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DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE
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Rodově neutrální pronominální reference v britských parlamentních debatách
Gender-neutral pronominal reference in British parliamentary debates

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Poděkování

Tímto bych chtěla srdečně poděkovat vedoucí své práce PhDr. Gabriele Brůhové, Ph.D. za její ochotu, za veškerý čas strávený nad touto prací, a za její cenné rady, bez kterých by tato práce nebyla možná.

Dále poděkování patří celému Ústavu anglického jazyka a didaktiky za to, že moje magisterské studium bylo úžasným zážitkem, a to jak po akademické, tak i lidské stránce.

Abstrakt

Diplomová práce zkoumá rodově neutrální pronominální reference ve vztahu k substantivům označujícím oba rody, jako jsou například 'judge' nebo 'lawyer' v právnícké angličtině. Přestože poslední dekády svědčí o trendu směrem k rodově neutrálnímu jazyku, právní obor zůstává výrazně ovlivněn dlouholetými tradicemi a jazykové změny přijímá neochotně. Do nedávné doby bylo proto běžné používat mužské tvary pro označení obou pohlaví (zejména neutrální 'he' nebo 'his'), aby se předešlo nejasnostem v zákonech a dalších právních dokumentech.

Hlavním cílem této práce je prozkoumat současný stav této problematiky a zjistit, zda dochází v právnícké angličtině k odklonu od používání bezrodého 'he'. Současně se práce zaměřuje na identifikaci a analýzu jazykových strategií, které jsou v tomto oboru využívány jako rodově neutrální alternativy.

V teoretické části jsou prezentovány výsledky předchozích průzkumů a studií zaměřených na tento jev, společně s historickým kontextem a vývojem používání bezrodého 'he'. Dále jsou diskutovány doporučené strategie pro rodově neutrální pronominální referenci a důvody, proč je důležité studovat genderovou rovnost z hlediska lingvistického.

Praktická část práce zahrnuje analýzu 200 příkladů užití reference k rodově neutrálním substantivům typu 'employee' v anglickém mluveném korpusu ParlaMint. Práce ukázala, že došlo k výraznému posunu k používání rodově neutrálních jazykových prostředků. Mluvčí britské angličtiny ochotně používají singulární 'they' a navíc skoro nepoužívají bezrodé 'he'. Kromě singulárního 'they', mluvčí nejčastěji volí opakování substantiv a koordinační frázi 'he or she'.

Klíčová slova: androcentrismus, gender, genderová lingvistika, jazyková změna, právnícká angličtina, feminismus, singulární 'they', bezrodé 'he', rodově nerozlišená substantiva

Abstract

The present thesis studies gender-neutral pronominal reference to dual gender nouns such as *judge* or *lawyer* in legal English. Although recent decades have shown a trend toward gender-neutral language, the legal sector remains significantly influenced by long-standing traditions and is reluctant to embrace linguistic change. Until recently, it was common practice to use masculine forms to refer to both genders (unmarked *he*) to avoid ambiguity in laws and other legal documents.

The main aim of this thesis is to explore the current state of this issue and determine whether legal English is moving away from the use of the generic *he*. The thesis also focuses on identifying and analyzing linguistic strategies used in the field as gender-neutral alternatives.

The theoretical part presents findings from previous surveys and studies focused on this phenomenon, along with the historical context and development of the use of generic *he*. Additionally, it discusses recommended strategies for gender-neutral reference and reasons why it is important to study gender equality from a linguistic perspective.

The research part of the thesis analyses 200 examples of reference to dual gender nouns such as *employee* in the English spoken corpus ParlaMint. The study revealed a substantial shift toward the use of gender-neutral language. Speakers of British English readily use the singular *they* and almost never use generic *he*. Apart from the singular *they*, speakers most frequently opt for noun repetition and the coordinative phrase *he or she*.

Keywords: androcentrism, gender, gender linguistics, language change, legal English, feminism, singular *they*, unmarked *he*, dual gender nouns

Abbreviations

MPs	Members of Parliament
UKDG	the official UK Government's <i>Drafting Guidance</i> (2024)
CaDG	Canadian Department of Justice <i>Drafting Guidance</i> 2024

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1 INTRODUCTION

Language is fluid and is constantly evolving according to the needs of the new eras. What was once considered a standard may later turn to be insufficient to express the new reality. One of the problems of the last decades, and subsequently the need for innovation, concerns the use of the unmarked *he* when referring both to male and female genders in the language of law.

Despite the attention given to the problem and relative success to avoid the no-more acceptable use of all-encompassing *he* in spoken and most of written registers of English, one domain remains highly resistant to consciously introduced changes to language — the language of law. Strictly tied to tradition and prescriptivism of textbooks and tons of issued legislation and documentation, legal English still displays a frequent use male-gendered generics, i.e. generic *he* and sex-specific nouns, and therefore to some extent still remains a “language that excludes women” (Rose, 2008: 102).

Yet as progress does not stand still and such approach gets frequently criticized in literature (e.g. Rose 2008, King & Fawcett 2018, Xanthaki 2019, Revell & Vapnek 2020, etc.), and numerous guidelines are issued to redress the injustice, so the language of law might be prone to change.

The aim of the present thesis is therefore to examine the current state of the issue: firstly, to see whether the sex-neutral *he* used to refer to indefinite dual gender nouns continues to lose its popularity; secondly, to see what other strategies are used as an alternative. For that purpose, 200 sentences from the English ParlaMint corpus containing pronominal reference to dual gender nouns are analyzed in the research part of the thesis to see which pronoun (or other language constructions) is used to refer to sex-indefinite nouns in a domain related to law — the debates in the British Parliament. The theoretical part of the thesis complements the research with an overview of grammatical information regarding pronominal reference to dual gender nouns and the grammatical category of gender in general, as well as a historical perspective on the use of unmarked *he* and singular *they* and the feminist perspective on the importance of language use for achieving gender equality.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 MOTIVATION FOR RESEARCH

Sexism and misogyny have become a commonplace topic in the media nowadays. It is very easy to come across information that women in the Czech Republic, for example, still earn 12% less than men in the same roles and type of work (Smith, 2022). It has become almost a cliché that readers might disregard as yet another instance of feminist discourse.

Still not many people (and even women) care enough about how drastically sexism impacts our daily life. The truth is that even such subtle matters as language forms can influence our behavior and create a “glass ceiling” for women in every sphere of our lives.

The aim of this chapter is to highlight the importance of studying gender equality in language use, serving as a foundation for the subsequent presentation of my research and a more in-depth examination of the role of gender in legal English.

2.1.1 THE DEFAULT MALE WORLD

In her book about data bias and sexism, Caroline Criado-Perez (2019) argues that there is an implicit assumption in our society that men represent the standard or the norm, while women are seen as deviations from or additions to that norm. The domain of language is no exception in this respect, which can be seen from a number of gender studies.

Language plays a key role in shaping our thinking patterns, which exerts a profound effect on our understanding of the world, and the grammatical category of gender plays a big role in this respect. For example, a study by Prewitt-Freilino et al. (2012: 1) explores the relationship between notional and grammatical gender languages and the level of gender equality in the countries where these languages are spoken. It turns out that “countries where gendered languages are spoken evidence less gender equality compared to countries with other grammatical gender systems.”

It shows that the language we speak has a subtle yet powerful impact on reinforcing or challenging gender norms. In other words, languages with grammatical gender have stronger presence of masculine or feminine imagery in every utterance. In this sense, it is assumed that

words like German “Anwalt” (translated as “male lawyer”) are supposed to be read as generic masculine and include women, and yet they do not. They create a vision of the world that is biased towards male being the norm.

On the other hand, Prewitt-Freilino et al. (2012: 1) have also found that “countries where natural gender languages are spoken demonstrate greater gender equality, which may be due to the ease of creating gender symmetric revisions to instances of sexist language,” which again illustrates the power of the conceptualization of gender in a different kind of language.

This does not mean, however, that notional gender languages are less sexist. For example, in 2015, the members of Human-Computer Interaction Community conducted research to evaluate to what extent their papers are linguistically gender-inclusive. They identified the top-five most common words used to refer to people in their papers, which all turned out to be gender-neutral: *user*, *participant*, *person*, *designer* and *researcher*. This might seem as good news.

However, the researchers went further and asked their participants to draw a picture of these words. Surprisingly, it turned out that the participants perceived most of these words as predominately male. In 80% of the cases, male participants would draw a picture of a male *user* or *researcher*, and so did women. The only exception was the words *person* and *participant*, which women drew as 50% male and 50% female. This implies that even in words that we perceive to be sex-neutral, there is a hidden gender bias, so that the people using technology and researchers in general are thought of by both genders as being predominantly male. (Adam et al., 2015: 169)

A similar finding can be seen in numerous “draw a scientist” experiments conducted repeatedly over decades. In 1966-1977, less than 1% of children drew female scientists when asked to draw a “scientist”. Fast-forward to the year 2016, the number only increased to 28%, with girls driving this shift (Miller et al., 2018). In a world where even kids perceive *scientists* to be mostly of male sex, would a girl feel inclined to pursue a career in science?

These studies show that even in societies with notional gender languages, words have significant power in altering our perception of the reality. Just thinking of scientists as

predominantly male since the youngest age creates mental borders that may detract girls from dreaming of a scientific career; thinking of “users” and “researchers” as male creates an impression that the field of human-computer interaction is male-dominated.

The field of law is no less different in this respect. The threat that male-biased language is posing appears to be even more aggravating when taking into account that the industry of law is heavily reliant upon texts of different kinds: legal codes, court decisions, legal textbooks, etc. This is a huge body of texts where until the late 20th century, generic masculine was considered the norm, which could only imply drastic damage to gender equality similar to that in the studies discussed above.

In addition to that, the assumption that the legal industry does not ensure gender equality is not unfounded. For example, a study by Jacobi and Schweers (2017: 1) found that “judicial interactions at oral argument [at the Supreme Court] are highly gendered, with women being interrupted at disproportionate rates by their male colleagues, as well as by male advocates.” Oral arguments are an important part of the case as they have direct influence on its outcome, and female justices and advocates face significant disadvantages in this arena. Even in today’s world, which is increasingly aware of the harm caused by sexism and gendered disrespect, the standards remain disappointingly low.

The above discussion demonstrates that language is far from being just “simple words” when it comes to perpetuating gender inequality, and the language of law is no exception. Analyzing language and gender in legal texts is essential for identifying areas of weakness and striving towards more gender-equal language.

2.2 GENDER AS A GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY OF ENGLISH

2.2.1 GRAMMATICAL GENDER

Languages can be categorized into three types in terms of conceptualizing the grammatical category of gender. The first type is genderless languages, such as Finnish or Hungarian, where neither nouns nor pronouns are differentiated by gender (Stahlberg et al.,

2007: 166). These languages will not be discussed further as they are not relevant for the present study.

The second type is grammatical gender languages such as Czech or French, where the gender of personal nouns typically aligns with the actual gender of the referent. Other word classes such as adjectives and pronouns enter into agreement with a noun depending on its gender, so that the declension of all words in the noun phrase changes correspondingly. (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 484)

As Dušková et al. (2012: 3.4) explain, in these languages gender is primarily a grammatical category and only to a limited extent a semantic one. The differences in extra-linguistic reality are reflected only in animate persons and some animals, so that the masculine gender of nouns corresponds to animate entities of male sex, while the feminine gender corresponds to animate entities of female sex. Some languages (e.g. French) only operate with two genders, while others (e.g. Czech or German) also have neuter gender used for either inanimate entities or young animals.

For other nouns denoting inanimate entities and most animals, grammatical gender has no direct relation to extra-linguistic reality, and thus represents a purely linguistic classification. The fact that in Czech “stůl” (table) and “kos” (scythe) are masculine, and “židle” (chair) and “pěnkava” (chaffinch) are feminine, does not in any way follow from the nature of the objects and animals denoted. The gender classification of these nouns depends on their linguistic form, namely on the derivational suffix and/or their declension type.

Despite that, we have seen in Section 2.1 that gender classification of nouns in grammatical gender languages does have a greater effect on the extra-linguistic reality. In cases where notional gender languages would have genderless dual-gender nouns such as “lawyer” to denote persons, in grammatical-gender languages the masculine noun counterpart is often used as the default and generic term, so that it also subsumes the feminine gender. Caroline Criado-Perez (2015) talks about googling lawyer services in German, which comes back as “Anwalt”, literally meaning “male lawyers” despite implying both male and female “lawyers”. In this case, the generic masculine is supposed to be read as gender-neutral. Yet the studies discussed in Section 2.1.1 refute this claim: in the speakers’ minds, the generic masculine is

read as overwhelmingly male, so that this grammatical category turns out to rely more on semantic qualities of gender rather than purely grammatical and formal classification of nouns.

2.2.2 NOTIONAL GENDER

The above-mentioned notional gender languages are the third type in the classification (along with grammatical gender and genderless languages). In languages such as English nouns are not classified inflectionally, but semantically, according to their coreferential relations with personal, reflexive, and wh-pronouns. (Quirk et al., 1985: 314) In other words, the category of gender is defined more by the extra-linguistic notions related to the meaning of words.

As Dušková et al. (2012: 3.4) explain, the gender of English nouns reflects both sex differences and differences between persons and non-persons. In essence, male persons are of male gender, female persons are of female gender, and inanimate entities and animals are neuter or simply inanimate. The boundary between persons and non-persons is fuzzy when it comes to the higher species of animals.

According to Dušková et al. (2012: 3.4), there are three ways of gender distinction of animate personal nouns:

1. Masculine and feminine nouns differentiated lexically

This group includes lexically differentiated pairs of nouns denoting people like *man-woman*, *boy-girl*, *lad-lass*.

2. Masculine and feminine nouns differentiated through word-formation processes

These nouns include pairs of words that have a similar base but are differentiated either by suffixation or compounding. This process is rather rare in English (in comparison with Czech *doktor-doktorka*). For example, the most common suffixes are *-ess* as in *actor-actress* or *benefactor-benefactress*. Other gender-marking suffixes include *-ine* as in *hero-heroine*, *-ette* as in *usher-usherette*, or *-er* as in *widow-widower*.

Gender marking through compounding involves attaching markers such as *male/female*, *man/woman*, *gentleman/lady*, or *boy/girl*, producing forms such as *men readers/women readers* or *boy students/girl students*.

3. Nouns not differentiated by gender

The last group, also called dual gender nouns, present the major interest of this thesis. This is a group of nouns that can indicate both genders: *speaker, foreigner, lawyer, judge, person*. If it is considered necessary to indicate the person's gender, a gender marker may be added, as in *male student/female student*. (Quirk et al., 1985: 315)

Despite serving as great means for speaking in a gender-neutral way, not even dual gender nouns appear to be innocent. As Stahlberg et al. (2007: 167) note, female references are more frequently specified than male ones, which may again imply that the male reference is viewed as the default. In other words, there is often an underlying assumption that an unspecified person is male; if the individual were female, it would likely be clarified with a gender-specific marker. This is also confirmed by the research papers discussed in Section 2.1.1 ("draw a scientist/user/participant" experiments, etc.).

2.3 PRONOMINAL REFERENCE TO DUAL GENDER NOUNS

Another difficulty associated with dual gender nouns that presents the central interest of this thesis is pronominal reference. When referring to a noun, third-person personal pronouns have to be in agreement with their antecedent in person, number, and gender. It is clear whether to use a masculine or feminine pronoun when the antecedent is a definite person whose gender is well-known. On the other hand, there are cases where the antecedent may be a personal noun of indeterminate gender as head with generic reference (Quirk et al., 1985: 342):

Every student has to make up **his/her/their** own mind.

The applicant is required to sign **his/her/their** name clearly on page four of this form.

The problem with reference arises, firstly, because "the choice of pronoun is determined by denotation or reference, not by purely syntactic properties of the antecedent" as in grammatical gender languages. (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 485) Secondly, as Quirk et al., (1985: 342) explain, "because English has no sex-neutral 3rd person singular pronoun."

As Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 492) aptly put it, the English language just "needs a pronoun that simply expresses the meaning 'human', without specification of sex." In the

absence of such a pronoun, there are two most common solutions in this case: either to violate the number concord with the singular *they*, or violate gender concord with the unmarked *he*. From a grammatical point of view, neither seems to be perfect. However, as Bodine (1975: 133) notes, “the two are not socially analogous, since number lacks social significance.”

2.3.1 UNMARKED *HE*

For a long time, the unmarked *he* has been a common way of getting around the absence of 3rd person sex-neutral personal pronoun. As Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 492) write, “*he* has traditionally been regarded as the grammatically ‘correct’ choice in opposition to the singular *they*; it is characteristic of relatively formal style.” In her influential research on the history of the unmarked *he*, Ann Bodine (1975: 134) traces the tradition of this case of linguistic androcentrism back to 1533, when Wilson (1533) for the first time suggests incorporating into linguistics the notion that the natural social (hence linguistic) order is when a man is put before a woman (for example, in constructions such as *he or she*).

Two hundred years later, the concept developed and grew stronger, and finally the first explicit proscription of the singular *they* was introduced alongside the prescription of the “correct” unmarked *he* by Murray in 1795 (Bodine, 1975: 135). At the time, prescriptive grammarians were aware of three options of referring to dual gender nouns: the singular *they*, the unmarked *he*, and *he or she*. Bodine (1975: 133) explains that the singular *they* was proscribed on the grounds that it violates number concord, while *he or she* was considered lengthy and clumsy.

In doing so, the 18–19th century prescriptive grammarians felt they were motivated by an interest in logic, accuracy, and elegance. In reality, as unmarked *he* also violates gender concord, it does not offer an option any better than the other two means. Bodine (1975) concludes that in this case, the only possible reasoning behind this prescription lies in the strengthening androcentric view of the world.

From a grammatical point of view, when unmarked *he* is used anaphorically with a dual gender noun, it is presumed to subsume both masculine and feminine genders. Still, this does not always work in accordance with theoretical expectations. Consider this example:

A: They're going to appoint a new **manager**.

B: Well, I hope **he** does a better job than the present one has. (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 492)

The use of *he* is very ambiguous. By using *he* as a default, "unmarked" option, speaker B subtly reinforces a male-oriented perspective, which works towards gender bias. As a result, the use of unmarked *he* cannot always read as truly unmarked. A gender-neutral pronoun or explicit clarification would reduce this ambiguity and make the statement inclusive of all potential candidates, regardless of gender.

Therefore, though the unmarked *he* does not violate number concord, it is far from being a sufficient justification of its use. As both Quirk et al. (1985) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 492) point out, "use of the male term to subsume females is a form of linguistic inequality that can be seen as related to and tending to reinforce social inequality." The same point of view was demonstrated in the discussion in Section 2.1.

The tradition of the unmarked *he* prescription was passed on by the generations of grammarians up until the 1970s, when the second wave of feminism counteracted it. In her research, Bodine (1975) surveyed 33 grammars published between 1958 and 1968 that were in use in U.S. high schools during her research and found that 28 explicitly prohibited the use of the singular *they* and recommended the use of the unmarked *he*. However, the 2011 research by Paterson done on 20 school course books and general guides aimed at a wider adult audience, published between 2000 and 2010, found that the grammars now finally reject the use of sex-neutral *he*, but the wide acceptance and prescription of the singular *they* is still yet to be achieved.

2.3.2 SINGULAR *THEY*

Today, the singular *they* offers a more gender-inclusive alternative to the unmarked *he* which is considered informal. In fact, before the grammarians of the 16–19th centuries started their androcentric prescriptive campaigns, the singular *they* was the most common option preferred by speakers for reference to dual gender nouns. The OED states the use of *they* "with an antecedent referring to an individual generically or indefinitely (e.g. someone, a person, the

student), ... esp. so as to make a general reference to such an individual without specifying gender” dates back to as far as 1450:

If þou sall lofe, þe **person** fyrste, I rede, þou proue Whether þat **they** be fals or lele.
(Neuphilologische Mitteilungen (1948) vol. 49 154, Middle English Dictionary)

The use of *they* with an antecedent that is grammatically singular, but refers collectively to the members of a group, or has universal reference (e.g. *each person, everyone, nobody*), dates back even earlier to the year 1375 (OED).

In this sense, it was not the feminists who tried to alter the English language by proposing to eradicate the unmarked *he*. It was the prescriptive grammarians who tried to change the language by weeding out the common use of singular *they*. As Bodine (1975: 131) aptly notes, “its survival is all the more remarkable considering that the weight of virtually the entire educational and publishing establishment has been behind the attempt to eradicate it.” She cites Leonard (1925: 225), who writes that despite all the prescriptive attempts to make women linguistically invisible, “probably quite as many cases of reference of 'they' and 'their' to words like 'person' and 'one' and 'everybody' could be discovered in an equal number of pages of Jane Austen or Walter Scott and of Addison or Swift.”

The modern stance to the issue of number concord of the singular *they* is expressed, for example, by Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 492). Just as Bodine (1975), they stress that the duality of number is no more different than in the case of *you*, which can also be singular and plural. The extension of *they* to a singular sense in the 15th century has not impacted subject–verb agreement, similar to how the historical shift of *you* from plural to singular (replacing *thou*) did not alter the verb form. In this sense, it was the mistake of the Modern English grammarians’ formal analysis, who incorrectly analyzed *they* as only plural.

2.3.3 CONSEQUENCES FOR LEGAL ENGLISH

Subsuming the feminine gender under masculine has been a common practice in legal texts of all kinds for nearly 200 years now.¹ Since the 19th century onwards, a typical reference to a dual gender noun would have looked as follows (1):

- (1) The **defendant** always has the burden of raising his Confrontation Clause objection; notice-and-demand statutes simply govern the time within which **he** must do so. (Rose, 2008: 102).

What makes the matters even more complicated is the extensive use of dual gender nouns in contracts, court opinions, legislation, etc. These are the general words like *person* or *party*, but also more specialized like *plaintiff*, *defendant*, *employee*, *attorney*, *judge*, etc. In addition to that, the stylistic analysis of that domain shows that “legal documents employ sentences which are complicated by a myriad of qualifying subordinate clauses and phrases as well as excessive repetition” (Ufot, 2013: 630), which invites the use of pronominal reference in hypotaxis to avoid repetition of antecedent and redundancy of expression. The uniform solution invented to solve both the problems of redundancy and gender in reference was to make masculine gender include feminine gender.

The nature of the language of law is explained by the need to conform to the principles of precision and preservation (Ufot, 2013: 625). The requirement of precision declares that the writers must avoid creating any ambiguities in text so it could not be exploited by other parties. But this factor both contributes and contradicts to the use of universal *he*. The contradiction consists in that *he* does not unambiguously imply a reference to both genders, unless one is familiar with the conventions of the register.² The contribution to using universal *he* lies in the need to be as precise as possible, which results in texts that are lengthy and repetitive, and pronominal reference is one of the possible techniques for keeping it concise.

¹ See Section 2.4 onwards for a detailed historical review.

² Especially in court opinions, where the use of *he* is meant to apply to the society as a whole.

To sum up, the issue seems to create a paradox — in order to be precise and unambiguous, writers of legal texts have to use extensive, convoluted constructions, and to turn to any means available to them to make the texts concise and readable.

One of such instruments is the use of pronominal reference. Yet, the absence of 3rd person sex-neutral singular pronoun creates another layer of problematicity. Neither the use of the unmarked *he* nor the singular *they* seems to be entirely satisfactory, as both involve some extended meaning that readers have to be aware of. The harm that the unmarked *he* does is by now clear, while the possibility of confusing the singular *they* with plural *they* appears to be quite dangerous, for example, for contracts. On the other hand, rephrasing the sentences completely (for example, using passive voice or other techniques) might make the sentences convoluted and detract readability. To top it all, the principle of preservation prevents the industry from easily changing the ways and quickly reacting to the needs of the modern society.

It is exactly this paradoxical linguistic situation that presents the central interest of this thesis and the research part: to see how the speakers in the domain of legal English approach this issue.

2.4 HISTORY OF THE UNMARKED *HE* IN LEGAL ENGLISH

Historically, the situation in legal English was not much different from the ordinary language. Petersson's (1998) extensive historical research of gender use in English statutes shows that from the 1500s to early 19th century, women were always referred to by feminine pronouns. The writers of law had no problem using the *he or she* coordinate construction, or switching the sentence into plural. In Petersson's (1998: 98) words:

Although women and men were not equal before the law, the language used did make it clear which laws applied to whom. ... When the subject matter referred to only one sex, only pronouns referring to that sex were used. The language of legislation, at least, treated women and men equally. Though women had fewer rights, the language clearly indicated which rights they had. In this system, women were always represented by feminine pronouns, whether the law applied to them alone or to men as well.

The legal practice of using masculine gender grammatically in a sense that subsumes feminine gender began in Britain in 1827, with writers such as Jeremy Bentham, who advocated for the use of generic *he* in criminal legislation (Petersson, 1998: 103). It was then officially legitimized by the Interpretation Act 1850, which stipulated that “in all Acts Words importing the Masculine Gender shall be deemed and taken to include Females” in order to make the language of law more concise.

As Revell & Vapnek (2020: 43) suggest, this may be due to the rule of coverture — a legal doctrine that “tied a woman’s legal standing to her husband.” In legal terms, this meant that her existence was subsumed under that of her husband after marriage. Among other reasons that have led to the introduction of the unmarked *he* to legislation was the need for a statute book that would be more easily navigable and shorter. In practice, it meant the need for a briefer wording of the statutes, and the abbreviation of *he or she* was among the suggestions. As the prescriptive grammarians were also pioneering the use of sex-neutral *he*, the linguistic change took place.

The first shift back to gender neutrality in legal texts was seen as late as in 1980s. This change coincides with the second-wave feminism attack on the sex-indefinite *he* which started in the 1970s. As a result, the governments of New Zealand and Australia were the first to adopt gender-neutral principles of drafting in 1985 and 1988 respectively, with Canada following in the beginning of the 90s (Williams, 2008: 142). The USA joined the trend fairly recently. Williams (2008: 143) notes that it was not until 2004 that most of the Acts of Congress came to be drafted avoiding masculine generics, and the transition is still not finished. The UK was the last to adopt such policies — the drafting practice officially changed in 2007 with the issue of the new Drafting Guidance by Office of the Parliamentary Counsel. Despite that, the Interpretation Act of 1978 still includes the wording that male includes female, and is still in force.

The process of adopting gender-neutral drafting policies was not homogeneous and systematic, neither was it obligatory. Thus, out of 50 States of America, the 42 states that adopted gender-neutral drafting policies did so gradually: 18 states changed their drafting style in 1970-80s, 5 in 1990s, and so on until as late as 2010s (Revell & Vapnek, 2020: 121). In

addition, some Acts used to contain both masculine and gender-neutral expressions at the same time. Therefore, the change also seems to have been “not a requirement but [depended] on the inclination of individual drafters” (Williams, 2008: 143).

2.5 THE PRESENT STATE OF THE PHENOMENON

To date, the transition to legal English that is gender-neutral is almost complete in a large number of English-speaking countries. According to the survey of Revell & Vapnek (2020), countries such as the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Australia, Canada and New Zealand, but also Ireland, Isle of Man, Jamaica, Nigeria, Singapore, etc., and most of the USA have changed their drafting technique completely and take gender-neutrality into account during drafting. However, as of 2020, 9 of the 50 States of America still used male-gendered generics when drafting bills, with seven of the states requiring the use of gender-neutral drafting methods either officially or unofficially.

Legislation and drafting techniques, however, belong to the domain of legal English that is the most open to criticism, which ultimately can influence the state of affairs. It is also easier to regulate, as changes to these techniques can be simply enforced by some guidelines or regulations. This is not always applicable to other types of legal texts. For instance, Rose (2008) conducted research on opinions issued by the U.S. Supreme Court and found that the use of masculine generics was still pervasive there. The analysis of 105 cases showed that “most of the justices use gender-neutral language some of the time and gendered-generic language most of the time.” (ibid., 122). Only one justice of nine displayed a consistent, stylistically natural use of gender-neutral language.

She also argues that the use of masculine generics in this area of language is even more harmful, as law students learn the law and language through casebooks, which contain the most prominent opinions of the Supreme Court throughout history. Being very old, these opinions evidently contain instances of male-centred language. As a result, despite all the advice and guidelines on gender-neutral language, they will learn that “male is the norm” (Rose, 2008: 102), because one will not be convinced “that the heightened consciousness and extra editing required to achieve gender neutrality is worth the effort when a similar effort is

not reflected in their models — the appellate court opinions.” This also concerns not only the aspiring but also the experienced legal writers — law clerks, lawyers, and others (ibid., 103).

Therefore, though the issue attracts attention and criticism on higher levels of legal writing which is more strictly regulated, there is still progress to be achieved in other areas that are more dependent on the inclination of individual writers.

2.6 STRATEGIES OF AVOIDING MASCULINE GENERICS

As the issue of androcentrism of legal texts attracts more attention and criticism, numerous stylistic guides are written as a reaction to redeem the damage. As Revell & Vapnek (2020: 113) aptly note, “all discrimination takes some effort to undo. The universal ‘he’ and the effects of interpretation acts can be overcome with the *stroke of a pen*.” The following section recapitulates the most popular strategies of making the texts gender-neutral and discusses their drawbacks and benefits.

The Office of the Parliamentary Counsel, the body of the UK Government responsible for drafting legislation, addresses the issue of gender-neutral language in their official *Drafting Guidance* (2024) (hereinafter UKDG). The UKDG distinguishes three main techniques:

- repeating the noun
- changing the pronoun
- rephrasing to avoid the need for a pronoun or noun

2.6.1 REPEATING THE NOUN

This is the simplest option to avoid pronominal reference. For instance:

(x) ... earnings, in relation to a **person**, means sums payable to **the person** in connection with the person’s employment ... (UKDG, 2024: 7)

The problem with the technique arises in longer constructions, where constant repetition of the same noun in a way that does not occur in speech detracts from reading and leads to lengthy, stylistically unpleasant drafts. In essence, this technique reverts the basic function of pronouns — substituting the nouns. (UKDG, 2024: 8)

2.6.2 CHANGING THE PRONOUN

This technique suggests several possible substitutions.

(a) *He or she*

The most obvious way to make the text more inclusive is to mention female gender. Yet this technique is as unfortunate as repeating the noun: constant insertion of a coordinated noun phrase makes the text not only lengthy, but also convoluted and hard to follow:

(x) ... earnings, in relation to a **person**, means sums payable to **him or her** in connection with **his or her** employment ... (Adapted, *ibid.*)

The technique is therefore out of favor with the experts and is considered “awkward” (*ibid.*, 8) or “clumsy” (Charles & Myers, 2019: 82). The UKDG, as well as Canada’s Department of Justice *Drafting Guidelines* (2024) (hereinafter CaDG), overtly recommend avoiding it.

(b) *Plural they*

Another option is to turn the noun phrase into plural number and then use the plural *they* pronoun:

(x) **Participants** may only carry on [particular activities] ... if **they** hold a permit (UKDG, 2024: 9).

This technique is relatively universal, but must be handled with care in some cases. For instance, if a document is intended for single parties, using plural pronouns will create incongruity (Butt & Castle, 2006: 211).

(c) *The or that*

Another way of avoiding the use of personal pronouns is to substitute it with the definite determiner *the* or a demonstrative pronoun *that*:

(x) ... The Secretary of State may remove a member from office if satisfied that the **member**.... has failed to discharge the functions of **the office** ... (not *his office*) (*ibid.*)

The problem with this strategy is hidden in losing the link between the antecedent and the referent, and thereby putting the clarity of the text at risk.

(d) Singular *they*

This strategy is probably the most controversial among the gender-neutral drafting techniques. Being used more and more often in speech and less formal written registers of English, the singular *they* is also making its way into the language of law. The technique is accepted with enthusiasm by some of the experts (Revell & Vapnek 2020, Charles & Myers, 2019). It is also officially recommended by the Canadian Department of Justice *Drafting Guidance* (hereinafter CaDG):

(x) ... the **person** against whom the objection is made, where **they** wish to present **their** position, ... (CaDG, 2024)

Stylistically, this option fits into legal texts much better than the repetition of nouns. However, not all specialists are yet ready to embrace the “ungrammatical” reference. For example, in the UKDG (2024: 8) the singular *they* is mentioned with cautiousness, stating that “in a House of Lords debate in 2013 a number of peers expressed concern about the use of ‘they’ as a singular pronoun.” The UKDG thus avoids recommending this technique.

As Rose (2008: 107) predicted, “ultimately, it may become an accepted gender-neutral pronoun for use with both singular and plural antecedents, but law may be the last to adopt such a practice.” The research part of this thesis will show if this prediction is working out.

2.6.3 REPHRASING

The last possible option to avoid male-gendered generics is complete restructuring of the sentence. Writers may come up with various possible structures, the only limit being their syntactic creativity. This section sums up the most common strategies suggested by the UKDG and CaDG.

(a) Drop the noun or the whole phrase

It is always useful to evaluate whether a specific phrase or its parts are not redundant in legal texts. In many cases it is totally possible to drop the pronoun without changing the meaning of the proposition and keeping the text gender-neutral:

(x) circumstances which justify doing so (not “circumstances which justify him doing so”) (UKDG, 2024: 9).

(x) immediately before death (not “immediately before his death”) (ibid.)

It is also possible to go as far as deleting the whole phrase containing the noun, which also serves to the conciseness of the text:

(x) The Secretary of the State may, ~~if he thinks fit~~, consider... (ibid.)

The writer, however, must be careful with deletion of pronouns and phrases so that it does not harm the references or coherence of the text.

(b) Passive voice

Restructuring the predicate into passive voice is easier to apply in written language rather than speech:

(x) If the applicant is served with a notice under subsection 26(3), ...

... he must include a copy of the notice in the application.

... a copy of the notice must be included in the application. (CaDG, 2024)

However, the modern reputable style guides advise against the use of passive voice. It is recommended to use the active voice to make the text more direct, clear, and concise. (APA Style Guide, 2024).

(c) “If he ...” ⇒ “Who ...”

A common syntactic element of legislative texts is subordinate adverbial clauses starting with “If he/she...”. Both the UKDG and CaDG suggest using a relative clause connected with “who” instead:

(x) A **person** is not eligible to be appointed a returning officer if **he** is undergoing a term of imprisonment.

→ A **person who** is undergoing a term of imprisonment is not eligible to be appointed a returning officer. (CaDG, 2024).

With this technique, the UKDG warns against the relative subordinate clauses that are too long, as in this case the operative verb is significantly postponed, making the sentence less readable.

2.6.4 SEX-SPECIFIC NOUNS

For the sake of completeness, it seems necessary to briefly mention sex-specific nouns. Both the UKDG and CaDG advise against the use of sex-specific nouns when mentioning a particular occupation such as *chairman*, *fireman*, *policeman*, etc. A sex-neutral term should be used instead: *chair*, *firefighter*, *police officer*, etc.

2.6.5 SUMMARY

All in all, there seems to be a plethora of ways of avoiding masculine generics in legal texts. Some might appear more cumbersome (*he or she*), others might require writers to employ more conscious linguistic effort and creativity when writing a text (rephrasing and omission). Yet what this chapter proves is that “[achieving] both elegance of expression and accuracy by referring to women as ‘he’” is groundless and unnecessary (Bodine, 1975: 138).

3 MATERIAL AND METHOD

3.1 CORPUS

The aim of the present thesis is to examine the current state of the issue. While some of the works mentioned above also address developments in recent years (e.g. Revell & Vapnek, 2020), these studies mostly examine the legal codes or other legal texts such as opinions of the higher courts (e.g., Williams, 2008; Rose, 2008). The language of such texts is heavily edited and easily governed by the drafting rules. For that reason, a different facet of legal English was chosen for this thesis to bring in a new perspective on the topic — a spoken domain of English that is closely related to the matters of law and eventually the register of legal English itself — the parliamentary debates as captured in the ParlaMint corpus.

The spoken legal English used in parliamentary debates can be characterized as follows (as summarized by Hladíková (2019: 20-21)):

- 1) It is “a *formal* discussion involving (often heated) exchanges of opinion ... intended to facilitate the chamber’s informed collective decision-making on specific issues.” (Ilie, 2018: 313)
- 2) Being a spoken register, it is less regulated and pre-planned than its written counterpart. Still, the MPs are more likely to strategically use language to their advantage to enhance their personal image and make an impact with their speech, so their choice of vocabulary is not completely arbitrary.

Therefore, studying spoken Parliamentary English offers an opportunity to see how speakers approach the issue of masculine generics in a less regulated linguistic environment related to law.

The English ParlaMint corpus suited these needs perfectly. It is a collection of parliamentary debates, which means that it gives an opportunity to study the language used to discuss topics related to law in a natural way, since it contains records of speeches. The corpus contains 100,616,051 words and covers the period from 2015 to 2021, so the data is very recent. The corpus was accessed through the *Sketch Engine* interface at sketchengine.eu.

3.2 METHOD

To conduct the analysis, 200 examples of dual gender nouns with context were needed. More specifically, the perfect example would be a sentence containing a singular noun phrase with a personal noun of indeterminate gender as head, which refers collectively to the members of a group or has generic reference. The second important aspect is that the sentences should also contain anaphoric pronominal reference or possibly other strategic cohesive ties mentioned in Section 2.6 — for example, substitution, omission, repetition, etc. A typical example would look as follows (1):

(1) Should a **person** not lack capacity, **they** have the right to refuse medication or other treatments or restraints. (Tanni Grey Thompson, #112238952)

The data collection was conducted in three steps as described below.

3.2.1 IDENTIFYING DUAL GENDER NOUNS FOR DATA COLLECTION

The first step was to identify the dual gender nouns that would be used in the queries. To do so, the corpus was searched for all nouns using the tag [pos="NOUN"]. Then, using the tool “frequency”, a list of lemmas was generated to show the most frequent nouns in the corpus. Out of these nouns, it was finally possible to select the dual gender nouns for the following research. The frequency list contained, for example, the following dual gender nouns:

- 1) Friend, 75,054 hits
- 2) Member, 57,572 hits
- 3) Leader, 15,430 hits
- 4) Person, 14,160 hits
- 5) Colleague, 13,151 hits
- 6) Worker, 11,230 hits
- 7) Parent, 10,837 hits
- 8) Individual, 10,194 hits
- 9) Citizen, 10,157 hits
- 10) Patient, 9,845 hits

Not all of the listed nouns were suitable for data collection. A closer look at each term revealed that some of them should be excluded, because the terms were mostly used in constructions that did not correspond to the types of sentences needed for the analysis. For example, the term *colleague* was more often used to refer to specific people from the Parliament rather than an abstract person of indeterminate gender (2):

(2) I particularly thank **colleagues** in the Ministry of Justice for what they have already done, through the Criminal Justice and Courts Bill, to outlaw revenge pornography. (Miller, Maria Frances Lewis, 2015-01-05)

The same applies to *friend* (3), *leader* (4), and *member* (5):

(3) I entirely agree with my hon. **Friend**, and I pay tribute to him for his work with Mr and Mrs John and Penny Clough, Jane's parents. (Buckland, Robert James, 2015-01-06)

(4) The Prime Minister is the only party **leader** who will make any attempt to reduce immigration from the EU, and ... (Bone, Peter William, 2015-01-05)

(5) The hon. Gentleman is a **member** of the Transport Committee and I will be interested to see its report, knowing that Mark Carne and Robin Gisby will be giving evidence to the Committee next week. (McLoughlin, Patrick, 2015-01-05)

In other words, these terms usually presuppose that its referent is definite and known to the speaker, so the issue of gender-neutral reference to sex-indefinite nouns is out of the question.

Leaving *friend*, *member*, *leader* and *colleague* aside, terms such as **person**, **worker**, **parent**, and **citizen** remain to be used for the collection of material, *individual* being left aside due to its similarity with *person*.

3.2.2 DATA COLLECTION

Once the terms were selected, the next goal was to collect 50 instances of usage of each of them, totaling 200 examples for analysis. To do so, a separate query was conducted for each term. The corpus query always included the term, specified as a singular noun (6):

(6) [feats="Number=Sing" & lemma="person" & pos="NOUN"]

Before selecting the concordances, the results of the queries were shuffled. Apart from looking for singular nouns, only statements of generic nature were selected, where the noun is not referring to a particular individual, but could apply to a person of any gender. A clear example of such a statement is the following (7, 8, 9):

(7) Behind each statistic is a **worker** and **their** family, forced into an impossible choice between **their** health and **their** job. (Edward Miliband, #110774160)

(8) It is every **parent's** nightmare that one of **their** children, on a night out after studying and doing their work, will be offered a substance that is perfectly legal, take it, and then be ill and, in some cases, die. (Keith Vaz, #18578652)

(9) For example, a **young person** could have been in care from a young age because of emotional or physical abuse, or because of neglect. **That child** might have been moved from foster carer to foster carer, ... (Kelly Tolhurst, #17165661)

The final result of data collection yielded 200 examples of singular dual gender nouns *person, worker, parent* and *citizen* as heads of noun phrases of indeterminate gender, including various means of cohesive ties (e.g. pronominal reference, noun repetition, substitution, etc.) in close context. However, the final number of cases of each strategy eventually amounted to 213 for the reasons discussed in the following subsection.

3.2.3 SORTING OUT THE DATA

Examples with several instances of strategies

Normally, one example or concordance contains just one type of strategy of avoiding masculine generics. For example, the only strategy used in (10) is changing the pronoun to singular *they*:

(10) (Ms Harman) pointed out to the Prime Minister two weeks ago, not a single family will be helped into work and not a single **worker** will see **their** earnings rise simply as a result of cutting tax credits. (Stephen Timms, #9219099)

On the other hand, (11) demonstrates the use of several strategies in just one example, namely both *he or she* and singular *they* substitution, as well as repetition:

(11) We need to build a public perception that when an emergency **worker** is doing **his or her** duty, the public equally have a duty to protect that emergency **worker**, not to attack **them**. (Robert Stewart, #48286436)

In this case, each single use of a specific strategy is counted separately in final calculations. In other words, example (10) above counts as just one instance of use of the singular *they*, but (11) counts as one instance of *he or she*, one of the singular *they*, and one of repetition, totaling three strategies in just one example. For this reason, the final amount of instances in the statistics is slightly higher than 200.

Cross-sentence reference

As the example (9) above demonstrates, examples of cross-sentence cohesive ties were also taken into account. The closest context of 2-3 nearest sentences was also considered and collected for analysis, and often this proved to be useful and yielded additional material for consideration.

However, not in all examples cross-sentence reference could be counted as means of avoiding masculine generics. This specifically concerns the strategy of noun repetition. For example, consider (12), (13) and (14):

(12) The decision to leave an abusive relationship may be among the hardest choices a **person** will ever make. However cruel the relationship and however damaging its impact, breaking away cuts a bond. It may be the only type of connection that **that person** has ever known. (Deborah Bull, #111959187)

(13) Commons Amendment 11 provides that it would not be an offence under the Bill for a **person** to produce, supply, offer to supply, possess with intent to supply, import or export, or possess in a custodian institution a psychoactive substance if, in the circumstances in which it is carried by **that person**, the activity is an exempted activity. (Michael Bates, #19067527)

(14) Auto-enrolment does not cover the modern **worker** who has multiple mini-jobs, as they are called. **Their** combined earnings are not considered. (Philippa Whitford, #17660551)

In (12) and (13), the two co-referents *person* are standing too far from each other, so the semantic ties become too loose. If the second term was substituted with a pronoun or some other substituting term, the reference might become ambiguous. Because of that, repetition of the same noun is the only possible word to use so that semantic relation is not lost. In comparison, in (14), both substitution with *their* and repetition of *worker* would be possible and understandable. Therefore, because the choice between different gender-neutral strategies is not possible for the second term in sentences (12) and (13), examples of this kind were not included in the final set of data.

Rephrasing strategies

By design, the strategies that include the restructuring of the whole sentence (e.g. using passive, which is unnatural to speech, or switching to plural) are excluded from the query. Still, a number of instances of these strategies surfaced in the data, and were included in the dataset (15):

(15) An EU **citizen** who fails to apply to the EU settlement scheme before the deadline will not be acting unlawfully in the same way as an illegal entrant or overstayer would be. (Susan Williams, #90679549)

This is an example of a linguistic strategy discussed in Section 2.6.3 (c), where a subordinate adverbial clause starting with “If he/she...” is substituted with a relative *who*-clause instead.

Examples of this kind were considered a successful attempt to avoid the use of gender-neutral *he*, and were counted in the final calculations as an instance of this strategy.

Identifiable antecedents

Selecting the correct, undiscriminating pronoun is important not only when speaking about unspecified persons. Depending on their gender identity, people may choose to be referred to by pronouns that do not correspond to their biological sex; for example, *they/them* or *ze/zir*. Using the right pronoun is a matter of comfort and mutual respect in communication.

In legal texts, it is important to keep this fact in mind even when referring to identifiable individuals whose pronouns you may not know. In this case, some drafting guides like that of CaDG (2024) suggest repeating the individual's name or title or structuring the sentence so that no pronoun is required.

The query used for data collection in this thesis also displayed a number of similar examples, where the speakers talk about an obviously identifiable person, but due to the reasons described above, choose to use gender-neutral pronouns. For example (16, 17):

(16) **One worker** said to us that **their** colleagues were tired and upset, but that they had been for years. James Murray, #96303244

(17) On Sunday, an appalling story came out of a social care **worker** in Norfolk being asked to go to Sheffield—a five-hour round trip—to be tested. Even **their** nearest place was a three-hour round trip away. SarahBrinton, #95711706

Linguistic situations of this kind also create a need for some conscious syntactic effort and creativity, which might be an interesting topic for research, too. This paper, however, does not focus on cases of gender ambiguity of identifiable persons, but only on grammatical ambiguity of gender of unspecified singular nouns, so these cases were not included in the final set of data.

Direct citations

One last type of concordances that were excluded from the data were direct citations read aloud, for example (18):

(18) New clause 2 would ensure that “A **person** is not guilty of an offence under section 1(1) if **they** are wearing the ‘award’ in a public house.”

Even though these concordances also display the use of strategies of avoiding masculine generics, these are instances of a pre-planned and regulated pieces of language read aloud, so they do not correspond to the material relevant for this research.

3.3 OBJECTIVES

The three main research questions for the study are:

1. To investigate whether generic *he* continues to lose its momentum.
2. If so, what strategies are the most popular to use as an alternative.
3. To compare the results of the present research conducted on spoken language with other studies that consider written legal English (e.g. Rose, 2008).

For these purposes, the concordances were searched for cases where the dual gender noun antecedent was substituted by some of the following strategies discussed in Section 2.6:

1. Universal *he*
2. Singular *they*
3. Repetition of the noun
4. Coordinative phrase *he or she*
5. Definite determiner *the* and demonstrative pronoun *that*
6. Omission
7. Substitution with another noun
8. Different kinds of rephrasing

What follows is a quantitative analysis of the strategies used, as well as a qualitative overview of the findings.

4 ANALYSIS

The data shows that the most prominent way of avoiding masculine generics in the Parliamentary debates is using the singular *they* — it appeared in 72% of the cases (152 occurrences out of the total 213). That finding is not unexpected, as the singular *they* is becoming increasingly common in spoken English in general. This finding seems to be very promising, especially in combination with the fact that the generic *he* appeared in just 4 cases out of 213 — a very unsubstantial occurrence, though still disappointing to find in the speeches of the Members of British Parliament.

Other techniques of avoiding masculine generics found in the data include repetition, *he or she*, determiners *the* and *a*, syntactic rephrasing such as using non-finite clauses or “if he” => “who...” rephrasing, omission, and the use of pronouns such as *you* and unmarked *she*. Out of these, only the first four seem to be at least somewhat common in use, with repetition being the most numerous — 20 occurrences out of 213, making up 9% of the data. *He or she*, determiners *the/a* and rephrasing appeared in just 11, 9 and 8 concordances, making up 5%, 4% and 3% respectively — a very unsubstantial proportion of the data.

The unsubstantial occurrence of these strategies is not unexpected as well. As was suggested in Section 2.6, these techniques might read as unnatural even in written texts, so it is expectable that they would spring to the mind of a speaker even less often.

If not to count the unmarked *he* itself, the least used strategies are omission, unmarked *she*, and *you*, the last presenting an interesting finding that was not covered in any of the drafting techniques discussed in Section 2.6, however understandably so as it is more probable to come across in speech than in writing. Each of these techniques is found in less than five concordances.

Each strategy is discussed separately in the following sections. The final number of examples is more than 200 for the reasons discussed in Section 3.2.3. The results are summarized in Table 1:

Table 1. Reference to dual gender nouns in English ParlaManit 2.1 corpus

Strategy	Worker	Citizen	Parent	Person	Total	Total in %
sg. <i>they</i>	36	40	40	37	153	72%
repetition	6	4	2	8	20	9%
<i>he or she</i>	6	1	2	2	11	5%
determiners <i>the/a</i>	0	1	6	2	9	4%
rephrasing (non-finite clause, "if he" → "who...", etc.)	3	3	1	1	8	3%
dropping the pronoun	1	1	0	1	3	1.5%
<i>you</i>	2	1	1	0	4	2%
<i>he</i>	2	0	0	2	4	2%
<i>she</i>	0	0	1	0	1	0.5%
Total	56	51	53	53	213	100%

4.1 SINGULAR *THEY*

The most popular way of avoiding male-gendered generics used by the speakers of the British Parliament is the singular *they*. This is true for the entire dataset: it was the most numerous with all the studied terms (72% in total) and can be exemplified by the following findings from the material (19, 20, 21, 22):

(19) It is currently an offence to assault a police officer, immigration officer or prison officer, but it is not a specific offence to assault an NHS **worker**, whether **they** are a doctor, nurse or paramedic. (Oliver Dowden, #38037570)

(20) If I had described that to a neutral **person** without mentioning that it was a move by the UK Government I think **they** would have assumed that it was being moved by Putin Erdoğan or someone else who sees a democratic structure as ... (Susan Kramer, #91233152)

(21) This ensures that a Norwegian **citizen** living in the UK can rely on **their** rights in a UK court in broadly the same way as a Swedish citizen. (Stephen Barclay, #89966828)

(22) It has also been extended from age 12, so the **parent** of a disabled child can now access tax-free child care until **their** child is 17. (Samuel Gyimah, #3901924)

It was mentioned in Section 3.2.3 that the singular *they* was also found even in sentences with identifiable antecedents, where it is used in order to keep the reference gender-neutral when

speaking of a person whose gender you do not know or do not wish to mention. Even though these examples were not included in the analysis, this observation additionally supports the conclusion that speakers seem to be more and more comfortable violating the number concord to keep their language free of male generics.

When compared to the fact that universal *he* occurred in just four cases, accounting for the mere 2% of the data, this finding answers two of the research questions in the affirmative: the unmarked *he* is indeed losing popularity, and the singular *they* is becoming the most widely used and accepted means of gender-neutral reference.

Therefore, it seems that English might finally be gaining the sex-neutral third-person pronoun and might be going through a change in the pronominal system. It is very interesting to see the results of similar studies in a couple of decades to make the final conclusions from a diachronic perspective.

4.1.1 NOTES ON THE USE OF THE SINGULAR *THEY*

The analysis of the antecedents of the singular *they* is out of the question in this study, as by design it is limited to dual gender nouns of generic reference. Instead, this section analyses the uses and forms of singular *they* in its referential cohesive function.

The most common function of the singular *they* in its nominal-case form is endophoric reference to the preceding context, to substitute for its dual-gender antecedent. For example, it can appear in this function as a subject in the near subordinate clause (23), coordinate clause (24), or longer postmodification (25):

(23) As I have said, where a **worker** feels that they have had a detriment, they are to report it to HMRC or ACAS. HMRC will investigate every complaint. (Kelly Tolhurst, #82570349)

(24) An assaulted **worker** should be able to count on the support of their employer in bringing the charge and, where necessary, they should expect counselling to help them deal with any trauma. (Judith Jolly, #64661250)

(25) We should remember that a zero-hours contract often means for an employee or a **worker** zero loyalty to the firm for which they work or by which they are employed. (John Monks, #41741698)

It is also very often used as a cohesive tie in the possessive form *their* as part of premodification of noun phrases (26, 27):

(26) Any care home worker who wants an individual test can access a site where, as a key **worker**, **their** test will be prioritised. (James Bethell, #96826847)

(27) This ensures that a Norwegian **citizen** living in the UK can rely on **their** rights in a UK court in broadly the same way as a Swedish citizen. (Stephen Barclay, #89966828)

Thrice in the dataset it was used as a reflexive pronoun, two times in its plural form (28, 29) and once in a new, singular form (30):

(28) These are countries where up until this point, thanks to the common foreign and security policy, any British **citizen** visiting, working or living there who found **themselves** in difficulty and could not look to a British embassy for help had the right to go to other EU embassies based there and ask for consular support. (Emily Thornberry, #71713084)

(29) We need to be seen, as we are, as a serious body with every right to require any UK **citizen** to come here and explain **themselves**, and we need to be able to enforce that in a sensible and proportionate way. (John Redwood, #79713217)

(30) There is also the risk of redetention: when a **person** reports who is required to do so and then finds **themselves** detained by the authorities. (Roy Kennedy, #102214815)

In all forms, the co-reference pronoun can be used in close proximity to the antecedent, for example in the coordinated subject (31), as well as used cross-sententially (32):

(31) This means that an EEA **citizen**, or **their** family member, who is resident in the UK at the end of the transition period but is not exercising free movement rights will still be able to apply to the EU settlement scheme by the deadline of 30 June next year. (Susan Williams, #104058899)

(32) While we are on Northern Ireland, could the Minister consider this scenario of a **citizen** of the Republic of Ireland living in France and returning to live in London? How do **they** stand with regard to the Bill? (Judith Jolly, #75477277)

4.2 REPETITION

Repetition of the term is the second most-used strategy of avoiding sex-definite reference after the singular *they*. It was registered in 20 examples, which makes up approximately 9% of the data. The following (33, 34, 35, 36) exemplify the typical usage of this strategy:

(33) We cannot let the state take over a **parent's** job — a **parent's** most basic responsibility to feed and keep their children safe. (Sally Ann Hart, #98036346)

(34) Is there any process allowing the senior officer reviewing the initial decision by the constable or other lower-ranking officer to receive representations from the

person from whom the travel documents are removed, or from a representative of **that person**? (David Heath, #124847)

(35) Basically, what we are looking at is the reverse of a 999 scheme: instead of the **citizen** telephoning the emergency services and asking for help, the emergency services contact the **citizen** and give the **citizen** advice. (George Young, #59662004)

(36) The earlier a **person** retired, the lower the annual cap is set, to compensate for the longer time the **person** will be receiving payments. (Diana Warwick, #583177)

This finding is somewhat unexpected, as even the UKDG expressed concerns (discussed in Section 2.6.1) that repetition can read unnatural and result in stylistically unpleasant drafts. However, it appears that language users have no aversion to using this strategy even in spoken communication. This suggests that while it may sound awkward, repetition is a functional and acceptable strategy of avoiding masculine generics in speech.

This suggestion leads to another related observation that repetition reads more natural in some contexts than others. In the four examples provided above, the repeated phrasing often appears far-fetched and excessive, as seen in constructions like "the emergency services contact the **citizen** and give the **citizen** advice" from example (35). Here, substituting the second occurrence of "the citizen" with a pronoun would feel more stylistically natural. These cases highlight the nuanced balance between clarity and redundancy in effective language use.

On the other hand, there are examples like (37, 38) below, where repetition works towards a more pleasant flow of the text:

(37) We need to build a public perception that when an **emergency worker** is doing **his or her** duty, the public equally have a duty to protect that emergency **worker**, not to attack **them**. (Robert Stewart, #48286436)

(38) The House appreciates that when an assault takes place on an emergency **worker**, it is not just the individual emergency **worker** who is affected; very often it is the family members as well. (Gareth Johnson, #48277804)

In example (37), the repetition of "emergency worker" is used alongside other substitutions like "his or her" and "them", so that the reference is more varied and sounds more natural.

Another aspect worth noting is that in both examples, the pro-form is used in a kind of highlighted context. In (37), there is an opposition of two contrasting verb phrases: "not to attack, but to protect". Similarly, in (38), the "emergency worker" noun phrase is part of

a cleft sentence, a common means of grammatical highlighting (Quirk et al., 1985: 89). So, in both cases, the repetition itself serves as a kind of emotive highlighting, for which the noun form is more suitable than the weaker pronoun form.

In some examples, the dual gender noun is repeated not with the same term but with a synonym. For example (39, 40):

(39) For example, if a contract states that the **employee** is entitled to 28 days' holiday, including all bank and public holidays, the **worker** would be entitled to paid time off. (Elizabeth McInnes, #41040156)

(40) For example, a **young person** could have been in care from a young age because of emotional or physical abuse, or because of neglect. **That child** might have been moved from foster carer to foster carer, and **they** could also have gone through... (Kelly Tolhurst, #17165661)

Though not registered in the recommendations for use in legal drafts in Section 2.6, this strategy could be beneficial as a means of substituting generic *he* in less formal circumstances such as spoken registers, as it sounds somewhat more natural than constant repetition of the same noun as in (35) above.

One example of co-referential substitution was subsumed under this strategy as well (41):

(41) It is all very well appointing somebody—they also have to be willing to be appointed—but when appointing an appropriate **person** or recognising **one**, the responsible body has to be confident that the appropriate person is prepared to act. (James OShaughnessy, #68464363)

The nominal substitution pro-form *one* is used as means of grammatical coherence.

4.3 HE OR SHE

The coordinate noun phrase *he or she* is the third most common way of avoiding masculine generics in the data: it appeared in 11 cases out of 213. Most often, the phrase fits into the sentence very organically (42):

(42) The charter was also intended to protect the **citizen** against overmighty EU institutions, not necessarily against **his or her** own state, for states have their own democratically enacted rights laws. (Ruth Deech, #55421372)

However, as the UKDG and CaDG point out, the wording might become clumsy if more than one reference is needed. A couple of cases from the data confirm this warning (43, 44, 45):

(43) ... that is what the Government have saved, but do they think that a lone **parent** can afford to lose £1,400 a year? **He or she** will take out credit cards to pay for **their** children's school trip, clothes, the rent or the mortgage, and household debt will rise and rise. (Louise Haigh, #9341670)

(44) It is simply wrong that an emergency **worker** would have to go out of **his or her** way to ensure that **they** have not been infected with a disease after being assaulted. (Kelly Tolhurst, #48281040)

(45a) We need to build a public perception that when an emergency **worker** is doing **his or her** duty, the public equally have a duty to protect **that emergency worker**, not to attack **them**. (Robert Stewart, #48286436)

Notice that in all examples above, the second reference to the same antecedent has the form of the singular *they*. Were the speakers to use *he or she* repeatedly, the wording would become cumbersome and convoluted:

(45b) We need to build a public perception that when an emergency **worker** is doing **his or her** duty, the public equally have a duty to protect ***him or her**, not to attack ***him or her**. (Robert Stewart, #48286436, adapted)

A similar effect can be observed if we theoretically replace the singular *they* with the coordinated phrase *his or her* in a sentence where singular *they* was originally used throughout (46a and 46b):

(46a) Behind each statistic is a **worker** and **their** family, forced into an impossible choice between **their** health and **their** job. (Edward Miliband, #110774160)

(46b) Behind each statistic is a **worker** and ***his or her** family, forced into an impossible choice between ***his or her** health and ***his or her** job. (Edward Miliband, #110774160, adapted)

Apparently, the speakers feel that too, and hence prefer the briefer use of the singular *they* both in general and on the second reference to the same antecedent as in examples (43, 44, 45) above.

4.4 DETERMINERS *THE/A*

In 9 examples, determiners appear in a place where a personal pronoun could be expected. This only concerns cases of grammatical coherence achieved by means of pronominal reference to

lexically related dual gender nouns in the preceding context. Thus, for example, instead of possibly using the singular *they* (47a), an indefinite article is used in the original instead (47b):

(47a) I completely understand that it is deeply distressing for a **parent** to lose **?their** child at any age, and we will continue to work with ACAS and Cruse to identify the best way to encourage employers to act sympathetically to requests for leave following the loss of an older child who has reached adulthood. (Margot James, #48309293, adapted)

(47b) I completely understand that it is deeply distressing for a **parent** to lose **a** child at any age, and we will continue to work with ACAS and Cruse to identify the best way to encourage employers to act sympathetically to requests for leave following the loss of an older child who has reached adulthood (Margot James, #48309293, original)

The types of reference used are either generic *the* (48), or non-generic indefinite *a* (49, 50):

(48) ... from my reading of the regulations, the suspension of conditionality seems to be available not if the **parent** can demonstrate the distress of **the** (?their) child but if they can show that their childcare arrangements have been significantly disrupted as a result of the events that have happened. (Maeve Sherlock, #2616052)

(49) The law remains gender-neutral and presumes that a **parent's** involvement in **a** (?their) child's life is beneficial unless there is evidence to the contrary. (Paul Maynard, #82551715)

(50) The inevitable consequence of his proposal is that once again the responsible landlord—the **person** who lets a house to family members or lodgers, or who brings into use **a** family home that would otherwise be empty ... (Christopher Chope, #54154122)

The UKDG recommendations discussed in Section 2.6.2 c) highlighted a potential issue with this strategy, cautioning that repeated usage of determiners instead of possessive pronouns risks losing the connection between the antecedent and the referent, which could compromise the clarity of the text. However, in the analyzed cases, the use of definite and indefinite determiners does not seem to pose a problem.

4.5 REPHRASING

The examples of what the Drafting Guidelines refer to as rephrasing present an interesting case. These instances were not intentionally sought out, nor were they included in the original query. Nonetheless, some sentences in the corpus closely resembled the structures

recommended for use by the Drafting Guidelines. Eight examples of such strategies were identified in the dataset.

Since the corpus is based on spoken language, it is unlikely that speakers consciously analyzed the structures they were using along the way and deliberately altered them. For instance, consider the rephrasing from a subordinate adverbial clause beginning with “If he/she...” to a relative clause introduced by “who,” as prototypically illustrated in (50a and 50b):

(50a) An EU **citizen** who fails to apply to the EU settlement scheme before the deadline will not be acting unlawfully in the same way as an illegal entrant or overstayer would be. (Susan Williams, #90679549, original)

(50b) *If an EU citizen fails to apply to the EU settlement scheme before the deadline, **they/he or she** will not be acting unlawfully in the same way as an illegal entrant or overstayer would be. (Susan Williams, #90679549, adapted)

It is implausible to assume that MP Susan Williams consciously intended to express (50b) but opted for (50a) instead. However, it is reasonable to suggest that, when choosing between these two structures, the speaker went for automatically (50a), even if the reason for that was not an attempt to avoid the need to specify the gender of the pronoun. In the same manner, MP Margot James chooses to express (51a) and not (51b):

(51a) A genuine **worker** has a “day one” right to be at least paid the appropriate national minimum wage or the national living wage if he or she is over 25. (Margot James, #33081337, original)

(51b) A genuine **worker** who is over 25 has a “day one” right to be at least paid the appropriate national minimum wage or the national living wage. (Margot James, #33081337, adapted)

In other words, sentences such as (50a) are not the result of a conscious syntactic effort to avoid gendered syntactic structures. Still, they are included in the dataset alongside more straightforward techniques, such as the use of singular *they*, to demonstrate that it is entirely possible to avoid gendered pronouns in spoken language without conscious effort.

Another interesting finding among cases of rephrasing was a bunch of adverbial clauses condensed to a non-finite form, which are uncommon in speech (52, 53, 54):

(52) It is simply wrong that an emergency **worker** would have to go out of his or her way to ensure that they have not been infected with a disease after being assaulted. (Kelly Tolhurst, #48281040)

(53) These amendments provide that a **person** commits an offence when falsely claiming to be on the nursing associate part of the register, falsely claiming to hold a nursing associate qualification or using the title “nursing associate” when not entitled to. (James OShaughnessy, #64257772)

(54) ... particularly when families are required to move to new duty locations and when a **parent** is deployed for a lengthy period away from home, especially if deployed on active service. (Martin Docherty Hughes, #26148557)

This way of avoiding gendered language constructions was also mentioned in the Drafting Guidances under the rephrasing strategies (see Section 2.6.3 a)), where it is suggested that some unnecessary elements in the clause (in this case, the subjects) might be dropped to avoid mentioning the sex-(in)definite subject. All the above examples of non-finite adverbial clauses serve as evidence that it is possible even in speech.

The last interesting type of “rephrased” expression that allows the speaker to avoid expressing sex-indefinite reference is the use of existential *there* (55, 56):

(55) The feedback is that the typical journey of a whistleblower looks like this: if the **worker** is inexperienced at whistleblowing, there is uncertainty about what to do and who to tell, as has been said. **They** often go to **their** immediate manager. (Laura Pidcock, #84618257, original)

(56) ... if the **worker** is inexperienced at whistleblowing, **they** are uncertain about what to do and who to tell ... (Laura Pidcock, #84618257, adapted)

In comparison with (56), where the singular *they* normally functions as a cohesive element for a related lexical item “the worker” from the subordinate clause, *there*-construction in (55) helps to transfer the function of a subject from the noun phrase to the notional subject of *there*-construction, thus avoiding reiteration. It also stresses the focus of “uncertainty” as opposed to the *worker* as the agent of the action.

In the second part of the example (55), we can also observe the double use of the singular *they* in reference to dual-gender *worker*.

4.6 DROPPING THE PRONOUN

Omissions can be said to be the hardest to identify. In the same way as it is impossible to tell whether an instance of rephrasing was intentional to avoid a gender-marked language construction, it is impossible to tell whether an omission of a pronoun or a determiner was

intentional. Still, it seems that in some cases a pronoun might be lacking in a place where it would normally be present. For instance (57, 58, 59):

- (57) My Lords, passenger and transport **worker** safety is absolutely paramount. To help make (?their) **journeys** safer, my department has today published new guidance for both transport operators and passengers. (Charlotte Vere, #96379933)
- (58) ... and employee £8,000 if they are coming from outside the EU, with the NHS surcharge alone being £2,000, even though the **person** will pay (?their) **taxes** and contribute to the NHS. (Lloyd Russell Moyle, #74838451)
- (59) What are our courts going to do if confronted, for example, by a **citizen** seeking to establish (?their) **rights** under retained EU law when that retained law is riddled with deficiencies? (Stuart McDonald, #52321687)

The Drafting Guidances discussed in Section 2.6 warn the writers that omissions of this kind might sound unnatural, which seems to be true for these examples as well, probably the more so in (57) and (59).

4.7 *You*

Another interesting finding in the data was the second-person pronoun *you* used as a cohesive pro-form in three cases (60, 61, 62):

- (60) Far too often, the social worker with that case is moved on. It is my experience that the social **worker** working with the family and the school is often employed only for six months, and 12 months if **you** are lucky. (Michael Storey, #81786346)
- (61) I can describe only as beautiful silence afterwards helped me and my wife come to terms with what had just happened. No **parent** should have to face being taken to a room in a maternity ward of crying babies when **you** have just gone through a stillbirth. (William Quince, #13559671)
- (62) Without action to bring R below 1, the NHS would be overwhelmed, no matter what we did to expand the NHS and protect the vulnerable, and then we could no longer guarantee that solemn promise to every **citizen** that our NHS will be there for **you** when **you** need it. We must not let that happen. I want to say this very directly to all those who need NHS services this winter: help us to help you. (Matthew Hancock, #105781492)

As Dušková et al. (2012: 4.11) note, *you* is a common informal means of referring to the general human agent. Indeed, in examples 60 and 61, the pronoun *you* is used in reference to generic noun phrases. In this sense, it is possible to say the pronoun *you* itself bears a kind of generic meaning expressing generic human agent: it is used to describe shared experience in general.

Generic pronoun *you* can be used to appeal to or describe the hearers' or the speakers' experience of life in general (Quirk et al., 1985: 534). In (60) and (61), it seems to do both: the speakers touch upon their personal experience of a social worker's employment and going through a stillbirth, but they also refer to common experience in the same situation. In this sense, the choice of the second-person pronoun is more effective in making the speech more appealing and personal for the listeners.

In example (62), while the noun phrase "every citizen" is also generic in meaning, the co-reference pro-form does not exactly read as a general human agent. Rather, it seems to work as "breaking the third wall" to address the potential addressee — "every citizen who needs NHS."

In all three examples, using *you* as a co-reference pro-form is possible thanks to the spoken mode of the register and situational characteristics of the setting. The MPs have to make impact with their speeches, so choosing *you* as a reference pronoun allows them to be more personal and appeal to their listeners, especially when they mention their own experience.

However, using second-person pronouns is not an uncommon strategy in legal English nowadays. Modern legal drafting increasingly incorporates second-person pronouns *you* and *we*, championed by the "plain language movement." This approach is the most common in consumer-facing materials, such as terms and conditions or contracts. The second-person pronouns improve readability, foster a sense of intimacy, and simplify legal language, so that readers can quickly grasp their roles, duties and rights in the contracts. For instance, parties addressed as *you* or *I* feel more directly engaged compared to the abstract *First* or *Second Party to the Contract* (Butt and Castle, 2006: 208). A similar effect is achieved in the examples above, making the speech more relatable to the audience.

The last reason for including these examples in the data is that despite the atypical means of reference, in all cases the co-reference pro-form is easily substituted with singular generic *they*, implying direct grammatical and lexical relatedness as in any other prototypical example in the dataset:

(60b) ... It is my experience that the social **worker** working with the family and the school is often employed only for six months, and 12 months if **they** are lucky.

(Michael Storey, #81786346, adapted)

(61b) No **parent** should have to face being taken to a room in a maternity ward of crying babies when **they** have just gone through a stillbirth. (William Quince, #13559671, adapted)

(62b) ... and then we could no longer guarantee that solemn promise to every **citizen** that our NHS will be there for **them** when **they** need it. (Matthew Hancock, #105781492, adapted)

4.8 UNMARKED *HE*

It is more of a pleasant finding that just four cases out of all 213 displayed the use of unmarked *he*, which makes up no more than 2% of the data. Still, it demonstrates that in rare cases, some members of the Parliament consider it appropriate to subsume the feminine gender under masculine. It was verified by looking at the larger co-text of each example that unmarked *he* was not used as a reference to a specific male person, but as a co-reference pro-form to a generic, dual gender noun phrase.

The unmarked *he* appeared with only two terms out of four, *worker* (63, 64) and *person* (65, 66):

(63) The adverse impact of the decision to leave is of growing concern to everyone in the country. A factory **worker** in the United Kingdom providing part of an international manufacturing process will be deeply concerned about **his** job, post Brexit, if there are tariffs and customs checks on goods that move in and out of Britain during the manufacturing process ... (John Burnett, #55276654)

(64) In 2012 the Chancellor gave a speech describing the “strivers” and the “skivers” and asking whether it was fair for a shift **worker** to get up in the morning to go to work and see the closed blinds of **his** neighbours who live off benefits. Of course, skivers are not eligible for working tax credits and child tax credits, because they are only given to people in work. (Geraint Davies, #9724641)

Both speakers in (63) and (64) are of male gender, John Burnett being 76 years old and a Liberal Democrat, and Geraint Davies 64 years old, a member of the Labour Party. It seems to be an interesting coincidence that in 2023, the latter MP was suspended from his party due to accusations of unwanted sexual attention (Jones, 2024).

Both examples talk about some kind of economic influence on the lives of regular “shift” and “factory” workers. This is noteworthy, because there is a common

misconception that the “working force” consists of middle-aged men. The data by Statista shows that as of 2024, 41.5% of manufacturing industry workers in the UK are female, meaning that by referring to the factory worker as a “he” in (64), John Burnett also talks about 41.5% of women. The same concerns the “working class” in general, which, as Caroline Criado-Perez (2019) notes, does not consist of prototypical coal miners anymore, but female-prevalent jobs like cleaners and housekeepers.

Another interesting coincidence is that for the second term, *person*, both examples (65) and (66) talk about criminal law (again, longer context is provided to demonstrate that the pronominal reference is generic, not definite):

(65) Amendment 35 amends the offence of producing a psychoactive substance so that a **person** commits an offence under Clause 4(1)(b) if **he or she**, “knows or thinks that the substance is a psychoactive substance”, rather than if **he or she** “suspects” it.

I am picturing myself with a **person** I have just arrested—sometimes I dream that I am still in the police; rather, it is a nightmare—in the tape-recording interview room at the police station, when I ask **him**, “Did you suspect this to be a psychoactive substance?” Surely the question is whether the suspect thought that it was a psychoactive substance, not whether **he** suspected it to be one. “Suspect” is rather value-laden, which usually has negative connotations. (Brian Paddick, #8691848)

(66) Clearly, this Bill will still allow a **killer**, sentenced to life, to be released, even if **he** has failed to disclose the whereabouts of a victim’s body. Most people would say that such a **person** may not be properly rehabilitated if **he** is refusing to cooperate on something as basic as the location of a victim’s remains, or the identity of a child. (Lucy Allan, #92667799)

Speaker of (65), Brian Paddick, is a 66-year-old male, member of the Liberal Democrat party and a retired police officer. Speaker of (66), Lucy Allan, is a 60-year-old female, member of the Conservative party.

In (65), the switch to the unmarked *he* is rather unexpected, as in the preceding co-text the speaker properly uses the coordinate phrase *he or she*. The subsequent co-text does not include any other instances of pronominal reference. In (66), the speaker does talk about another male offender, John Worboys, but he was not accused of murder but of rape, so it cannot be that Lucy Allan refers to him when talking about a killer in (66) above. It may be,

however, that having talked about mostly male defendants, she was primed to refer to a hypothetical, generic killer as a *he*, too.

In this case, however, it might not come as too surprising that in the two examples concerning criminal law the reference slips to male pronouns in comparison with the worker examples above. While it was demonstrated that a big proportion of the “working force” consists of women, the same does not hold true about “killers”. As Caroline Criado-Perez (2019) writes, “the reality of human-on-human lethal violence is that it is overwhelmingly a male occupation.” She cites a 2013 UN homicide survey which discovered that 96% of homicide perpetrators worldwide are male, as well as other country-specific surveys (including the UK) that confirm this fact. In this sense, referring to a generic “killer” as a “he” might not come far from the truth.

Still, even this fact does not justify referring to a generic group of killers with a male pronoun: it is no more fair and unbiased than referring to a generic bad driver as a “she”.

To sum up, it is hard to judge whether the use of the unmarked *he* by the above speakers was justifiable, erroneous or intentional. What holds true is that pronominal reference should remain unbiased as in the remaining 98% of data, especially in the impactful speeches of the members of Parliament.

4.9 UNMARKED *SHE*

A single instance of what seems to be unmarked *she* reference was identified in the data (67):

(67) A couple with one person working full-time on average earnings will lose more than £2,000 in tax credits next year. A single **parent** trying to provide for **her** two children, working 16 hours a week, will lose £860 in tax credits next year. (Stephen Timms, #9461521)

Again, nowhere in the previous context were there any mentions of single women taking care of children, so the use of unmarked *she* seems to be a personal, instant choice of the speaker. It may be assumed that in this case, too, it is given by the extralinguistic knowledge that most often it is single mothers rather than single fathers bringing up children.

In general, it appears that whenever the speakers opt for the use of generic sex-definite pronouns, the choice is dictated by the extralinguistic schemata and cultural assumptions (regardless of whether they correspond to reality or not): so far, we have encountered single mothers and male killers and factory workers.

4.10 COMBINATION OF STRATEGIES

Many examples in the data illustrate that all the above strategies can easily be used in combination. The most common is the combination of repetition of the term along with some pronominal reference, most often either the singular *they* (68, 69), but also the coordinate phrase *he or she* (70):

(68) For example, **a young person** could have been in care from a young age because of emotional or physical abuse, or because of neglect. **That child** might have been moved from foster carer to foster carer, and **they** could also have gone through an adoption failure, or had a period in a children's home with a number of different social workers over that time. (Kelly Tolhurst, #17165661)

(69) They require each **person** to be seen as an individual. Each **person** gets fair access to care and **their** comfort and well-being are maximised; care is co-ordinated, all staff are prepared to care and each community is prepared to help. (Ilora Finlay, #83419492)

(70) We need to build a public perception that when an emergency **worker** is doing **his or her** duty, the public equally have a duty to protect that emergency **worker**, not to attack **them**. (Robert Stewart, #48286436)

The last example (70) also illustrates the combined use of singular *they* and *he or she*, so that speakers easily switch between different pronominal types of sex-neutral reference.

Examples (71) and (72) further exemplify this finding:

(71) It is simply wrong that an emergency **worker** would have to go out of **his or her** way to ensure that **they** have not been infected with a disease after being assaulted. (Kelly Tolhurst, #48281040)

(72) ... pounds for a working parent who lives on their own—that is what the Government have saved, but do they think that a lone **parent** can afford to lose £1,400 a year? **He or she** will take out credit cards to pay for **their** children's school trip, clothes, the rent or the mortgage, and household debt will rise and rise. (Louise Haigh, #9341670)

Section 4.8 further exemplifies an example (65) where the unmarked *he* was also used alongside sex-neutral *he or she* phrase.

4.11 PLURAL NUMBER

Unfortunately, it was technically impossible to include switching to plural as a strategy in the query and reasonably compare its occurrence with others in the scope of this study. However, it is worth noting that switching to plural number could have been among the top used strategies of avoiding masculine generics on par with the singular *they*. It is indirectly possible to demonstrate from the data, too, even though the query was not overtly looking for examples of switching to plural.

Very often, plural surfaces next to other strategies. For example (73):

(73) In 2012 the Chancellor gave a speech describing the “**strivers**” and the “**skivers**” and asking whether it was fair for a shift **worker** to get up in the morning to go to work and see the closed blinds of his neighbours who live off benefits. Of course, **skivers** are not eligible for working tax credits and child tax credits, because they are only given to people in work. (Geraint Davies, #9724641)

In this example, there is no co-reference with the key term of the concordance — “a shift worker” — and the other terms in plural (“strivers and skivers”). In (74), however, there are direct cohesive ties of reference between the key term and the word in plural:

(74) The role of the **social worker** is highly emotionally charged, and it always has been. **These people** step into the lives of families and children for understandable reasons. (Francis Hare, #43022798)

The second usage “these people” is a reiteration of “the social worker”, where a general noun in plural is reiterated instead of the original dual gender noun in singular.

4.12 DATA DISTRIBUTION BY SPEAKERS’ SEX

The distribution of male and female speakers in the data was analyzed to determine whether men or women are leading the shift toward gender-neutral language in parliamentary discourse. In this case, the sentences are counted not by the number of total strategies of reference to dual gender nouns (which makes up 213) but by concordance per speaker, so the four concordances where speakers used unmarked *he* discussed in Section 4.8 are excluded from the data. This leaves 196 concordances with gender-neutral strategies, which is why the totals for the terms *person* and *worker* are 48 instead of the original 50. This data was examined by speakers’ gender, which is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Distribution of speakers by sex

speaker's sex	citizen	person	worker	parent	total
female	20	23	17	26	86 (45%)
male	30	25	31	24	110 (55%)
total	50	48	48	50	196

For the three terms (*citizen*, *person*, *worker*), male speakers were recorded more frequently than female speakers. Only *parent* showed a slight female majority, with 26 instances compared to 24 used by male MPs. The largest disparity occurred with *worker* (31 male speakers versus 17 female) and *citizen* (30 males versus 20 females). Across all terms, male speakers accounted for 110 instances (55%) and female speakers for 86 (45%).

This finding needs to be put into a larger parliamentary context. As of 2024, 40% of MPs were female, up from 30% in 2015 when the earliest recordings in the ParlaMint corpus were made (Baker, McAlary, Pennel, 2021). On average, it means that from 2015 to 2024, the representation of MPs by sex was roughly 35% of women and 65% of men. This population is compared to the data from Table 2 above, containing 196 sentences, of which 55% were produced by males and 45% by females.

To determine whether the sample accurately reflects the population proportions, a Chi-Square Goodness-of-Fit Test was conducted with the help of ChatGPT, which revealed a statistically significant difference between the observed and expected distributions. The null hypothesis of this test stated that the sample proportions match the population proportions (i.e., the observed proportion of sentences from males and females reflects the true population distribution of 65% men and 35% women). The alternative hypothesis stated that the sample proportions do not match the population proportions.

First, we calculate the expected counts of sentences in the data:

- Total sentences: $N = 196$
- Population proportions:
 - Male: $65\% \times 196 = 127.4$ (expected male-produced sentences)
 - Female: $35\% \times 196 = 68.6$ (expected female-produced sentences)
- Observed counts:
 - Male: $55\% \times 196 = 107.8$ (approx. 108 observed)
 - Female: $45\% \times 196 = 88.2$ (approx. 88 observed)

Second, to verify that the discrepancy from the expected distribution of significant, we run the Chi-square test:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

Where:

- O_i : Observed counts
- E_i : Expected counts

Substitute the values:

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(108 - 127.4)^2}{127.4} + \frac{(88 - 68.6)^2}{68.6}$$

The Chi-square test returned p-value of 0.00367, which is much smaller than the common significance level ($\alpha = 0.05$). This suggests that the data sample from this study is not representative of the population proportions. Males contributed fewer sentences (55% of the sample) than could be expected based on their proportion in the population (65%). Conversely, females contributed more sentences (45% of the sample) than their share of the population (35%). Specifically, men contributed 19.4 fewer sentences than expected (a 15%

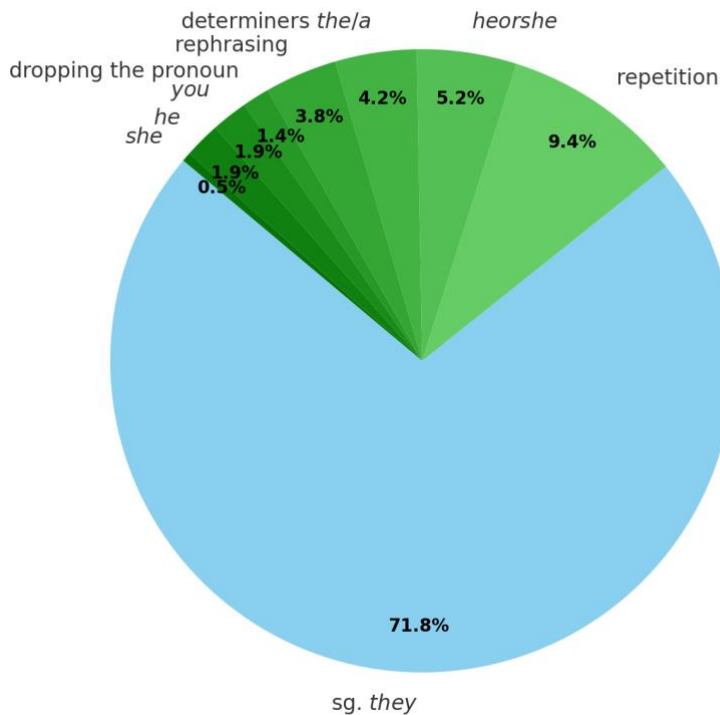
underrepresentation), while women contributed 19.4 more sentences than expected (a 28% overrepresentation). This discrepancy suggests that the sample may not fully represent the population, so that women contribute to the shift toward gender-neutral language more than men.

5 CONCLUSION

Many studies (Grabham, 2020; Xathaki, 2019) highlight the widespread resistance to the use of the singular *they* within the legal industry, whether in legislative drafting (UKDG, 2024) or in the language employed by prominent legal figures, such as the Justices of the Supreme Court (Rose, 2008). However, this study, based on recent spoken data from 2015–2021, suggests that the members of the British Parliament — speakers in the domain related to law — may finally be starting to embrace change and move toward more consistent gender-inclusive language. Figure 1 below illustrates the main finding of the study: that the analysed gender-neutral methods of reference to dual gender nouns were highly prevalent in comparison to gender-marked use of *he*, altogether making up 98% of the data — an absolute majority of the observed reference strategies.

Figure 1. Reference to dual gender nouns in English ParlaManit 2.1 corpus

Reference to dual gender nouns in English ParlaManit 2.1 corpus



First, an analysis of how Members of the British Parliament refer to dual-gender nouns reveals a reduced aversion to the “ungrammatical” singular *they* in a context closely tied to legal matters. This study found that, in 72% of cases, MPs chose the singular *they* as the co-referential pro-form when speaking about a generic person of unknown gender.

If the singular *they* is becoming this prevalent in the formal speech of officials, it may indicate that this linguistic change is gaining significant momentum. Over time, English might fully adopt the singular *they* as a third-person sex-neutral pronoun — or rather, as discussed in Section 2.4, re-establish it in this role — which could eventually make its way even to the most conservative domain of legal language: written legal English.

This trend is further supported by the fact that, among 213 cases of reference to dual gender nouns analyzed, the use of unmarked *he* occurred in only four instances, accounting for just 2% of the data, which is a minor proportion of the dataset. In these cases, the use of a sex-definite pronoun was linked to some extra-linguistic gender stereotypes, regardless of their accuracy. The same applies to the single registered instance of unmarked *she* in the data.

The overwhelming 98% of the data displayed the use of gender-neutral reference strategies. This confirms that when speakers do not opt for singular *they*, they still employ other gender-neutral forms of reference and thus consciously avoid the use of unmarked *he*, striving to keep their language gender-neutral and emphasizing the importance of gender-neutral language among the British MPs.

Beyond the singular *they* and the unmarked *he*, seven other strategies of avoiding gender-marked language were identified: repetition, *he or she* noun phrase, the use of determiners (*the* and *a*), rephrasing, dropping the pronoun, and employing unmarked *she* or *you* as a reference pro-form. In many instances, speakers combined multiple strategies, most commonly pairing repetition with pronominal reference (singular *they* or *he or she*), or mixing different types of pronominal references (both singular *they* or *he or she*).

Among these strategies, repetition emerged as the most common and appeared in 9.4% of cases. In some cases, repetition was excessive and sounded unnatural (e.g., used twice in the

same clause or coordinate phrase), while in others, it appeared more fluid and natural (e.g., used along other pronouns or synonyms). This finding was unexpected, as repetition is generally not considered a preferred technique in spoken language.

Similarly surprising was the occurrence of instances of rephrasing. Although these examples do not represent deliberate rephrasing (which would require online conscious analysis and editing of speech), they align with the structures suggested by the Drafting Guidelines discussed in Section 2.6 and were therefore included in the analysis.

Another noteworthy finding was the use of the second-person pronoun *you* as a co-referential pro-form for dual-gender nouns. While understandably absent in any Drafting Guidance, the use of *you* allowed the MPs to make their speech more relatable to their audience — a function that parallels its increasingly common usage in contractual language.

This research aligns closely with Rose's (2008) analysis of Supreme Court Justices' opinions. Legal codes, being products of a more rigidly regulated drafting process involving larger teams, differ from the Justices' opinions, which allow for greater individual influence over the final text of decisions. This distinction makes the Justices' opinions comparable to the formal yet pre-planned speeches of British MPs. Rose's (2008: 122) findings revealed that "most of the justices use gender-neutral language some of the time and gendered-generic language most of the time." In contrast, this study presents a far more optimistic outlook, with 98% of the analyzed data demonstrating a preference for gender-neutral language, which appears to be a promising trend.

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7 RESUMÉ

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá problematikou androcentrismu v právnické angličtině. Mnoho studií zdůrazňuje důležitost analýzy genderové vyváženosti v jazyce, protože jazyk má zásadní vliv na naše vnímání reality a může podporovat genderovou nerovnost. Právnická angličtina — jazyk používaný v právních předpisech, soudních rozhodnutích, právních učebnicích, studiích a souvisejících diskurzích, jako jsou parlamentní debaty — není výjimkou. Tento jazykový obor je klíčový pro každodenní život občanů, a pokud v právnickém jazyce ženy zůstávají podřazeny mužům, potlačuje se tak jejich perspektiva.

Právnická angličtina byla zvolena kvůli své zvláštní odolnosti vůči změnám: bezrodé „he“ bylo dominantní až do konce 20. století, zvláště v referenci k rodově neutrálním substantivům. Tato setrvačnost pramení z tradice, preskriptivní povahy právního diskurzu a obav z nejednoznačnosti při používání singulárního „they“ nebo složitosti frázi jako „he or she“, a zároveň absenci zájmena 3. os. singuláru, které nerozlišuje rod. V reakci na tuto mezeru se nedávno začaly prosazovat snahy o jazyk inkluzivní vůči genderu. Cílem této práce je zjistit, zda bezrodé „he“ v právnické angličtině ztrácí na popularitě a jaké alternativní jazykové konstrukce se používají k dosažení genderové neutrality.

Teoretická část se zaměřuje na několik klíčových oblastí. Nejprve vysvětluje, proč je důležité studovat genderovou nerovnost v jazyce. Vychází z genderových studií napříč jazykem a právem a ukazuje, jak jazyk orientovaný na muže posiluje obraz mužské dominance a marginalizuje ženy.

Dále se zabývá gramatickou kategorií rodu a popisuje, jak různé jazyky vyjadřují rod, s důrazem na angličtinu jako jazyk s nízkým stupněm gramatikalizaci rodu a na anglická rodově nerozlišená substantiva.

Třetí podkapitola diskutuje o problémech spojených s pronominální referencí k rodově nerozlišeným substantivům kvůli absenci genderově neutrálního zájmena 3. os. v angličtině. Popisuje obecně historické používání bezrodého „he“ a jednotného „they“, jejich vliv na genderovou neutralitu v jazyce a dopad na právnický jazyk. Hlavní problém se spočívá v nalezení bilance mezi přesností vyjadřování, čitelností a genderovou neutralitou, což je zvláště problematické v právních textech, kde tradiční normy ztěžují přijetí genderově neutrálních jazykových konstrukcí jako singulární „they“.

Čtvrtá část zkoumá používání singulárního „they“ a bezrodého „he“ konkrétně v právní angličtině v minulosti a současnosti. Bylo zjištěno, že singulární „they“ bylo běžně používáno až do 18. století, kdy potřeba zkrátit právní texty a podpora preskriptivních gramatiků přivedly k převaze bezrodého „he“. Tento trend přetrvával až do 70. let 20. století, kdy druhá vlna feminismu zvládla tento směr otočit.

Pátá část teoretické kapitoly poskytuje přehled různých alternativních jazykových prostředků referencí k rodově nerozlišeným substantivům pro dosažení genderové neutrality v právnickém jazyce, například používání singulárního „they“, frázi „he or she“ a přeformulování. U každé strategie jsou probrány její výhody a nevýhody. Tyto strategie tvoří základ pro praktickou část.

Praktická část analyzuje jazykové strategie, které mluvčí používají při referenci k rodově nerozlišeným substantivům, a to na základě britských parlamentních debat z roků 2015–2021 z anglické části korpusu ParlaMint. Studie má za cíl odpovědět na tři hlavní otázky: zda bezrodé „he“ ztrácí na popularitě, jaké alternativní strategie mluvčí používají pro genderově neutrální referenci, a jak se výsledky liší od studie Roseové z roku 2008.

Analýza je provedena na příkladech, kde je použita anaforická reference k rodově nerozlišeným substantivům. Typickým příkladem je věta, která obsahuje rodově nerozlišené substantivum jako „employee“ nebo „parent“, které má generický význam a dokazuje na skupinu jako celek, a zároveň buď pronominální referenci k tomuto substantivu nebo jiný způsob odkazování. Celkově bylo vybráno 200 takových vět, ale finální analýza je provedena na 213 případech kvůli opakované referenci ke stejnému podstatnému jménu v některých větách.

Výsledky analýzy jsou velmi pozitivní. Zaprvé se ukázalo, že v parlamentárních diskuzích je stále méně odporu vůči použití takzvaně „negramatického“ singulárního „they“. V 72% případů britské poslanci použili singulární „they“ při pronominální referenci k rodově nerozlišeným substantivům. Když se singulární „they“ stává natolik běžné v oficiální řeči politiků, může to znamenat, že tento jazykový posun nabírá na síle. Angličtina by mohla v budoucnu plně přijat singulární „they“ jako rodově nerozlišené zájmeno 3. os., které by se nakonec mohlo dostat i do formální psané právní angličtiny.

Tento trend je podporován i tím, že z 213 analyzovaných příkladů se bezrodé „he“ objevilo jen čtyřikrát, což činí pouze 1,9% dat, tedy zanedbatelný podíl. Dále, i když mluvčí nevolí jednotné „they“ jako referenční prostředek, stále volí jiné genderově neutrální formy

referencí, což ukazuje na vědomé vyhýbání se bezrodému „he“ a zdůrazňuje význam genderově neutrálního jazyka mezi britskými poslanci.

Kromě singulárního „they“ a bezrodého „he“ analýza ukázala i použití dalších strategií, jako opakování, „he or she“, determinátory (the, a), přeformulování, úplné vynechání zájmen a použití „you“ nebo bezrodého „she“. Mluvčí často kombinují různé strategie, přičemž opakování ve spojení s pronominální referencí bylo nejčastější.

Opakování substantiva je druhá nejčastěji použitá strategie po singulárním „they“, a jeho použití sahalo od nadbytečného a nepřírozeného po plynulé a efektivní. Přeformulování bylo překvapivě časté a často odráželo konstrukce doporučené v právnických stylových doporučeních. Zajímavé je také použití zejména 2. os. „you“, díky kterému projev poslanců zněl víc osobnějším a přístupnějším, což reflektuje rostoucí popularitu „you“ ve smluvním jazyce.

Nakonec tento výzkum navazuje na závěry Roseové (2008) o rozhodnutích soudců Nejvyššího soudu USA, kteří používali jak genderově neutrální, tak genderově specifický jazyk ve stejném poměru. Nicméně tento výzkum nabízí optimističtější pohled, protože 98% analyzovaných případů ukazuje preferenci genderově neutrálního jazyka, což může svědčit o výrazném pokroku směrem k obecné genderové rovnosti v anglickém právnickém jazyce.

APPENDIX

CITIZEN

No.	Concordance	Strategy
AlexanderCarmichael,#107497343	trade deals of this sort, it is sometimes important to think about exactly what impact they will have on the individual citizen , their daily lives and their rights, liberties and freedoms.	Sg. they
StuartMcDonald,#52321687	What are our courts going to do if confronted, for example, by a citizen seeking to establish [their] rights under retained EU law when that retained law is riddled with deficiencies?	Omission
SusanWilliams,#37075642	The directive sets out that in order for an EU citizen to reside in another member state beyond three months, they must be exercising a treaty right; ...	Sg. they
ThelmaWalker,#76024001	A Government should provide access to quality education, healthcare, social care and housing for every citizen ; that is their right in a civilised society.	Sg. they
GeorgeYoung,#59662004	is that that problem can be overcome. Basically, what we are looking at is the reverse of a 999 scheme: instead of the citizen telephoning the emergency services and asking for help, the emergency services contact the citizen and give the citizen advice.	Repetition
JonathanOates,#18254631	On every occasion that a citizen moved house the state would have the right to know. More than that, every citizen would be under a duty to inform the state, and a penalty of severe fines, if they moved their premises.	Sg. they
JeffreyRooker,#11894757	In some ways, it looks like a vested interest to any reasonable person, a citizen , for them to be involved in the campaign.	Sg. they
BrianPaddick,#102218068	At that point, the EEA citizen could produce another ticket, boarding pass or booking showing that they entered the UK within the last six months, and ...	Sg. they
KeithVaz,#37484694	At the moment, on ECRIS, if a German citizen is arrested in London, we are able to know within three minutes exactly what their previous convictions are.	Sg. they

JohnRedwood,#79713217	We need to be seen, as we are, as a serious body with every right to require any UK citizen to come here and explain themselves , and we need to be able to enforce that in a sensible and proportionate way.	Sg. they
SarahOlney,#36361313	, questions answered thoughtfully and votes taken on all the significant points of difference, then each British citizen will see that their point of view is being represented, whichever way they voted in June.	Sg. they
ShamiChakrabarti,#107404282	It would seem completely unconscionable for a state agent to be authorised to commit a crime, for an innocent citizen to suffer grave damage to property or person and for there to be no mechanism for them to have compensation.	Sg. they
RuthDeech,#55421372	The charter was also intended to protect the citizen against overmighty EU institutions, not necessarily against his or her own state, for states have their own democratically enacted rights laws.	He or she
BrianPaddick,#66501417	the checks carried out by Republic of Ireland immigration officials who, in any event, will be unable to question any EU citizen as to their reason for entry under free movement rules?	Sg. they
SajidJavid,#77823486	I can confirm that if a child is born to a British citizen anywhere in the world, as long as that British citizen is not a naturalised British citizen , that child is British, even if the parent's British citizenship is subsequently removed.	Repetition
SallyHamwee,#105314628	The minimum income requirement will apply, as the noble Baroness said, after March 2022 as it applies now to a UK citizen wishing to bring a non-UK—currently non-EEA—family to this country . I have always felt that the MIR is very harsh.	Determine r a
MartinDochertyHughes,#26148557	services to take up a role in the Saudi Arabian armed services. How confident, therefore, are the Government that no UK citizen has been involved in targeting, firing or maintaining these illegal weapons <u>while in the service of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia?</u>	Non-finite clause/rep hrasing
MatthewHancock,#12519091	For a citizen , it does not matter what the acronym is of the organisation that they are trying to deal with, they just want their Government service delivered quickly and easily.	Sg. they
SusanWilliams,#90679549	An EU citizen <u>who fails to apply to the EU settlement scheme</u> before the deadline will not be acting unlawfully in the same way as an illegal entrant or overstayer would be.	Rephrasing

RoderickStewart,#4715876 2	In that case, there were clearly significant problems with the telephone lines—with actually being able to take the information from the British citizen —and with our ability to get back to that citizen to check that they were okay after they had contacted us.	Sg. they + repetition
FrederickCurzon,#4969579	The Government are committed to empowering the individual. In the future, it will increasingly be the citizen who determines who has access to their data, with care professionals respecting their preferences.	Sg. they
SusanWilliams,#104058899	This means that an EEA citizen , or their family member, who is resident in the UK at the end of the transition period but is not exercising free movement rights will still be able to apply to the EU settlement scheme by the deadline of 30 June next year.	Sg. they
LucianaGoldsmithBerger,# 3831064	The digital revolution allows the citizen to be more informed about their medical conditions and treatments than any other generation in history.	Sg. they
AjayKakkar,#60569163	designed principally as a national service there at the point of delivery for all our fellow citizens, with every citizen able to be confident that they will receive just as good care and access to innovation and to the potential to a clinical outcome, wherever they live and whatever their background.	Sg. they
JulianKnight,#68895599	policy will lead to such an increase; and, thirdly, is such a policy compatible with the private right of the individual citizen to ultimate ownership of their own body.	Sg. they
StephenKerr,#47656786	The foundation principle of data protection must be trust. Each individual citizen must feel that their rights are protected in law, and they should also know that their rights are protected in law.	Sg. they
RupaHuq,#106223863	Should not the European convention on human rights apply to every British citizen whenever their rights are under threat, because every rule in the book is being broken?	Sg. they
JoannaCherry,#64055588	Does the Minister agree that the absolute principle should be that no EU citizen living in the UK should suffer as a result of the Brexit outcome, in which of course they had no vote?	Sg. they
JamesFitzpatrick,#1101376 2	... and, thirdly, it is about treating every citizen with the same degree of respect and dignity, and affording them the opportunity to access the best advice and professional help available.	Sg. they

PaulTyler,#70373750	It is important to re-emphasise that the state and the body politic have a crucial responsibility to the citizen as well as nurturing the citizen's role in the community and the nation.	Repetition
EdwardDavies,#56636371	If someone is a UK citizen , they should, in my view, have a right to vote in a UK general election.	Sg. they
SusanWilliams,#64126600	This means that an EU citizen who, in relation to an offence committed after the end of the implementation period, is convicted and receives a custodial sentence of 12 months or more will be considered for deportation.	Rephrasing
StephenBarclay,#89966828	This ensures that a Norwegian citizen living in the UK can rely on their rights in a UK court in broadly the same way as a Swedish citizen.	Sg. they
PaulButler,#685380	... the placing of such an obligation adds to the risks of creating a culture of suspicion and the sense that every citizen is expected to be on the lookout to report on their neighbour rather than build good relationships with them.	Sg. they
EmilyThornberry,#71713084	These are countries where up until this point, thanks to the common foreign and security policy, any British citizen visiting, working or living there who found themselves in difficulty and could not look to a British embassy for help had the right to go to other EU embassies based there and ask for consular support.	Sg. they
MartinCallanan,#87944454	Through the EU settlement scheme, we have ensured that every EU citizen resident here by 31 October can acquire a formal UK immigration status, protecting their rights to live and work in the UK.	Sg. they
ChloeSmith,#53599812	Of course, the citizen —any citizen—should be at the heart of voting and able cast their vote as a matter of public service.	Sg. they
SusanWilliams,#71168581	It is therefore right that migrants who have access to the NHS in the same way a British citizen would if they needed it, pay a fair share towards it.	Sg. they
JacobReesMogg,#107575511	I think someone is either a British citizen or they are not, and if someone is a British citizen they have exact equality and parity with all other British citizens and should not be asked, even in this House, to prove their identity.	Sg. they
JohnAnderson,#59420210	If a UK citizen has restricted access to the country in which they have their residence and the situation arises where the spouse is not allowed to enter the UK...	Sg. they

AnnaSoubry,#80704891	... Commission had failed to supply to the returning officers the necessary information for them to provide to an EU citizen who wishes to stand, as they lawfully can, as a candidate in the elections.	Sg. they
JudithJolly,#75477277	While we are on Northern Ireland, could the Minister consider this scenario of a citizen of the Republic of Ireland living in France and returning to live in London? How do they stand with regard to the Bill?	Sg. they
MatthewHancock,#105781492	Without action to bring R below 1, the NHS would be overwhelmed, no matter what we did to expand the NHS and protect the vulnerable, and then we could no longer guarantee that solemn promise to every citizen that our NHS will be there for you when you need it. We must not let that happen I want to say this very directly to all those who need NHS services this winter: help us to help you.	You
RichardRosser,#71427559	on their return from the designated area and they might conceivably have been placed under arrest. For a law-abiding citizen , that would potentially be an unnerving experience, and likewise for their employer or organisation, which could face a degree of reputational damage as a result.	Sg. they
PatrickMcFadden,#16297771	On the first point about younger people having the vote, every British citizen , by virtue of the passport that they hold, has the right, as my hon. Friend the Member for Denton and Reddish (Andrew Gwynne) said, to live, work and study anywhere in the European Union.	Sg. they
HughDykes,#74604201	and teaching, which does not affect the ordinary citizen. I quite understand that. I am not criticising the ordinary citizen in this country for not feeling that way or for supporting the idea that they do not need to bother because “they all speak English”.	Sg. they
CarolMonaghan,#84143236	Will the Minister guarantee that no EU citizen will have their name deleted from the UK electoral roll as a result of a no-deal Brexit?	Sg. they
PaulBlomfield,#54019967	legal way of describing the problem, but I am not a lawyer. It means in effect that it will become more difficult for any UK citizen to assert their rights post-Brexit. In their defence, the Government insisted that nothing would be lost if we if we dropped the charter because it created no new rights.	Sg. they

RobinTeverson,#19879298	Subject, clearly, to the legal restrictions in the Marriage Act and elsewhere, which we all accept, a British citizen should have the right to marry whom they want, and then be able to live with their spouse or civil partner back in their home in the United Kingdom, should they wish.	Sg. they
ChristopherGrayling,#42280833	, Muslims, Hindus, people of no faith and many others have died side by side. Our job is to protect every single citizen of the United Kingdom whatever their faith, and this is about protecting every single citizen of the United Kingdom whatever their faith.	Sg. they

PARENT

No.	Concordance	Strategy
AndreaLeadsom,#74447950	My hon. Friend is exactly right; pairing has its uses. It is important that any parent on baby leave can choose to have either a proxy vote or be paired, if, for reasons of ill health or reasons associated with being a new parent, they do not feel in a position to make that decision.	Sg. they
SamuelGyimah,#18873129	As my hon. Friend is aware, the Government want every parent to have access to a good school place for their child. This means that all new places need to be of good quality.	Sg. they
PetaBuscombe,#84503650	Under the current scheme, parents receiving certain benefits are liable to pay the flat rate of maintenance. Where a parent does not make payments voluntarily, the CMS can deduct the child maintenance they are liable to pay directly from their benefit payment.	Sg. they
MarkLancaster,#13677141	on service children and young people, particularly when families are required to move to new duty locations and when a parent is deployed for a lengthy period away from home, especially <u>if deployed on active service</u> .	Non-finite clause/rephrasing
SallyAnnHart,#98036346	We cannot let the state take over a parent's job—a parent's most basic responsibility to feed and keep their children safe.	Repetition + sg. they

CrispinBlunt,#1857890 1	If I get called, I will speak in support of the right hon. Gentleman's excellent Committee's report. It is every parent's nightmare that their child should die of drugs. Whether they are legal or not is neither here nor there.	Sg. they
KieranMullan,#110647 379	need to be mindful of domestic violence and other complexities in those scenarios, but we should not absolve an abusive parent of their obligations because they are an abusive parent. That would create a terrible perversion of the system.	Sg. they
ChristopherFoster,#26 12895	six-month respite may be an impediment to a bereaved family's recovery and healing. It could hang like a threat for the parent , particularly if he or she is home-based, non-earning for some time, or had withdrawn from work to care for a sick or dying partner or child.	He or she
SamuelGyimah,#3901 924	the additional financial power they will need to provide more child care. It has also been extended from age 12, so the parent of a disabled child can now access tax-free child care until their child is 17.	Sg. they
JenniferJones,#11163 3619	domestic abuse has taken place, or where there is a relevant criminal conviction. It should be put beyond doubt that a parent cannot have unsupervised contact when they have been proven to be a domestic abuser.	Sg. they
JeremyLefroy,#141821 9	If the <u>child</u> is particularly unwell, <u>they</u> can then be referred to a specialist centre, but otherwise the parent can be reassured that they can wait until the morning.	Sg. they
MargotJames,#48309 293	of 18, that is an important place for us to focus our efforts. I completely understand that it is deeply distressing for a parent to lose a child at any age, and we will continue to work with ACAS and Cruse to identify the best way to encourage employers to act sympathetically to requests for leave following the loss of an older child who has reached adulthood	Determiner a
StephenTimms,#9461 521	A couple with one person working full-time on average earnings will lose more than £2,000 in tax credits next year. A single parent trying to provide for her two children, working 16 hours a week, will lose £860 in tax credits next year.	She

VictoriaPrentis,#6755 5051	to focus on neonatal units, too. They are very stressful places. Anybody with a child on a neonatal unit is not a happy parent ; it is not the place they want to be. Some 41% of neonatal unit patients have no access to a trained mental health worker,	Sg. they
WilliamQuince,#83061 020	earnings when this package of changes is introduced and UC has been rolled out. He also asked whether a deduction from a parent 's benefit will affect their relationship with the child. That is a very important point.	Sg. they
SimonClarke,#653592 60	authorities to breach the ECHR Article 8 and the GDPR; and further that the report provides no accessible means for a parent to address ultra vires behaviour by their local authority, where many of those authorities already act routinely in an ultra vires manner.	Sg. they
MarionFellows,#6965 0283	, but I do know people who own their home and have no mortgage or loan on it Homes are a major way in which a non-resident parent can increase their net worth, if their home increases in value. A £500,000 threshold will ensure that those who live in	Sg. they
MaeveSherlock,#1654 7727	have found themselves moving up the scale in terms of conditionality. In 2009, under the previous Government, a single parent whose youngest child was aged 12 was moved over to JSA, but in 2012 they were required to be available for work when their youngest child was five.	Sg. they
AnnButlerSloss,#1107 96010	I got an email this morning setting out how a woman had clearly been abused but the man kept telling the court that it was parental alienation and he was not prepared to accept that he had been guilty of abuse In the majority of cases, the reason for non-contact or limited contact between a parent and their child should be the implications of domestic abuse.	Sg. they
KeithVaz,#18578652	that they should not be taking these substances. My children are 20 and 18, and they are away at university. It is every parent 's nightmare that one of their children, on a night out after studying and doing their work, will be offered a substance that is perfectly legal, take it, and then be ill and, in some cases, die.	Sg. they

AnnaHealy,#52617291	said that at any one time there are around 200,000 children with a parent in prison. It noted that most children with a parent in prison benefit from continued contact with that parent. The report recommended extended visits to allow children	Repetition
LucianaGoldsmithBerg er,#2392263	, by contrast with the legal position for sperm and egg donors, who are treated as people who would, or might, be the legal parent of a child born from their donation There are questions around the safety of these techniques.	Sg. they
RachelGardner,#1094 25203	or stopped altogether until the domestic violence case has been determined by a court. I have heard of cases where a parent has been forced by social services to drop their domestic violence case or lose access to their child by them being put in foster care, so that the child has access to neither parent rather than only the victimised parent.	Sg. they
RichardKeen,#227658 61	The amendment would require intrusive and potentially irrelevant investigations, even in cases where the carer or parent , best placed to inform the Secretary of State about the impact on their child, had not provided any information to suggest such an impact.	Sg. they
HilaryBenn,#10945999 3	tell the House when every child in my Leeds constituency and across the country will have access to a laptop, when every parent who needs help will be able to afford the necessary broadband or phone charges so that their children can connect up to their lessons, teachers and classmates, and who they should contact if they cannot?	Sg. they
DavidFreud,#2028606 5	cap Guardian’s allowance is paid to someone who is bringing up a child whose parents have died, or in cases where one parent has died and the other parent cannot look after the child , for example where the other parent is untraceable, unknown or or serving a long prison term.	Determiner the
HeidiSuzanneAllen,#6 8994698	A single parent not claiming housing benefit, for example, will see their work allowance increase to £492 a month from £409, but that is still far short of the £734 it was pre-2015.	Sg. they

<p>OliverHeald,#4184964 1</p>	<p>alienation is a syndrome, but what the impact is on the child. The Government are aware of the difficulties that a parent can face when the other parent seeks to alienate them from their child’s life, and I am sure that hon. Members know that</p>	<p>Sg. they</p>
<p>IlorFinlay,#2615187</p>	<p>I also hope that the work coaches will be taught—because they may need to have it spelt out to them—that the bereaved parent may have never worked previously. They may have been a stay-at-home parent or somebody who has left work to provide care for their relative during the dying phase or because their employer was unhelpful in supporting them and they took a decision to do that.</p>	<p>Sg. they</p>
<p>DavidPrior,#10054644</p>	<p>Dr Bill Kirkup’s report into Morecambe Bay brought home to this House that there can be no greater pain than for a parent to lose a child and then find that pain compounded when medical mistakes are covered up.</p>	<p>Determiner a</p>
<p>AnnaSoubry,#3125963 2</p>	<p>everyone else did who heard their story Hon. Members have already discussed this. There is no greater tragedy for any parent than the loss of a child, and, although there are no degrees of grief, I genuinely cannot imagine any greater tragedy and</p>	<p>Determiner a</p>
<p>KevinFoster,#6157993 1</p>	<p>reasonably, because clearly this is not something a parent will have planned. This is not a provision of which any parent wants to take advantage, far from it. I am sure every parent in the Chamber would hope they never have to take advantage of this provision.</p>	<p>Sg. they</p>
<p>MaeveSherlock,#2616813</p>	<p>If a bereaved parent of a teenager takes a job below the target for a single earner—in other words, less than the equivalent of a full-time job at the minimum wage—as I understand it, the in-work conditionality rules for universal credit would mean that they would be called and then required to go out and increase their hours.</p>	<p>Sg. they</p>

<p>MaeveSherlock,#2616052</p>	<p>about is that, from my reading of the regulations, the suspension of conditionality seems to be available not if the parent can demonstrate the distress of the child but if they can show that their childcare arrangements have been significantly disrupted as a result of the events that have happened.</p>	<p>Substitution + sg. they</p>
<p>VictoriaFord,#67430697</p>	<p>with a very sick three-month-old child. I had stopped my parental leave and needed to go back into hospital. Should a parent be able to restart their leave? Those are challenging issues that one would need to look at as the system evolves, which</p>	<p>Sg. they</p>
<p>MichaelTomlinsonMynors,#61587894</p>	<p>that we are saying that these provisions only apply when the child is up to the age of 18. It is simply not right to say that a parent acts any differently if their child is 17, 18 or 19. My brother died aged 24, and I know that it did not affect my parents any</p>	<p>Sg. they</p>
<p>ThomasDavidSimpson,#77864209</p>	<p>in the medical profession. Does she agree that FGM is nothing but pure cruelty to young children, and that any parent allowing it, no matter what their culture is, should face the full rigour of the law? rose— Order. I asked people to speak</p>	<p>Sg. they</p>
<p>FionaBruce,#51906453</p>	<p>. This also helps families adjust to having the person around more. Many prisoners begin to feel less legitimate as a parent , which makes it difficult to build rounded relationships with their child, and ROTL would help boost their confidence as a parent.</p>	<p>Sg. they</p>
<p>TheresaMay,#61908592</p>	<p>lessons are learned from this tragic loss? I am sure the sympathies of the whole House will be with Sharon, because no parent should have to endure the agony of burying their child. May I reassure my hon. Friend that we are absolutely committed to</p>	<p>Sg. they</p>
<p>MichaelWatson,#50837768</p>	<p>. The reason for a child withdrawing need not be recorded, so it may simply be the case that the family has relocated. A parent or guardian may tell the school that their child is to be home educated; equally, they may not. This means that the</p>	<p>Sg. they</p>

LouiseHaigh,#9341670	pounds for a working parent who lives on their own—that is what the Government have saved, but do they think that a lone parent can afford to lose £1,400 a year? He or she will take out credit cards to pay for their children’s school trip, clothes, the rent or the mortgage, and household debt will rise and rise.	He or she + sg. they
CarolineNokes,#41035302	with them? Absolutely. That is a point. A very important exemption is included, so where that is inappropriate—where a parent cannot or will not accommodate their child—such people will be exempt from the policy. The key point is that nipping the	Sg. they
WilliamQuince,#13559671	I can describe only as beautiful silence afterwards helped me and my wife come to terms with what had just happened. No parent should have to face being taken to a room in a maternity ward of crying babies when you have just gone through a stillbirth.	You
AndrewAdonis,#72383593	a rising problem on top of the figures I have already set out to the House My second issue is apprenticeships. The wise parent would wish for their child to have equality of opportunity whether they go on to university or a non-university course.	Sg. they
JohnMcDonnell,#95550681	responsibilities must be protected as well. Why on earth are they not eligible for this scheme? Just think of the single parent who cannot work because they need to stay at home with their child—surely they should be covered as well.	Sg. they
EmmaHardy,#52761386	, it is also nearly eight years since my baby was born, who is still my baby despite being eight years old. Every parent wants the best for their child and wants them to have every opportunity to fulfil their potential, but for the almost eight years of her life, we have seen her opportunity rationed and funding for children’s and young people’s services slashed.	Sg. they
StellaCreasy,#10647178	threat we can make to those boats and no lesson we can learn from Australia that will override the enduring wish of every parent to give their child that kind of future If we do not hear those voices, the question is not about them; it is about us.	Sg. they

FrancisHare,#5049625 7	. When care leavers are pursued by their local authority for council tax, they can get into the position of the corporate parent aggressively pursuing their corporate child through the courts.	Sg. they
PatriciaGibson,#87918 345	in that respect, I am no different from any other parent who has gone through this terrible trauma Every single bereaved parent who has lost a baby feels exactly the same about their baby whose life was ended before it could properly begin.	Sg. they
PaulMaynard,#825517 15	's welfare is paramount in court decisions about their upbringing. The law remains gender-neutral and presumes that a parent s involvement in a child's life is beneficial unless there is evidence to the contrary.	Determiner a

PERSON

No.	Concordance	Strategy
DianaWarwick,#3675156	must be to focus on how to bring about a shift in resources to invest in early intervention, so that no child or young person has to wait two years to be seen, by which time the situation is so dire that they need intensive support.	Sg. they
RosalindAltmann,#459926 32	of the Bill I respectfully request that my noble friend the Minister carefully considers the perspective of the person coming to this single financial guidance body and expecting to receive a holistic service that will cover their financial circumstances, ...	Sg. they
RuthHunt,#92296868	When it therefore became an option, I—and many others, I suspect—thought I should give it a go. Just because a person can enter a civil partnership or marriage does not mean they necessarily should.	Sg. they
KirstyBlackman,#31666472	I suggest that somebody who was a teacher 20 years ago is no longer the best person to be an expert on the education system, unless they have been particularly good at keeping up with changes.	Sg. they

KellyTolhurst,#17165661	For example, a young person could have been in care from a young age because of emotional or physical abuse, or because of neglect. That child might have been moved from foster carer to foster carer, and they could also have gone through an adoption failure, or had a period in a children’s home with a number of different social workers over that time.	Sg. they + repetition
RoyKennedy,#102214815	There is also the risk of redetention: when a person reports who is required to do so and then finds themselves detained by the authorities.	Sg. they
BernardHoganHowe,#63209883	Quite often, intelligence is led by whether the person has a vehicle with them . If they have a vehicle, it is the start of identifying who the person is and whether the police should start a search.	Sg. they
JamesOShaughnessy,#64257772	These amendments provide that a person commits an offence when falsely claiming to be on the nursing associate part of the register, falsely claiming to hold a nursing associate qualification or using the title “nursing associate” when not entitled to.	Non-finite clause/rephrasing
MichaelFabricant,#18123235	It is important that the Crown Prosecution Service does not prosecute people lightly, and if it thinks that a person is innocent, it should ensure that they are not prosecuted.	Sg. they
MerlinHay,#35967117	If the person after they have proved that they are 18 then decides to subscribe to the website freely and to give it credit card details and stuff like that, that is a different problem—I am not worried about that	Sg. they
RishiSunak,#49368281	It is hard to imagine how difficult it might be for a young person when their smartphone or social media become ways for bullies to reach them .	Sg. they
JamesMcMahon,#40066188	More than that, because I believe that every person should fulfil their potential, I hope—for the DCLG team, for this country and not least for himself—that the Secretary the Secretary of State finds a job he wants quite soon.	Sg. they
AnnaSoubry,#2288485	... if that second person denies that they have bullied the first person, they are entitled to a fair hearing. In the terrible event that the first person has died, the second person cannot challenge the complaint and so the danger is that the person against whom the complaint is made is effectively denied a fair hearing because he or she cannot, in effect, query or challenge the complaint.	Sg. they + he or she

JamesTouhig,#65842883	Although an autistic person might lack capacity to decide about living arrangements, their preferences or wishes should be an important factor in any decision about their lives.	Sg. they
DianaBarran,#77383567	time, as the noble Lord will be aware and as the CPS charging advice sets out. An example would be where someone is holding person A by the throat in the road, screaming and shouting, but also waving a knife around in the air so that person B thinks that the defendant might also come for them —that would be an offence of affray—...	Sg. they
JamesCunningham,#52743611	In the case of certain banks, including HSBC, where a person who is on a bank’s pension retires, that retirement pension is deducted because of their old-age pension.	Sg. they
MariaMiller,#73084067	... the incredibly long-winded way we have had to bring forward changes for something such as baby leave, which is a fundamental right for every person we represent in our constituencies. If they work, they have the ability to take time off when they are pregnant or have young children.	Sg. they
ChristopherMalthouse,#112716800	Equally, if a responsible person fails to provide evidence that they have complied, it may be relied upon by a court as tending to support non-compliance with their duties under the order.	Sg. they
DavidHeath,#124847	Is there any process allowing the senior officer reviewing the initial decision by the constable or other lower-ranking officer to receive representations from the person from whom the travel documents are removed, or from a representative of that person ?	Repetition
IlorFinlay,#66764358	We must recognise that, when somebody chooses a person to donate a lasting power of attorney to, it is a very difficult choice; it is somebody whom they trust deeply.	Sg. they
HelenGoodman,#78501565	When things go wrong—when a person has a fit, or goes into anaphylactic shock— they are taken into A&E, and they might be there for 12 hours.	Sg. they
TaniaMathias,#36268308	When that happens, somebody will contact me the next day—they know how to track me down—and they will ask me, “How is that person ? Are they all right? ”	Sg. they
RichardRosser,#108212519	... cannot authorise causing death or grievous bodily harm, sexual violation or torture; and cannot authorise causing death or grievous bodily harm, perverting the course of justice, sexual offences, torture or depriving a person of their liberty.	Sg. they

PaulButler,#70979058	The way that Home for Good works means that behind each name is a person embedded in a series of communities and institutions who would support them .	Sg. they
ZahidaManzoor,#69699384	Police Officers Section 5(1)(a) of the Freedom of Information Act enables the Secretary of State to designate any person as a public authority if they appear to the Secretary of State to exercise functions of a public nature.	Sg. they
BrianPaddick,#8691848	I am picturing myself with a person I have just arrested—sometimes I dream that I am still in the police; rather, it is a nightmare—in the tape-recording interview room at the police station, when I ask him , “Did you suspect this to be a psychoactive substance?” Surely the question is whether the suspect thought that it was a psychoactive substance, not whether he suspected it to be one. “Suspect” is rather value-laden, which usually has negative connotations.	He
JamesBrokenshire,#24665787	We are learning from our experiences regarding the detention of children, but we recognise that there may be limited circumstances in which detention might be necessary, either to facilitate removal, or because a young person has been met at the border and the time during which they are held is still technically detention.	Sg. they
PeterKyle,#100088869	and Wales but only 118 parenting orders were issued. That is less than 10% of the figure in 2009. How can a troubled young person turn around their life if the Government are not doing everything they can to help them ?	Sg. they
JudithJolly,#71047650	legislation, not in the code I therefore urge the Minister that in this Bill we must have the provisions to provide the person with information about their situation and their rights, and also clear statutory entitlements to copies of the relevant documentation for those supporting and representing them .	Sg. they
WesleyStreeting,#73225907	, and if HMRC was aware of these schemes but did not take action in any previous tax year, how on earth could any reasonable person have concluded that they were doing anything wrong?	Sg. they
SusanKramer,#91233152	If I had described that to a neutral person without mentioning that it was a move by the UK Government I think they would have assumed that it was being moved by Putin Erdoğan or someone else who sees a democratic structure as ...	Sg. they

LloydRussellMoyle,#74838451	and employee £8,000 if they are coming from outside the EU, with the NHS surcharge alone being £2,000, even though the person will pay taxes and contribute to the NHS. It costs only £127 for the Home Office to process the application, yet the	Omission
DianaWarwick,#583177	The earlier a person retired, the lower the annual cap is set, to compensate for the longer time the person will be receiving payments. So the full expectations of high earners who have built up a number of years in their schemes	Repetition
CarolineJohnson,#52145970	When I was a very junior doctor, a senior house officer, a young person would be admitted on a Friday—it was usually on a Friday—who had been in such severe mental distress that he or she had taken an overdose or self-harmed in some other way.	He or she
JamesOShaughnessy,#68464363	It is all very well appointing somebody—they also have to be willing to be appointed—but when appointing an appropriate person or recognising one , the responsible body has to be confident that the appropriate person is prepared to act. Indeed,	Substitution + repetition
IloraFinlay,#83419492	and End of Life Care framework, established through a coalition of a vast number of providers in England, are met. They require each person to be seen as an individual. Each person gets fair access to care and their comfort and well-being are maximised; care is co-ordinated, all staff are prepared to care and each community is prepared to help.	Repetition + sg. they
SallyHamwee,#30633638	My question is the same in each of these examples: will the consent on the part of the person to whom the liability is owed be required, and will there be an indemnity of that person ?	Repetition
ElizabethBarker,#71046971	when drawing up the legislation back in 2005, there is an explicit duty on hospital managers to provide information to a person who is detained and to the relevant interested persons responsible for their welfare.	Sg. they
LucyAllan,#92667799	Clearly, this Bill will still allow a killer , sentenced to life, to be released, even if he has failed to disclose the whereabouts of a victim's body. Most people would say that such a person may not be properly rehabilitated if he is refusing to co-operate on something as basic as the location of a victim's remains, or the identity of a child.	He
AnneMain,#89334015	When we are going out on the doorstep, we should remember that that person who voted in or out did not vote Conservative, Green, Labour or Liberal— they voted in or out.	Sg. they

HelenaKennedy,#1320650	... but I certainly feel that if you are going to have a closed material proceeding, you really must have protections for the person who is having their documents taken.	Sg. they
MarkSchreiber,#37531419	When a person seeks to be identified, the person trying to identify them can, online, compare the biometrics of the person in front of them with those held centrally.	Sg. they
ChristopherChope,#54154122	who have not signed it. The inevitable consequence of his proposal is that once again the responsible landlord—the person who lets a house to family members or lodgers, or who brings into use a family home that would otherwise be empty—would	Determiner a
SusanWilliams,#34724421	My Lords, all genuine asylum seekers—LGBT or otherwise—have experienced persecution in the countries from which they have arrived, which is why they are in our country seeking asylum. I stress that detention is used only sparingly: to establish the identity of a person ; if there is a reason to believe that a person will fail to comply with conditions; or to effect removal from the UK.	Repetition
ChristopherGrayling,#24980034	... when it comes to younger workers and older workers precisely because when a young worker enters the workplace the employer is making an investment decision as well as a recruitment decision. The employer takes responsibility for training and developing that young person .	Repetition
BrianPaddick,#49171816	An excluded person could also claim that they have a right to claim asylum in the UK, or that their human rights would be infringed if they were returned to their country of origin or refused entry to the UK.	Sg. they
DominicHubbard,#13610179	The person who drops out might not know what to do with the rest of their life.	Sg. they
TanniGreyThompson,#112238952	Should a person not lack capacity, they have the right to refuse medication or other treatments or restraints.	Sg. they
DianaBarran,#77372066	Therefore, bladed products could be sent to a farm, an agricultural supplier or a forestry centre. They could be sent to the home of a person who runs a self-employed forestry business from their home.	Sg. they

WORKER

No.	Concordance	Strategy
AlisonThewliss,#991622 54	as the right hon. Member for Kingston and Surbiton (Sir Edward Davey) pointed out, has 54 names to it and would provide that a prior settlement with HMRC could be unwound unless the worker failed to account for a pre-2016-17 tax liability in his or her return deliberately, despite knowing that the loan should have been included as income.	He or she
GarethJohnson,#48277 804	The House appreciates that when an assault takes place on an emergency worker , it is not just the individual emergency worker who is affected; very often it is the family members as well.	Repetition
EdwardMiliband,#1107 74160	Behind each statistic is a worker and their family, forced into an impossible choice between their health and their job.	Sg. they
MichaelStorey,#817863 46	with social services. Far too often, the social worker with that case is moved on. It is my experience that the social worker working with the family and the school is often employed only for six months, and 12 months if you are lucky. That does not	You
CharlotteVere,#963799 33	My Lords, passenger and transport worker safety is absolutely paramount. To help make [their] journeys safer, my department has today published new guidance for both transport operators and passengers.	Omission
ChristopherBryant,#606 63229	Although these clauses are about the taking of samples, in particular when an emergency worker is in danger of contracting an infectious disease by virtue of being spat at or through some other means, the aim of the Bill was never to take samples.	Rephrasing
ChukaUmunna,#252500 5	So on average it now takes a British worker until the end of Friday to produce what a German or French worker <u>has</u> finished before they clock off on Thursday.	Sg. they
StephenTwigg,#754217 11	The council says that its new model will reduce the number of children for whom each social worker is responsible, allowing them more time to work with children, young people and families.	Sg. they
KellyTolhurst,#4828104 0	It is simply wrong that an emergency worker would have to go out of his or her way to ensure that they have not been infected with a disease <u>after being assaulted</u> .	He or she + sg. they + rephrasing
GavinWilliamson,#1094 72619	In answer directly to his question, if one parent is a critical worker , it is deemed that they would have access to that school place for their child.	Sg. they

KevinFoster,#63162437	For example, we do not want to get into arguments about whether an aid worker has crossed a particular line when they are in an area for purposes that none of us would view as criminal.	Sg. they
MichaelConnarty,#510011	If a domestic worker who comes here is a victim and is not treated properly, they should be able to move to another employer while their visa is running.	Sg. they
JohnMonks,#41741698	We should remember that a zero-hours contract often means for an employee or a worker zero loyalty to the firm for which they work or by which they are employed.	Sg. they
JudithJolly,#64661250	I am sure your Lordships could find other examples. An assaulted worker should be able to count on the support of their employer in bringing the charge and, where necessary, they should expect counselling to help them deal with any trauma.	Sg. they
MollyMeacher,#27337071	... the utter misery that that social worker will experience as the national panel chews through that case over months and months? Any social worker —any of us in our lives—will occasionally neglect a little aspect or fail to do something. That is inevitable, however good and professional we are at our work.	You
RobertStewart,#48286436	We need to build a public perception that when an emergency worker is doing his or her duty, the public equally have a duty to protect that emergency worker , not to attack them .	He or she + sg. they + repetition
WesleyStreeting,#102615204	As we have heard so powerfully, the Chancellor plans to cut off support for every self-employed worker in the country from October, no matter whether they are back at work or back under local lockdown.	Sg. they
StephenBarclay,#104463734	The package of measures we have put in place is to retain the link between a worker and their business, and that is very much the Government's approach.	Sg. they
StuartMcDonald,#99001262	So if there is a skilled and sought-after French worker , that person can go to Dublin without paying a penny, no questions asked, but to get to Belfast they will need to pay many thousands of pounds and endure a Home Office visa process.	Repetition + sg. they
KateHoey,#56554998	Surely such a process cannot and should not be short-circuited by the decision of an organisation—particularly an organisation such as the City of London Corporation—to use an in-house doctor, and not allow the worker to have their injuries certified by an independent practitioner.	Sg. they

GeraintDavies,#972464 1	In 2012 the Chancellor gave a speech describing the “strivers” and the “skivers” and asking whether it was fair for a shift worker to get up in the morning to go to work and see the closed blinds of his neighbours who live off benefits. Of course, skivers are not eligible for working tax credits and child tax credits, because they are only given to people in work.	He
MartinCallanan,#11301 4147	count towards minimum wage pay when a worker is charged for accommodation provided for them by their employer. Where a worker is charged for accommodation, either by making a payment to the employer or by a deduction being made in the worker’s pay, and the charge is more than the accommodation offset, it will reduce the worker’s pay for minimum wage purposes.	Repetition
HollyWalkerLynch,#482 75376	At the moment, as we have already heard, if an emergency service worker is spat at, they can take a blood sample from an individual only if that person gives their permission.	Sg. they
RaymondJolliffe,#22235 332	There is therefore a serious risk that the worker leaving their original job will become destitute and then be deported.	Sg. they
FrederickCurzon,#2483 5320	The Minister for Immigration has stated that we will take further action to ensure that, where an overseas domestic worker has been referred into the national referral mechanism within that six-month period, their permission to work will continue while their case is being considered—again, without having to apply to the Home Office.	Sg. they
OliverDowden,#380375 70	It is currently an offence to assault a police officer, immigration officer or prison officer, but it is not a specific offence to assault an NHS worker , whether they are a doctor, nurse or paramedic.	Sg. they
StephenMcPartland,#4 3147503	With the average worker spending 23% of their day on email, what assessment have the Government made of how the increasing reliance on email is stalling productivity?	Sg. they
StephenTimms,#92190 99	(Ms Harman) pointed out to the Prime Minister two weeks ago, not a single family will be helped into work and not a single worker will see their earnings rise simply as a result of cutting tax credits.	Sg. they
FrancisHare,#43022798	The role of the social worker is highly emotionally charged, and it always has been. These people step into the lives of families and children for understandable reasons.	Plural repetition
NigelEvans,#99156934	It provides that a prior settlement with HMRC can be unwound unless the worker failed to account for a 2015/16 tax year (or earlier) liability in his or her tax return deliberately despite knowing that the loan should have been included as income.	He or she

JohnBurnett,#55276654	The adverse impact of the decision to leave is of growing concern to everyone in the country. A factory worker in the United Kingdom providing part of an international manufacturing process will be deeply concerned about his job, post Brexit, if there are tariffs and customs checks on goods that move in and out of Britain during the manufacturing process	He
IlorFinlay,#67957844	To use a simple example, a professional musician's needs will probably differ greatly from those of an agricultural worker in terms of aspects of liberty that need to be enhanced, such as access to whatever instrument they played before, and how the environment needs to be adapted, such as allowing the agricultural worker to have much more time outside if that is what they need, to protect their ability to live well.	Sg. they
KimJohnson,#104972661	The average salary for a care worker is £19,104, meaning that they do not reach the £26,500 threshold that she proposes.	Sg. they
MichaelBates,#5829076	The first was that often when an overseas domestic worker comes over here on a visa—we know this from the evidence that Kalayaan and other organisations working in the field have given us— their passport is withheld and they are told that if they dare to leave or to try to leave, they will be immediately removed from the country	Sg. they
HughTrenchard,#80873132	Whether the employee was a care worker or an investment banker, the responsibility for a part of their remuneration to be made through such a scheme rested entirely with the employer; in most cases, the employee had absolutely no influence over this matter.	Sg. they
DanielleRowley,#67134726	One in eight workers is living in poverty, and the average worker is earning £25 a week less than they were 10 years ago.	Sg. they
LauraSmith,#48590136	I am always lost for words when I speak to care workers in my constituency. It takes a certain kind of person to be a care worker , and imagine how it must feel for that type of person to be forced to leave somebody for whom they care before they have had time to wash them or to help them eat.	Sg. they
HazelByford,#39250712	unpaid voluntary worker would have to give time to filling in forms instead of doing the work he or she has signed up for and dearly wishes to do.	He or she
JamesBethell,#96826847	interest and get a response promptly. Any care home worker who wants an individual test can access a site where, as a key worker , their test will be prioritised.	Sg. they
JamesBrokenshire,#24663070	With that additional change, the measures will ensure that, when a worker arrives in an abusive employment relationship, they can leave it with the certainty that they will be able to continue working, while also ensuring that they are encouraged to report the abuse early.	Sg. they

JohnNash,#45691201	Where the outcome of the assessment is the continued involvement of local authority children’s social care, the social worker and their manager should agree a plan of action with other professionals and discuss this with the child and their family.	Sg. they
LauraPidcock,#84618257	The feedback is that the typical journey of a whistleblower looks like this: if the worker is inexperienced at whistleblowing, <u>there is uncertainty about what to do and who to tell</u> , as has been said. They often go to their immediate manager.	Sg. they + rephrasing
WilliamMcKenzie,#66488136	At a time when 9 million new workplace savers are being auto-enrolled and the average worker changes jobs 11 times during their working life, there is clearly a compelling public policy argument for having mechanisms to track pension pots, including the state pension, throughout life.	Sg. they
ElizabethMcInnes,#41040156	For example, if a contract states that the employee is entitled to 28 days’ holiday, including all bank and public holidays, the worker would be entitled to paid time off.	Repetition
KellyTolhurst,#82570349	As I have said, where a worker feels that they have had a detriment, they are to report it to HMRC or ACAS. HMRC will investigate every complaint.	Sg. they
PhilippaWhitford,#17660551	Auto-enrolment does not cover the modern worker who has multiple mini-jobs, as they are called. Their combined earnings are not considered.	Sg. they
KellyTolhurst,#82570395	We cannot just judge this issue on prosecutions. We need to judge it on where the detriment to the worker is, and then ensure that they get what is owed to them and that the employer is penalised.	Sg. they
JohnDurkan,#5105448	If a domestic worker were to change their employer under the visa entitlement the Lords amendment would give them , it would be known to an authority, and the authority should be duly asking questions.	Sg. they
MichaelWatson,#31546676	There are many problems related to getting children an assessment and/or a diagnosis. The social worker needs to be aware of neurodisabilities and the support and training to enable them to develop this understanding.	Sg. they
MargotJames,#33081337	A genuine worker has a “day one” right to be at least paid the appropriate national minimum wage or the national living wage if he or she is over 25.	He or she