in constructing one's identity. Members of the third gender—including hijras in

India, and gays, lesbians, and transvestites in Western societies—deploy male and female speech differences, Linguistic Gender, and many other linguistic features, to project an image of a male or a female in a Social Gender sense. Chapter 9, 'When women and men speak differently', focuses on distinct speech patterns corresponding to the divisions in Social Gender, and gender-determined variation in speech practices in gender-variable languages.

Men and women may have different speech styles and master different genres. In Chapter 10, 'The rituals of gender', we further explore the roles of Social Genders in traditional societies where women and men used to be associated with distinct domains, and different speech styles. This is where the asymmetry, and the lack of equality, between women and men is particularly apparent. Special languages and language registers can come to be used in male-only rituals. A whole set of terms may be forbidden to women. Women can be viewed either as keepers and promoters of prestigious linguistic norm, and traditional language, or as dangerous 'others' which lead the society in the wrong direction. Conventionalized speech practices reflect the relative standing of, and the asymmetry between, Social Genders.

How does Linguistic Gender reflect social changes—and the improvement of the woman's place (using the title of Robin Lakoff's 1975 classic book)? In Chapter 11, 'Gender in grammar and society', we discuss the impact of social changes in the position of women on the use of Linguistic Genders and classifiers, including the avoidance of generic use for male terms and trends for European languages to become more 'gender-equal'. The feminist movement plays a particular role in shaping language change. Throughout the history of feminism and the backlash against it, language has been used as a rhetorical weapon—reflecting power relationships, investigating social and linguistic discrimination, and the embodiment and sexualization of women, and their traditional activities, as a way of putting women down. Feminist theories have played a substantial role in working out problems with women's status and obtaining equality—and even more, moving away from polarization and classification based on 'sex'. We focus on how language reflects gender in all its guises, and how the linguistic treatment of 'women' can be seen as a barometer of social change.

The last chapter—'The heart of the matter: envoi'—summarizes the main points—the meanings and expression of Linguistic Gender and their correlations with gender as a social construct, together with changes in Linguistic Gender choice, and form, depending on changes in world view, cosmology, and social realities in flux.

1.4 The empirical basis, and a note on conventions

This book is focused on the three faces of gender across languages and cultures of the world. It has an empirical inductive focus—relying on facts rather than on ad hoc theories and hypotheses.[16] This study is based on an investigation of about 700 languages and—where possible—their social environment. Special attention has been

paid to data from languages on which I have first-hand expertise, and to minority languages and groups which have not yet been given enough prominence in the existing literature on aspects of gender. Giving prominence to minority languages and cultures helps avoid a bias towards Western stereotypes and westernized perception of women and men. For instance, a treatment of Linguistic Genders—which deviates from what one is accustomed to in familiar Indo-European languages—as 'non-canonical' reflects the weight, and the bias, of post-colonial traditionalism. This is what I have attempted to eschew.

Throughout this book, I have only been able to mention a portion of the available literature, and only a selection of examples. A fair number of works on gender in its various guises have not been mentioned here—either because they provide additional instances and anthropological rather than language-oriented discussion of points exemplified here, or because they are not exactly relevant to the ways linguistic phenomena are used, or because they make claims which are not fully authenticated or convincing, or contain mistakes and misinterpretations which make them unreliable. I could not cite all the examples of every particular phenomenon—otherwise the book would have become immense. I usually provide a particularly illustrative example, and mention other similar ones (in a note). If a certain phenomenon is found in more than half of the languages under consideration I call it 'relatively frequent'; if it is found in a restricted number of languages (one to ten), I cite all of them and indicate its rarity. Note, however, that what appears rare to us at the present stage of knowledge may turn out to be more frequent when we start learning more about hitherto little-known languages and areas. This is the reason why I chose at this stage not to give any statistical counts. Only about one-tenth of all human languages—and societies in which they are spoken—have been documented so far; it therefore seems most judicious to follow a qualitative approach, postponing quantitative analysis some time in the future, when more data is available and can be assessed.

This book contains many examples from—and many mentions of—languages from various areas and genetic groupings. When the language is introduced for the first time, its affiliation and where it is spoken is given in brackets—for instance, 'Kwami (a Chadic language from Nigeria)'. Later mentions of the same language do not include this information—which is summarized in the Index of languages at the end of the book. At the end of each chapter the reader will find notes and sources.

This books aims at unravelling how Linguistic Gender, Social Gender, and Natural Gender interact, viewed through the eyes of a linguist. As the societies move towards greater equality of Social Genders in their attitudes and practices, the languages they speak evolve. I have tried to capture some of the dynamics of how the expression of multifaceted Gender reflects the world of perception, cognition, and social change. As Bolinger (1991: 319) puts it, 'no matter how wide the net is cast, a fish or two always escapes'. There will always be room for upcoming enthusiasts to cast their nets wider.

NOTES AND SOURCES

1. Bullock, Stallybrass, and Trombley (1977: 348).
2. This is the definition on the website of the American Psychological association. Many sources focus on issues of Social Gender and individual aspects of its linguistic expression. A full bibliography and critique will be a task on its own. A comprehensive bibliography on Social Gender is in Upton (2012); see also definitions and references in Holmes and Meyerhof (2003), Kramarae and Treichler (1992: 173); Baron (1986), Coates (1993, 2012), Mills (2003a, 2003b, 2008), Talbot (2010), Coates and Pichler (2011), McConnell-Ginet (2014), and also Romaine (1999); Aikhenvald (2015b) is an up-to-date bibliography on Linguistic Gender. Silverstein (1985: 220–3) identifies a further meaning of 'gender'—that of an ideology of the ways in terms of which gendered language and the patterns of variation are understood by speakers themselves.
3. Cheshire (2002: 423).
4. The *Oxford English Dictionary Online* describes 'gender' as 'the state of being male or female', also stating that 'gender' is a linguistic term and refers to the 'grammatical classification of nouns and related words, which roughly corresponds to the two sexes and sexlessness'. Terms 'natural gender', or 'biological gender' are sometimes used interchangeably.
5. See also Moore (1994) on 'sex' and 'social gender'.
6. Zimman and Hall (forthcoming). The term 'queer' is an alternative, which covers gay men and lesbian women, and 'transgender' individuals. The term 'queer linguistics' is used in academic writing to refer to linguistic practices by gays, lesbians, and transgender people. Barrett (2006) offers an overview of the history of the term, and of 'queer' speech; see also Leap (2012).
7. See Zimman and Hall (forthcoming); Bucholz and Hall (1995b), Hall (2002), Hall and O'Donovan (1996) and also McConnell-Ginet (2014). We return to this in §9.3.
8. Bateson (1958); see also Silverman (2001), Herdt (1987), Creed (1984).
9. Trechter (1995); see §9.3.
10. See Aikhenvald (2010: 215–16).
11. See Aikhenvald (2000: 347–50), and references there; and Chapters 4 and 11.
12. Linguistic Gender has been subject to many misconceptions and 'linguistic myths'. One is, in Philips's (1980: 530) words, that 'grammatical gender is relatively rare', in contrast to natural gender which is 'a cultural and linguistic universal'. The statement about 'rarity' of grammatical gender is utterly wrong—grammatical gender is one of the most widespread categories in the world, covering much of Africa, Europe, North and South America, and New Guinea; see Corbett (1991) and map 1 in Aikhenvald (2000: 78). The term 'linguistic gender' has been used in a number of contradictory ways. English has no gender agreement within a noun phrase. This has led some German scholars to state that English has 'no gender', forgetting about the gendered pronouns 'she', 'he', and 'it'. Pitfalls of the term 'natural gender' and its current usage have been addressed by McConnell-Ginet (2014).
13. See a comprehensive discussion in Braun (1997b; 2000a; 2001).
14. English is rather unusual in having just one term to cover the three faces of 'Gender'. In French, *genre* is used for Linguistic Gender (and also in a number of other meanings, including kind and genre); the term *sexe* covers Social and Natural Genders. In German, both *Genus* and *Geschlecht* are used for Linguistic Gender; the term *Geschlecht* is used to cover Social and Natural Gender. In Modern Greek, the term for linguistic gender is *yénos* (γένος); social gender is referred to as *cinonikó fílo* (κοινωνικό φύλο), and natural gender *violoyikó fílo* (βιολογικό φύλο) (Angeliki Alvanoudi, p.c.). Contemporary Russian is rather

striking in that each of the three meanings have a distinct one-word term: *rod* for Linguistic Gender, *pol* for Natural Gender, and the recent borrowing from English, *ghender*, for Social Gender. English has some alternatives to gender as a cover term. Large systems of noun categorization with more than four terms in Bantu, Australian, and South American languages are sometimes referred to as 'noun classes'. An alternative to Natural Gender is 'sex', or 'demographic gender' (Silverstein 2015). Social Gender is also referred to as sociocultural gender.

15. See Saville-Troike (1988) on Koasati and Taylor (1982) on Atsina.
16. As Leonard Bloomfield (1933: 20) put it: 'The only useful generalizations about language are inductive generalizations. Features which we think ought to be universal may be absent from the very next language that becomes accessible... The fact that some features are, at any rate, widespread, is worthy of notice and calls for an explanation; when we have adequate data about many languages, we shall have to return to the problem of general grammar and to explain these similarities and divergences, but this study, when it comes, will not be speculative but inductive.'